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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES

BY
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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The following changes have been made in the system of Romanisation of Indian words :—

(a) *ṁ* has been replaced by *m̐*,

(b) Small letters have been substituted for capital letters in proper nouns printed in Italics.

It is regretted that certain letters in Italics with dialectical marks have been printed with two different types joined together and that, as in the original, diacritical marks went off in course of printing in a number of places.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to the Late Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, whose English translation of the first chapter of the Introduction, under the title "Pischel on the Characteristics of the Prakrit Languages", has been of great help to me.

Āśvina, 5, *Śakābda* 1879.

Subhadra Jhā

I. INTRODUCTION.

A. The Prākṛit Languages.

§ 1. By the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a multitude of literary languages, as the common characteristic whereof they consider Sanskrit their origin. Therefore, they generally derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*, "element", "basis", and according to them this basis is Sanskrit. So says Hemacandra, 1, 1, *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam | tatra bhavaṁ tata āgataṁ vā prākṛtam*, "Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prākṛit". Likewise Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam | tatrabhavaṁ prākṛta-mucyate*; so Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prakṛter āgataṁ prākṛtam | prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam*; Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, 2, 2 : *prakṛteḥ saṁskṛtā-dāgataṁ prākṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in PETERSON, Third Report 343, 7 : *prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam | tatrabhavaivāt prākṛtam smṛtam*. Cf. Narasimha, Prākṛta-śabdapradīpikā, p. 1 : *prakṛteḥ saṁskṛtāyastu vikṛtiḥ prākṛti matā*, and Prākṛtasaṁjivani in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11 : *prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṁskṛtaṁ yoniḥ*. For other etymologies see § 16.

§ 2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda, 5, 2, teaches — *saṁskṛtāt prākṛtam iṣṭam tato 'pabhraṁśabhāṣaṇam*, "one takes for granted that from Sanskrit originated Prākṛit, whence the Apabhraṁśa language". A quotation, in Śaṅkara on Śakuntalā, 9, 10⁴; limits in this view, *saṁskṛtāt prākṛtaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ tato 'pabhraṁśabhāṣaṇam*, "from Sanskrit originated the best Prākṛit, and from which the Apabhraṁśa language". According to Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa, I, 34, Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 12) is the best Prākṛit : *māhārāṣṭrāyām bhāṣām prakṛṣṭam prākṛtaṁ viduḥ*. It is further explained that Māhārāṣṭrī, being nearest to Sanskrit, is the best Prākṛit. When the Indians speak about Prākṛit generally, they almost always mean Māhārāṣṭrī². According to them Māhārāṣṭrī has the credit of being the basis of the other Prākṛit languages³, and in the manuals by the native grammarians Māhārāṣṭrī occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters, having 424 rules, to Māhārāṣṭrī, and only one chapter to each of the other three languages treated by him, and that only with 14, 17 and 32 rules respectively, and at the end (12, 32) he announces that, whatever, with regard to the lastly dealt with three Prākṛits, remains unsaid, with respect to that these dialects have common characteristics with Māhārāṣṭrī : *śeṣaṁ māhārāṣṭrīvat*. So do the other grammarians.

1. FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 1. — 2. LASSEN, Inst. p. 7, 11 f.; MUIR, OST. 2², 43 ff. — 3. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; but compare MUIR l. c.

§ 3. With regard to what we are to understand broadly by the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians differ from one another. Vr. considers Māhārāṣṭrī, Pāisācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī as Prākṛit. Hc. would include in it also Ārṣa (§ 16), Cūlikāpāisācī, and Apabhraṁśa. He is followed by Trivikrama, Simharāja, Narasimha and Lakṣmīdhara, with this difference that Trivikrama excludes Ārṣa, while Simharāja, Narasimha and Lakṣmīdhara take no notice of it. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides Prākṛit into four classes, *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṁśa, pāisāca*. He includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī and Māgadhī under *bhāṣā*, whilst in a controversy against some unnamed author, he rejects Ardhamāgadhī, which, according to him,

is nothing but a form of Māgadhi, that is not very much different from Śaurasenī, Dākṣiṇāṭyā, which has no special characteristic, and Bālīkī which belongs to Māgadhi. Under the *vibhāṣāḥ* he includes the following five dialects: Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrīkī, Śākkī, and denies the status of being considered as a *vibhāṣā* to Oḍṛī and Drāviḍī. He then traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to three only, namely to Nāgara Viāṇḍa, and Upanāgara, the 11 Paisācī dialects to the three Nāgaras, Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcālā². Rāmatakavāgiśa³, as well, teaches in the same manner. All the grammarians consider Mābārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, and Paisācī as the different Prakrit dialects.

1. He is not Bharata, as may be concluded from the fact that the stanza dealing with the Vibhāṣāḥ is almost identical with the one given in Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17,49. All the other stanzas show deviations from those of Bharata. The stanza is quoted also in Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 346 ff. Cf. also Rāmatakavāgiśa in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21.—2. The text was partly published in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon, p. 181.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīśvara 5, 99, and Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48 ff.

§ 4. Vr. does not mention Apabhraṃśa at all (§ 3). It would, however, be wrong to conclude therefrom, as was done by LASSEN¹, that this dialect is younger than Vr.² Therefore, with Bloch³, Vararuci should not needlessly be accused of inaccuracy and superfluity. The reason is that Vr., along with others, does not consider Apabhraṃśa to be Prakrit. As Nāmīśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2, 11 remarks, some others postulate three languages: Prākṛit, Saṃskṛit and Apabhraṃśa: *yaduktam kaiścid yathā | prākṛitam saṃskṛitam ca itaḍapabhraṃśa iti tridhā*. To this group belongs Daṇḍin, who in his Kāvyaadarśa 1, 32, distinguishes between four kinds of literary works, (1) those that are in Sanskrit, (2) those that are in Prākṛit, (3) those that are in Apabhraṃśa, and finally (4) those that are written in more than one language (*miśra*)⁴. Under Apabhraṃśa Daṇḍin includes the language of the Ābhīras etc., when used in literary works (*kāvyeṣu*): in treatises (*śāstreṣu*) they call everything, whatever is different from Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 2 in a citation includes the language of the Ābhīras under the *vibhāṣāḥ* (§ 3), rather than among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa, of which he names 26, such as Pāñcālā, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍṛa, Kāliṅgya, Kārnāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, and so on. Consequently, he uses the term Apabhraṃśa for the popular-languages of Aryan and non-Aryan origins. Against this, Rāmatakavāgiśa holds that Apabhraṃśa should not be included under the *vibhāṣāḥ*, in view of the fact that they are used in dramas etc.: only the actually spoken languages of the people are to be called Apabhraṃśa. According to him, Māgadhi, as a literary language, is a *bhāṣā*, and an Apabhraṃśa as a popular language⁵. Ravikara, in BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 509, distinguishes between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. The one is based on Prākṛit and differs slightly from it in flexion, composition and word-formation, and the other is a popular dialect, (*deśabhāṣā*)⁶. While Sanskrit and Prākṛit follow the rules that are framed about their form, Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the speech of the common people. The older Vāgbhaṭa holds a similar opinion about Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭaśālikā 2, 1 he names four languages: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāṣita i. e. Paisācī (§ 27) and under 2, 3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the different states: *apabhraṃśastu tacchuddham tattaddeśeṣu bhāṣitam*. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alankāratilaka 15, 3 differentiates between Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmyabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valabhi, Guhasena is praised on account of the high degree of skilfulness shown by

him in his works written in three languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa⁷. I. A. 10,284 (Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, names six languages; Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśācabhāṣā, Śūrasenī and Apabhraṃśa, which has several divisions according to the difference in locality: *śaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṃśaḥ*. The same six different classes of languages are mentioned also by Amaracandra, Kāvya-kalpalatā-vṛtti p. 8.

1. I. Alt. 2², 1169.—2. WEBER, IStr. 2, 57; PISCHEL, KB. 8, 145.—3. Varaucci und Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14 f.=KZ. 33,332 f.—4. He is followed by Kavicaandra in Kāvya-candrikā, in LASSEN, Inst., p. 32. The number is not clear in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa 2,7 ff., p. 56.—5. LASSEN, Inst., p. 21 f.; cf. Muir, OST. 2², 46.—6. Somadeva in his Kathā-saritsāgara, 6,148 mentions *saṃskṛtam, prākṛtam* and *deśabhāṣā* as the different languages; *bhāṣātrayaṃ yaṃ anuṣṇepu saṃbhavet*. Cf. Kṣemendra, Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī, 6, 47. 52. 7.

§ 5. Accordingly we have to consider as Apabhraṃśa the popular languages of India. Undoubtedly there were written in it literary works of every kind already in time much earlier than that of the literary monuments, that are still preserved for us. The Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 declares that the place of Apabhraṃśa in a drama is as important as that of Śaurasenī, inasmuch as beside Śaurasenī, a provincial language could be used in it, and that optionally: *śaurasenāṃ samāśṛtya bhāṣā kāryā tu nāṭake yathavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhīḥ*. We need not take into consideration the artificially written dramas of the classical period, rather of the popular theatres of the type of *yātrā* of Bengal¹ or that of the musical plays of Hindusthān² and the popular theatres of Almorā³ and Nepal⁴, a sample whereof occurs in the Hariścandraṇṭyam⁵. This Apabhraṃśa, has never been called Prākṛit, but probably Apabhraṃśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, can be used in literary poetry, and according to Ravikara, deviates just slightly from Prākṛit (§ 4), to which it can be traced back ultimately (§ 2). It is presented before us in some of the Prākṛit grammarians, who treat Apabhraṃśa as well, and in Piṅgala and some other works (§ 29). The Indians always understand by the term Prākṛit, the literary languages. Pṛthivīdhara, in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v., edited by STENZLER= p. 493 of GOPBOLE's⁶ edition, says expressedly: *māhārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvya eva prayujyante*. Hc. 2,174, p. 68. says that the words that are not used by the earlier poets (*pūrvatḥ kavibhīḥ*) in Prākṛit are to be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvya-darśa 1,35 remarks that Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and others of the kind are used in conversation under the name Prākṛit, and Rāmatar-kavāgīśa forbids inclusion of Apabhraṃśa in the *vibhāṣāḥ*, when they are used in dramas etc. (§ 4). We have, therefore, to differentiate between the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa, the old popular language of Śūrasena, from which evolved the modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī⁷ and Śaurasenī Prākṛit, the artificial language, that is the language of prose of theatres, and whose all the characteristics are like those of Sanskrit. But the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṃśa would also be used in lyrical poems, now and then, and that on the model of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākṛit of lyrics and of artificial epics, remodelled for the purpose of song and recitation, with its chief dialectical peculiarities left untouched. Hc. 4, 446 gives an example: *Ap. kaṇṭhi pālambu kidu radie*, thus in Śaurasenī Pkt. would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kidam radie*, but in Māhārāṣṭrī, with the elision of *d* it would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kaam raie*. Erroneously Hc. lays down that Apabhraṃśa generally follows Śaurasenī Prākṛit (§ 28). Similarly be

it noted that there was one Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṁśa, 'whence has developed the modern Marāṭhī⁸, in addition to Mahārāṣṭra-Prākṛit, i. e. Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians, as well as Māgadha-Apabhraṁśa (§ 4), which through the Lāṭa-dialect has essentially continued to this day as the dialects of Bihar and of West Bengal⁹ and a Māgadha Prākṛit, i. e. Māgadhi of the grammarians¹⁰. For Pāisāci see § 27, and for Aṛṣa see § 16.

1. WILSON, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus 2⁸, 412 ff.; NISIKĀNTA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883) p. 1 ff.—2. F. ROSEN, Die Indarsabhā des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Einleitung.—3. S. v. OLDENBURG, Zapiski Vostočnāgo Otdelnija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obsščestva 5, 290 ff.—4. KLATT, De trecentis Cānakya poetarū Indici sententiis (Halle 1873) p. 1 ff.; FISCHEL, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG, (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5 ff.—5. Das Hārīcandranṛtyam, An old Nepalese Dance, published by A. Conardy (Leipzig 1891).—6. From this springs the quotation from Lalitadikṣita in GODBOLE, p. 1.—7. FISCHEL, Academy 1873, p. 398; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxv.—8. GARREZ, JA. VI, 20, p. 203 ff. (Paris 1872); wrongly HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxii.—9. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxiv. In Academy I. c. I have wrongly designated Pālī as Māgadha-Apabhraṁśa, against which E. KUHN, Beiträge zur Pālī Grammatik (Berlin correctly 1875) p. 8. I corrected the mistake in Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 316.—10. The theory enunciated by me in the Academy, 1873, p. 379 f. has been here improved upon on various points. HOERNLE, Comp. gr. p. xvii ff. is substantially in agreement with me. On so many details I differ from him, as is shown in the following paragraphs. SHANKER PAṆPURANG PAṆPIT has confused Apabhraṁśa with Prākṛit in Gaṇḍavaho p. 4 LV. ff.

§ 6. So the Prākṛit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But they are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets¹. What is true with these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prākṛit dialects², which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds, was raised to the status of a literary medium³. But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prākṛit dialects sprang out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as is generally held by Indian scholars and HOEFFER⁴, LASSEN⁵, BHANḌĀRKAR⁶ and JACOBI⁷. All the Prākṛit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit. Such correspondences are: the comparatively greater freedom in saṁdhi rules, the change of the intervocalic *ḍ*, *ḍh* to *ḷ*, *ḷh*; the suffix *-ttaṇa*=Ved. *-tvana*⁸, the svarabhakti, the gen. sing. of the fem. bases in *-āe*=Ved. *-āyai*; the ins. plur. in *-ehim*=Ved. *-ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā. jā. ē'ttha*=Ved. *tāt. yāt. itthā*; *te, me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākṛit *pāso* "eye"=Ved. *paś*⁹; AMg. *vaggūhim*=*vagnubhiḥ* *saddhim*=*sadhrim*; A. *dive* *divē*=Ved. *divē* *dive*; J. Ś. A. *kiḍha*, AMg. A. *kiha*=Ved. *kathā*; *māim*, Ved. *mākim*, *nāim*=Ved. *nākim*; AMg. *viū*=*viduḥ*¹⁰; Mg. *-āho*, *-āhu*, A. *-aho*=Ved. *āsaḥ*; M. JM. A. *kuṇai*, JŚ. *kuṇadi*=*kṛṇoti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śasvat*; AMg. *ghimsu*=Ved. *ghraṁsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukha* "tree"=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *sō'cchaṁ* from Ved. *śruṣ*; the (AMg) infinitive in *-ae*, *-ttae*=Ved. *-tavai*; the absolutive (A.) in *-ppi*, *-pi*, *-vi*=Ved. *-tvi*, in *-ppiṇu*=Ved. *tvinam*, etc. what have been described in relevant places in this grammar. These alone make the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the source of the different Prākṛits impossible¹¹.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. I, 201, 223; SØRENSEN, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indien (København 1894), p. 220 ff. FISCHEL De gr. Pr. p. 30 ff. should be corrected accordingly.—2. FRANK, BB, 17, 71. I doubt if ever there was a

living language for the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.*, p. XLII, note 7.—3. In GGA. 1884, p. 512, I had suggested that classical Sanskrit was based on the dialect of Brahmāvarta. Cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* p. XXVI, note 11, for further literature on this topic.—4. De Prākṛita dialecto § 8.—5. *Inst.* p. 25 ff.; *IAIt.* 2², 1163, note 5.—6. JBOAS., 16, 315.—7. KZ. 24, 614, wherein he says that Pāli and Prākṛit are essentially a later form of Sanskrit.—8. v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40, 673.—9. FISCHER and GELDNER, *Ved. Stud.* 1, p. XXXI, note 2.—10. *Ved.* 2, 235 f.—11. WEBER goes too far when he (*IS.* 2, 111) does not see in Prākṛit anything, but a degenerated old Vedic dialect. Cf. § 9.

§ 7. The affinity of the Prākṛit languages with the middle and new Indo-Aryan popular dialects is not weaker than that with the Vedic language. The inscriptions of Aśoka provide us with specimens of at least four middle Indian dialects. The inscriptions, dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., that are found in caves, stūpas, plates, etc., prove that there was a popular language, that was equally intelligible in a considerably greater part of India. SENART has designated the language of these inscriptions the “monumental Prākṛit¹”. This is misleading, since it suggests that Pkt. developed purely as an artificial language. We have little ground to accept this view or to agree with KERN², that Pāli is an artificial language, though both Pāli and Prākṛit, like Ārṣa (§ 16); underwent various forms of changes as literary languages. I propose to name the Prākṛit dialect of most of these inscriptions, as they are found in caves, as *Leṇa dialect*, after *leṇa*=Skt. *layana* “hole”, which occurs so often in these inscriptions. A parallel is met with in the name of *Lāṭa dialect*, from *lāṭ*=Pkt. *laṭṭhi*=Skt. *yaṣṭi* “pillar”. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister dialects thereof, and their characteristics, in a great measure, correspond to those of different Prākṛits. Some examples from the concluding portion of Aśoka’s first edict may here be enough. We find in the first edict the participle of the causative of *likh*, in Gīrnār as *lekhāpitā*, in Shāhbāzgarhī as *likhapitu*, in Jaugḍa as *likhāpitā*, and in Mansehra as [*likhapita*], a form that occurs in the pillar edicts as well, (SENART 2, 597). The *Leṇa*-dialect has similar formations from roots ending in a consonant: *ba[m]dhāpayati, kiḍāpayati, piḍāpayati, va[m]dāpayati*, (Hāthigumphā Inscription p. 155, 158, 160, 163)³, likewise Pāli: *likhāpeti* that is very often found also in Prākṛit (§ 552); Aśoka’s *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāviya* (Erz. 63, 31), Aśoka’s *likhāpajisam* (Gīrnār. 14, 3), Mg. *lihāvaiṣṣam* (Mṛch. 136, 21).—Gīrnār *prajūhityaṃ*, from *hu* (to offer a sacrifice) with *pra*⁴, shows an extension of the present stem, as is usual in Pāli and Prākṛit.—In Gīrnār, *samājamhi* and *mahānasamhi*, the two forms of the nominal loc. sing. have the ending of the pronominal declension; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khālsī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, that is *mahānasamsi*, a form that occurs very often in the pillar and stray edicts. In the *Leṇa*-dialect are found *ja[m]budipamhi* (Karle Inscription, No. 1)⁵ *thuvamhi*=*stūpe*⁶, *anugāmimhi* (Nāsik No. 6^a)⁷, *tiraṇhumhi* (Nāsik No. 11^b. 19)⁸, also *tiraṇhumī*, that is to say *tiraṇhummi*⁹. To these correspond in Prākṛit M. JM. JŚ. AMg. the locative forms in *-mmi*, AMg. *-mṣi*. One notices further the use of *asti* in the plural, as in Prākṛit *atthi* (§ 498), and that of *se*, that is exactly so found in AMg. I shall, from the *Leṇa*-dialect, refer only to the declension of stems in *i*- and *u*-, whereof the gen. sing. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, *i. e.* *-ssa*; it is so in Prākṛit, where the gen. sing. even of the *n*-stem ends in *-sa*. On all these points, as well as on very many others, whereof no correspondence is to be found in Sanskrit, Prākṛit agrees with the middle Indian popular-dialects.

1. Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 488. He is followed by SØRENSEN, l. c. p. 187.—

2. Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14 f.—3. Actes

du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885), 3, 2.—4. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, 132 f. — 5. Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India. By JAS. BURGESS and BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI (Bombay 1881) p. 28.—6. SENART, l. c. 2. 472. — 7. Arch. Survey of Western India 4, 101. — 8. Arch. S. of W. I., 4, 106. 114.—9. Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

§ 8. On account of the analytical character of the new Indian dialects naturally it is more possible to demonstrate the affinity of Pkt. in the matter of flexion, with them. But this relationship is more striking in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of the Middle Indian. Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 5, 21 f. remarks: of each correct word there are many of incorrect formations (*apabhraṁśāḥ*); thus for example, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), the *apabhraṁśāḥ* are *gāvi*, *goṇī*, *gotā*, *gopotālikā*¹. Of these, in Prākṛit, the most usual form is *gāvi*, that in JM. is *goṇī*, which has as its masculine, the form *goṇo* (§ 393). Under Pāṇini 1, 3, 1 (p. 259) Kātyāyana mentions *ānapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*; Patañjali, under Pāṇini 3, 1, 91 (2, 74) records a form *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressly considers all such verbal forms as Apabhraṁśa². The inscriptions of Aśoka (SENART 2, 559) and the Leṇadialect (Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 104. 110) have *ānapayati*; to it corresponds S. Mg. *āṇavedi* (§ 551), whereas Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. KIELHORN has already noted that Pāli has similarly sounding equivalent forms for *vaṭṭati*, *vaḍḍhati* and *supati*. The Prākṛit equivalents to these are: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai*, JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*, Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 289. 291), M. *suvaī*, *suai* JM. *suyai* (§ 497). The Indian grammarians and rhetoricians divide the Prākṛit words into three classes: 1) *saṁskṛtasama*, "Sanskrit-like" (C. 1, 1; Sr. in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 40), commonly designated as *tatsama*, "that-like (that is to say like Sanskrit)", (Triv. in FISCHEL, l. c. p. 29; Mk. 101 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32; Dhānīka on Daśarūpa 2, 60), and also referred to as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra 2, 2; and *saṁānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); 2), *saṁskṛtabhava*, "originated from Sanskrit" (Sr.), commonly designated as *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin.; Dhānīka), also as *saṁskṛtayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *tajja* (Vāgbhaṭa), and *vibhṛaṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); and 3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśi* (Deśin. p. 1, 2; Daṇḍin.; Dhānīka), also *deśiprasiddha* (C.) and *deśimata* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 37)³. The words that have the same form both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit are *tatsama* words. Thus for example, *kara*, *komala*, *jala soma*, etc. The *tadbhava* words are classed as *sādhya* *mānasasamskṛtabhavāḥ*, and *siddhasamskṛtabhavāḥ*. To the former class belong the Prākṛit words, that presuppose Sanskrit words, from which they are derived in their unfinished form without an affix or suffix. This especially refers to the flexion, by which a word is, first of all, made fit, according to the rules of grammar, for use (*sādhya* *māna*). BEAMES has appropriately called them "early *tadbhavas*"⁴. They are the independent basic elements of Prākṛit. The latter class includes the Prākṛit words, that are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit words, like AMg. *vandittā* = Skt. *vanditvā*. Although a large number of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the new Indian languages, it is not correct to presume that all such kinds of words are of Sanskritic origin only. The fact that all the new Indian languages do not go back to Sanskrit today needs no more proof.

1. WEBER, IS. 13, 365. — 2. KIELHORN, ZDMG. 39, 327. SØRENSEN l. c. p. 180 f. — 3. Cf. also BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 11 ff; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 30 f.; BB. 3, 235; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxxviii ff. Designated as the fourth class by Bhuvanapāla in WEBER, IS. 16, 59 are the words that depend upon the *sāmānyabhāṣā*. — 4. Comp. Gr. 1, 17. 5. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 1.

§ 9. The Indians include under the *deśya* or *deśi* class very heterogenous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or in meaning. It depends upon their knowledge of Sanskrit and ability in etymologising that some of them call a word to be *deśya*, while others include it either among the tatsamas or among the tadbhavas. Besides, we have many words that are classed as *deśi*, even though they go back to genuine Sanskrit roots, simply because they do not have closely corresponding Sanskrit words; thus for example *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6,104) or *pāsam* (Deśin. 6,75), is connected to AMg *pāsai*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivvi* (needle; Deśin. 8, 29; Triv. in BB. 3,260), Skt. *śivati*. Further, there are the compound words whose component parts are basically true Sanskrit, nevertheless the special meaning ascribed to them in Prākṛit is not to be found in that language: thus *acchivādanam* (closing of the eyes; Deśin. I, 39, with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13, 5)=*akṣi*+*patana*; or *sattāvīsamjoḍṇo* (the moon; Deśin. 8,22; C. I, 1 p. 39)=Sīmhaddevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭa-lamkāra 2, 2)=*sattāvīmśati*+*dyotana*¹. Then there are words for which there is no Sanskrit root. Thus *joḍam* (constellation; Deśin. 3, 49), *joḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13, 17 f.); or *tuppo* (anointed Pāyāl. 233; Deśin. 5,22; Hāla 22 v.l. 289. 520), that is connected to Marāṭhī *tūpa* (clarified butter; ghee)². Lastly there are the words that exhibit some rare phonetic law; thus *gaharo* (vulture; Pāyāl. 126; Deśin. 2, 84; Triv. in BB. 6. 93), what is rightly equated as=*grdhra* by Trivikrama; or *viḥuṇḍuo* (Rāhu; Deśin. 7, 65; Triv. in B B. 3, 252)=*vidhūmtudah*³. Among the *deśya* words are included the largely numerous verb-forms, that are designated as *dhātuvādeśa* "root substitutes" by grammarians, and they cover much space in Indian grammars (Vr. 8,1 ff.; Hc. 4,1 ff.; Kī. 4, 46 ff.; Mk. fol. 53 ff.). Here Sanskrit fails miserably in rendering any help, though agreement among the new Indian languages is most rigorous⁴. As the name indicates, by *deśya* people have come to understand also "provincialisms". In Hemacandra's Rāyaṇāvali (§ 36), the largest collection of these provincialisms, the *dhātuvādeśa* have not been mentioned (Deśin. I, 3), and Hc. (I, 4) in clear terms, excludes all such provincialisms, as are not current in Prākṛit. Many such *deśi* words, either from Apabhraṃśa or from Prākṛit, have been taken into Sanskrit dictionaries and Dhātupāṭhas also⁵. It is possible that stray non-Āryan words may have been got included in the *deśi* words, but the bulk of such elements is Proto-Āryan, though we search for them in Sanskrit in vain. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, gives an etymology of the word Prākṛit, according to which the basis (*prakṛti*) of Prākṛit and Sanskrit is the natural current language of the people, that cannot be fashioned according to the rules of grammar, or this Prākṛit itself is this current language (§ 16). As already shown, such an assumption is unjustified. Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prākṛit dialects, especially of Māhārāṣṭrī of artificial poetry, such as Gaṇḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, that are composed according the model of Sanskrit. In them, therefore, the number of *deśi* words is diminishing, while⁷ they are very significant in JM. I agree entirely with SENART⁸, that all the Prākṛits go back to popular dialects as their source and their all the essential elements originally developed from the living speeches, but such of these dialects, as were raised to the status of literary languages, all like Sanskrit, underwent significant alterations.

1. Not=*yojana* The 24 *nakṣatras* are meant.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,335.—3. Cf. DESIN. I. 3; BÜHLER, *Pāyālacchī* p. 11 ff.; SØRENSEN l. c. 225 ff.—4. Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in WEBER's, observations on Hāla.—5. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* (Berlin 1883), p.53 ff. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL. Altind. Gr. p. LI ff.—6. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* § 140, 2; PISCHEL, BB. 3, 236. 264 ; 6, 84 ; BÜHLER, WZKM. 8,17 ff. ; 122 ff. ; FRANKE, *ibid.* 321 ff.—7. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 326, wherein it has been remarked that in the notes on Rāvanavaho, there is much valuable material. SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. lvi.—8. L'épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde. Extracts from the reviews of the *Séance de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris 1886), p. 17 ff.; Les inscriptions de Piyadasi 2. 530 ff. SENART has not, however, as already mentioned under section 7 above, taken Prākṛit in its strictly correct sense.

§ 10. The inscriptions that are preserved for us in Prākṛit are the documents of gift of the Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, those of the queens of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman¹, the Ghaṭayāla inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. The first one was published by BÜHLER, EI. 1,2ff; a few improvements thereupon were made by LEUMANN, *ibid* 2,483ff. and by PISCHEL, GN. 1895,210 ff. I indicate them by PG.=Pallava Grant. BÜHLER has pressed that in these inscriptions there were certain characteristics that appeared only in literary Prākṛit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāraṇējḡā*, *vaṭṭeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjuto*; the more frequent change of dental *n* into a cerebral *ṇ*: the occurrence of sonants in place of surds, thus *kassava*, *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kada*; the writing of doubled consonants, such as in *aggiṭṭhoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *savatttha*, *ruṭṭhika* etc². All these peculiarities are found in a scattered manner also in one or the other inscription in the Leṇadialect³. But there is no other inscription in which these characteristics, all taken together, and in such large quantities, occur in so far as the language should be regarded as Prākṛit. But it no way is absolutely pure Prākṛit. *ya* stands beside *ja*: *na* is often retained; surds mostly remain unmodified; even the doubled consonants are written in a simple manner: *śivakhaṇḍavamo*, *gumike*, *vadhanike* etc⁴. The following are gross irregularities against Prākṛit: *kāmcipurā*; (5, 1) for *kamcipurā*; *ātteya*^o (6, 13) for *atteya*^o *vatsa*^o (6, 22) for *vachha*^o; *cāttāri*(6,39) for *cattāri*; unusual are *vitānāma*(5,7) for *vitārāmo*; *dūdha* (6, 31) for *duddha*, *dattam* (6, 12) for *dinṇam*; *dattā* (7, 48), i. e. *dattā* for *diṇṇā*. It can clearly be seen that the language is an artificial⁵ one. For a history of Prākṛit, the inscription is not without interest and worth, and it has been, therefore, used regularly, in this grammar, whereas the Leṇa-dialect and the so called-Gāthā dialect⁶ are beyond its sphere. The inscription of Kakkuka, indicated by KI., was published by Munsiff DEBI PRASĀD, JRAS. 1195, p. 513 ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

1. Published by FLEET, IA. 9, 100 ff. Almost unusable. Cf. BÜHLER. EI.1,2, note. —2. BÜHLER, l. c. 2. ff.—3. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 489 ff 518 ff—4 BÜHLER l. c. p. 2 ff.—5. To it applies even more accurately what SENART l. c. 2,494, says on the Leṇa-dialect: this language is, then, neither wholly popular, nor entirely regulated.—6. That this name is not appropriate has been remarked correctly by SENART, l. c. 2,469 ff. His suggestion to call the language "mixed Sanskrit" would, however, meet with little approval. Further references have been given in WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. xxxix f.

§ 11. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigrahbharājanāṭaka are found also in two basalt-plates, discovered in Ajmīr. They have been published by, KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201 ff. and again GN. 1893,552 ff. In them, occur three Prākṛit dialects. Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, and Māgadhī. KONOW has shown, exactly, as I had remarked in my first study

of Prākṛit², that the Prākṛit forms closely agree with the rules of Hemacandra. But Hemacandra was hardly the authority, whose views were honoured by Somadeva. Hc. 4, 271 prescribes the absolutive in-*dūna* in Śaurasenī; Somadeva has the Māhārāṣṭrī form in-*ūna*; Hc. 4, 280 requires *yjeva*, whereas Somadeva has *jjeva*; in consonant-groups in Māgadhī, Somadeva has *ś*, whereas Hc. 4, 289, prescribes *s*; the former lays down *śta* for *rth*, against *st* of Hc. 4, 291 and *śka* for *hka* against *ska* of Hc. 4, 296. 297³. Hence it follows that the absolutive in-*ūna* may be an error committed by Somadeva himself; even-*dūna* may be wrong (§584); *śta* for *rta* as well may be an error committed in course of transmission inasmuch as in 566,9 we find *yahastam*=*yathārtham*. But as regards *śka* for *hka*, *ska* could hardly, with KONOW⁴, be considered to be a slip on the part of a mason, when there are numerous examples. However, we cannot assess a higher value for this inscription than for any unique manuscript. The inscription is full of gross errors of the dialects concerned, just like any manuscript of a drama. To the list of errors picked up by KONOW l.c. p. 479, I add the following: Ś. *tujjha* (554, 4; s. §421); *jjeva* (554, 4; 555,18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *ṇimmāya* (554,13; s. § 591); the passive *viloiijanti*, *pekkhijanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jaṃpijjadi* (568,6), the forms that are admitted by Hc. for *viloianti*, *pekkhiantī*, *kariadu*, *jaṃpiadi* (§535); *kitti* (555,4) for *kim ti*; *rayaṇāim* (555,15), *raaṇa* (560,19) for *rada-ṇāim* and *radaṇa*; *gihida* (560,20) for *gahida*; *ēārisaṃ* (563,3) for *edārisaṃ*. The dialectical inaccuracies in Māgadhī are:—*peṣkiyyamdi* (565,13) *peṣkianti*, *peṣkiyyasi* (565,15) for *peṣkiast*, *yāṇiyyadi* (566,1) for *yāniadi*, *pacakkhikadam* (566,1) for *paccakki*⁵; *yahastam* (566,9) for *yadhastam*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9.11) for *niyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567,1) for *yeva*. These are the types of errors that always occur in manuscripts, just as *tama-pasara* (555,11), *pacakkhāim* (555,14), *śśālūvam* (565,9). Moreover, most of these, if not all, would certainly disappear, if we had a few more manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. The presence of the absolutive in-*ūna*, and the passive in Ś.-*ijja*, and Mg.-*iyya*, may be mistakes committed by the author himself, as even Rājasekhara, (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects with one another. The writing of *n* in place of *ṇ*, and interpolation of *y*⁶ suggest Jaina influence. A second fragment found in Ajmīr, of Harakelinātaka, is ascribed to Vighararājadeva himself, and is dated November 22, 1153⁶. The grammar of Hemacandra, at the earliest, would have been completed towards the end of the Vikrama year 1197⁷, i.e. 1140 A.D. Consequently Somadeva and Hemacandra were contemporaries. In spite of all the errors, these fragments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhī, that, here only has been handed down to us in a form, that is in agreement with the rules laid down by the grammarians, (§ 23).

1. GGA. 1894, 478ff.—2. IA. 20, 204.—3. KONOW, l. c. p. 421.—4. l. c. p. 482.—5. KONOW, l. c. p. 480.—6. KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201.—7. BÜHLER, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

§ 12. When one refers to the Prākṛit language in general terms it is the Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 2), that derives its name from Māhārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhās, that is thereby meant. It is considered to be the best Prākṛit. As shown by GARREZ (§ 5) Māhārāṣṭrī, no doubt, has unmistakable points of contact with the Marāṭhī language.¹ No other dialect has been phonetically modified, to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants had, in M., been so extensive, as has been seen nowhere else, therefore, a large number of words that were phonetically quite different have assumed the same form. Thus:—M. *kaa*=*kaca* and *krta*;

kai=kati, kapi, kavi, kṛti ; *kāa=kāka, kāca, kāya* ; *gaā=gatā, gadā, gajāḥ* ; *maa=maṭa, mada, maya, mṛga, mṛta* ; *vaa=vacas, vayas, vrata, °pada* ; *sua=śuka, suta, śruta*, etc.² Therefore, it was not without reason that BEAMES designated M. the 'emasculated stuff'.³ It was admitted long ago that its sound system was essentially determined by the fact that M. above all was used for musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the *Gāhās=Gāthās*, that are, for us, collected in the *Satasāi* of Hāla, and the *Vajjālagga* of Jayavallabha⁴, and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics, and are inserted in dramas as well. They were expressly designated as *Gāhā*, 'song', 'musical stanza' thus for example H. 3, 500. 600. 698. 708, 709. 815 ; *Vajjālagga* 3.4. 9.10 ; p. 326, 6. The stanza that is written in the purest M. in *Mudrār.* 83, 2³, and is addressed by Virādhagupta, who appears as a snake-charmer and Prākṛit poet, to the minister Rākṣasa, is called by him *Gāthā*, and Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 432 says that the women that are not of lowly origin speak Śaurasenī in dramas, and that in their songs (*āsameva tu gāthāsu*) they should speak Māhārāṣṭrī. Priyaṇvadā calls the stanzas, 55, 15. 16 of Śāk. *gīdaṁ=gītakam* in 54, 8 ; Śakuntalā calls it *gīdā=gītikā* (55, 8) : the verses recited by the spy in *Mudrārākṣasa* (34, 6ff.) are called, after 35, 1, *gīdāṁ*, "songs". The actress sings (*gāyati*) her song in M. : thus for example Śāk. 2, 13 ; Mallikām. 19, 1 ; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (*viṇāṁ vādayantī gāyati*) ; *Unmattar.* 2, 17 ; cf. *Mukund.* 4, 20 ff ; about the stanzas that are recited from behind the stage, it is said *nepathye gīyate* ; e. g. Śāk. 95, 17 ; *Viddhaś.* 6, 1 ; Kāleyak. 3, 6 ; Kārṇas. 3. 4. This application of M. in lyrics destined for musical purposes is undoubtedly the oldest, and in these the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is, in the first place, to be attributed to this cause.⁵

1. I do not think that it is correct to say, like E. KUHN (KZ. 33, 478), that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit is to be found in Pāli.—2. Some examples have been given by SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. LVI. LVIII.—3. *Comp. Gram.* 1, 223. 4. BHANDARKAR, *Report* 1883, 84 (Bombay 1887), p. 17, 324 ff. The correct name is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5 ; (p. 326, 9) from which originated *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5). The word is derived from *vajji=vrajyā* (B. R. s. v.) ; WEBER, *Hāla*², p. xxxviii ; FISCHER, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 30 f.), and *lagga* (indication, mark ; *Defin.* 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. Its translation by *Padyālaya* is wrong.—5. WEBER, *I. Str.* 3, 159 f. ; 279 ; *Hāla*² p. xxx

§ 13. For a knowledge of M., the most essential work is the *Sattasāi* of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were already published by WEBER, under the title "Über das Saptasātakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1870.¹ WEBER brought out the addenda and corrigenda to his edition of the work in ZDMG. 26, 735 ff ; 28, 345 ff., which were followed by a complete edition with a German translation and word-index. *Das Saptasātakam des Hāla*, Leipzig, 1881. WEBER dealt upon Bhuvanapāla's commentary on Chekoktivilā in IS. 16, 1 ff. DURGA PRASAD and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB, have, besides, furnished us with an edition of the work that is indispensable on account of the complete printed commentary and several good readings, under the title *The Gāthāsaptasāti of Sātavāhana with the commentary of Gaṅgādharaḥaṭṭa*, Bombay, 1889 (*Kāvya-mālā* 21). WEBER fixes as the earliest limit to the date of the collection, at the 3rd. century A. D., and in any case, according to him, it was compiled earlier than the 7th century, and he has, in the introduction to his complete edition, dealt elaborately with the six different recensions of the work, of which the recension of Bhuvanapāla is the seventh (p. xxxvii ff.). We observe from the *Sattasāi* that there was in M. a literature that was very extensive. Originally, the name of the author of each of the stanza was appended to it (H. 709). Of these names unfortunately, we know only a few, many, whereof are in corrupt

form, and the tradition varies a great deal in the matter of assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata have given 112 names; Bhuvanapāla gives 384, considering Sātavāhana, (Sātavāhana, Śāli-vāhana, Sālāhana) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Hariṇṛddha (Hariuḍḍha) and Poṭṭisa were mentioned also by Rājasekhara, Karp. 19. 2, where, moreover, occur the names of Nandiuḍḍha = Nandivṛddha and Hāla as well," and in the v. l. Pālittaa, Campaarāa and Malaa-sehara are also named.² By Bhuvanapāla, of them, Pālittaa is credited with the authorship of ten verses of this anthology. In case Pālitta is to be equated to Pādalipta, as was done by WEBER³; this Pālitta might be identical with Pādaliptacārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśin. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśi (*deśiśāstra*). The actual name of the last mentioned poet, is now proved by the v. l., with certainty, to be Mallasekhara in KONOW's edition and Malayasekhara, i.e. °sekkhara in Bhuvanapāla. According to Bhuvanapāla, Abhimāna, whose full name was Abhimānacihna, who was perhaps the author of H. 518, was, like Pādalipta, also the author of a *deśiśāstra*, that had a *ṛtti* to each *sūtra*, and in which Abhimāna gave his own examples, (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12.17). This holds good equally for Devarāja, who according to Bhuvanapāla, was the author of H. 220. 369, and according to Deśin. 6. 58. 72 ; 8, 17, was a writer on Deśi, and also for Sātavāhana, who is mentioned among the sources of Hc. on Deśi in Deśin. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla describes as the author of H. 756, is different from Aparājita, who, according to Karp. 6, 1, wrote Mrgāṅkalekhākathā, and was a contemporary of Rājasekhara. It remains still undecided whether this younger Aparājita did never use Sanskrit : because it is likely that Rājasekhara himself might have translated into Prākṛit the passage under reference, and in fact, we find in the Subhāṣitāvalī, a Sanskrit strophe, i.e. no. 1024, cited from him. Sarvasena, to whom, according to the authority of Bhuvanapāla, belong the verses, H. 217 and 234, composed, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 148, 9, Harivijaya, wherefrom is quoted a stanza, namely 127, 7, that is cited also by Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi, fol. 7^b (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, Nr. 265).⁴ In both the lists, one of the famous poets is Pravarasena. Further, in Bhuvanapāla occurs also the name of Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted passages, however, is found either in Rāvaṇavaho or in Gaṇḍavaho. Because this Vākpatirāja had written a second artificial poem, i.e. Mahamahavīa according to G. 69, and Madhumathanavijaya, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 152, 2 ; Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, fol. 31. (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, p. 87, No. 66. Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi fol. 7^b) ; it is likely that both of the stanzas might have been derived from the latter source. But the two lists often go against each other, and are not reliable. However, the fact remains that the Sattasaī presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit, in the formation of which women too took active part. Only the futurity will tell whether or not stray stanzas were taken only occasionally into Sanskrit literature, as in the dramas.⁵

1. An excellent review thereof has been published by GARREZ in JA. VI, 20, 197ff. —2. FISCHER, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v. l. of Karp. 19, 2.—3. IS. 16, 24 note 1.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 316.—5. The two editions by WEBER are respectively indicated as H¹ and H²; H¹, however, indicates the second edition.

§14. That Prākṛit has had a rich literature is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjālagga of Jayaballabha (§ 12), a Jaina belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect. According to BHANDARKAR, l.c. p. 17, it is divided

into 48 sections and contains 704 stanzas, whereof the authors are unfortunately not named. Stanza 2=H. 2 ; none of the stanzas, nos. 6 to 10, found at p. 325 occurs in H. ; an immediate publication of Vajjālagga is very much desirable. A *chāyā* thereof was written by Ratnadeva in the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Moreover, the actual name of the collection is Jaavallaham, according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. are further quoted by the writers on rhetorics. Of the 67 stanzas, that WEBER collected in the supplement to H.¹, p. 202 ff., from Dhanika's Commentary on Daśarūpa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Kāvyaaprakāśa, 32 are found in the different recensions of Sattasāi, so that H.² p. 509 ff. has yet the remaining 35. Of them the one bearing no. 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka, 22, 2 ; in Alaṅkāracandrikā fol. 4^b and also elsewhere: the one bearing no. 969 *aṇṇaam laḍahattanaam* (so it is to be read) is cited by Ruyyaka, Alaṅkārasarvasva 67, 2; Alaṅkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; the stanza no. 970 is quoted by Jayaratha, Alaṅkāravimarśinī fol. 24^b (Ms. BÜHLER, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; the stanza no. 971 is cited by Śobhākara, Alaṅkāratnākara fol. 20 (Ms., BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and so also are the other stanzas quoted by this or that writer on poetics. The stanzas, nos. 979 *jo* (so it is to be read) *parharium*, 988 *taṁ tāṇa*, the oft-quoted 989, *tāta jāanti*, and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* were taken from Ānandavardhana's Viśamabāṇalīlā, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka, 62, 3; 111, 4; 152, 3; 241, 12.20, and which according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of the poets. (*kavivṛtṭataye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza no. 979, is given by Someśvara, Kāvyaadarśa, Fol. 52 (Ms., KIELHORN, Report 1880/91, p. 87, No. 60) and Jayanta, Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā, fol. 65 (Ms. BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 244), both of them designate this poem as a Pañcabāṇalīlā ; 988 and 989 are cited by Ānandavardhana himself, Dhvanyāloka p. 111. 62¹ ; stanza no. 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; and it is noted by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62, and by Jayanta l.c. fol. 79, that this is from Viśamabāṇalīlā. Further Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13, directly quotes from it also the stanza *ṇa a tāṇa ghaḍai*. The stanza no. 243, 20² proves that he wrote also in Apabhraṁśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākṛit stanza of his teacher, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet from a very long time³. The Sarasvatikanṭhābharṇa, a treatise on Rhetorics, contains the largest number of Prākṛit stanzas; they number nearly 350, according to ZACHARIAE⁴, of which nearly 150, and according to JACOB⁵ nearly 113, are taken from Sattasāi, nearly 30⁶ are from Rāvaṇavaho; besides there are stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājasekhara, etc. Moreover, there are in it many stanzas from sources that are still unknown. The statement of BOROOAH⁷, that there, in it, existed particularly a poem Satyabhāmāsarṇvāda or a similar poem on the same subject is apparently based on the stanzas *kuiā ca saccahāmā*, 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiam*, 327, 25, which are addressed by Satyabhāmā to Rukmiṇi according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9 ; 369, 21 ; 371, 8. But according to all that we know up till now these stanzas might have been taken from Hari-vijaya of Sarvasena or from Madhumathanavijaya of Vākpatirāja (§ 13). It has already been noted above (§ 12) that even the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

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§ 15. Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvaṇavaho, and the Gaūḍavaho. The author of Rāvaṇavaho, designated also as Dasamuhavaho, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean¹ king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvaṇavaho has been handed down to us in three recensions : the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇi². The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. HOFER was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.³ But it was PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT : Rāvaṇavaho or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)⁴. A new edition, based upon that of SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB : The Setubandha of Pravarasena, Bombay 1895 (=Kāvya-mālā 47). The author of Gaūḍavaho is Bappaīrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yaśovarman, the king of Kanyākubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A. D.⁵. He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanāmītra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the mahākāvyas, the Gaūḍavaho is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryā-metre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.⁶ The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaūḍavadhasāraṭikā.⁷ Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaūḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaūḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prākṛit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)⁸ by SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākṛit, i. e. Mahumahavīa. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15 ; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatik. 322, 15 ; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in PANDIT's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially *na* occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of *yaśruti*, because the Mss. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasaī in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaūḍavaho are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as

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are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti and occasionally in Mṛcchakaṭikā⁹ as well. The Gāṇḍavaho, the Sattasāi of Hāla, and the Rāvaṇavaho are the most important sources of our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭri. Because they are furnished with excellent word indexes they will be referred, mostly in the section on phonology, by G. H. R. In H¹ (§ 13, note 5) p. 29 ff., WEBER has given an outline of the grammar of M., as far as it was possible with the parts of Sattasāi published till that time.

1. MAX MÜLLER, *Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1884) p. 272 ff. The assumption that Kālidāsa was the author of the Rāvaṇavaho is based entirely on recent sources.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Rāvaṇavaho*, Introduction p. v. ff.—3. Annual Report of DMG. of the year 1845, (Leipzig 1846) p. 176 : *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 2, 488 ff.—4. Cf. also the recension by FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 321 ff.—5. PANDIT, *Gāṇḍavaho*, Introduction p. LXIV ff. The research of JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 68 f., with regard to the solar eclipse mentioned in the stanza no. 829 that took place in 733 A.D., as indicative of the downfall of Yaśovarman is wrong. The context does not permit us to consider it a reference to Yaśovarman's defeat. The type of description is very common with the writers of mahākāvya and is of not of any historical value.—6. PANDIT, *Gāṇḍavaho* p. VIII f ; 345 ff.—7. Other, but wrong, explanations are given in PANDIT, *Gāṇḍavaho* p. VII f ; JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 63.—8. Review by JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 61 ff.—9. Vākṭipatirāja is very much overrated by PANDIT, *Gāṇḍavaho*, p. LI ff, and JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

§ 16. The two dialects used by the Jainas are usually considered to be closely connected to Māhārāṣṭri. They have, from one another, been differentiated by JACOBI¹ by calling them *Jaina Māhārāṣṭri* and *Jaina Prākṛit*. By *Jaina Māhārāṣṭri* (JM.) he means the language of the commentators and the poets² and by *Jaina Prākṛit* the language of the older books of the *Jaina canons*³ and that of the older *Sūtras*.⁴ The name *Jaina Prākṛit* that was first used by E. MÜLLER⁵ is not a happy one, and the assertion that this *Jaina Prākṛit* is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭri is wrong.⁶ The Indian grammarians usually call the language of the old *Jainasūtras* *Ārṣam*, i. e. "the speech of the ṛṣis". Hc. I, 3, announces that for *Ārṣa*, all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions, and in 2, 174 he states that the limitations recorded above do not hold good for *Ārṣa*, and there all the types of forms are permissible. *Trivikrama*⁷ excludes *Ārṣa*, like Deśya (§ 9), from his grammar altogether, because it is of independent origin (*rūḍhatvāt*), i. e. because it does not have Sanskrit as its source and as it abides mostly by its own rules (*svātantratvācca bhūyaśā*). In a quotation in Premacandra Tarkavāgiṣa on Daṇḍin, *Kāvyaḍarśa* I, 33, two types of *Prākṛit* are distinguished : the one is that which originated from *Ārṣa*, and the other is that which is almost exactly the same as *Ārṣa*: *ārṣoṭham ārṣatulyaṁca dvividhaṁ prākṛtaṁ viduḥ*. Nāmisadhu on Rudraṭa, *Kāvyaḷamkāra* 2, 12, thus derives the word *Prākṛit* : that its basis (*prākṛtiḥ*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings and it is not regulated according to grammar, etc. : it is called *Prākṛit* because it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that *prākṛta* stands for *prākṛtiā*, "created before, in earlier period (*pūrvam*)", for it is called *prākṛta*. The *Prākṛit* of the *Ārṣa canon*, i. e. the *Ardhamāgadhā*, is the language of gods: *ārisavayaṇe siddhaṁ devānāṁ addhamāgadhā vāṇi*. Accordingly *Prākṛit* is the language that is easily understood by children, women, etc. and is the basis of all the languages. Like rain-water it had one and the same form in former times but it has become diversified on account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications, and has come to be known as Sanskrit and other languages mentioned by Rudraṭa 2, 12, (§ 4). Therefore, *Prākṛit* has been made the source of Sanskrit as well. It is to be explained by the fact that like the Buddhists, the *Māgadhī*⁸, the Jainas consider *Ardhamāgadhī*, the *Ārṣa* of the grammarians,

the original language from which all the other languages have sprung up, because Mahāvira is supposed to have preached in that language. Thus describes the Samavāyaṅgasutta 98⁹ *bhagavaṃ ca naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe dhammaṃ āikkhaṃ* 1 *sā vi ya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā bhāsijjamaṇi tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ duppayacauppayamiyapasupakkhisarivānaṃ appappaṇo hiya-sivasuhadāya bhāsattāe pariṇamāi*. "The Lord propagated, the law in the Ardhamāgadhi language : this peace, happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhi undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and the tamed animals, the birds and the worms". Vāgbhata, *Alaṅkāratilaka* 1, 1 : *sarvārdhamāgadhiṃ sarvabhāṣāsu pariṇāminim* 1 *sārvīyām*¹⁰ *sarvato vācam sarvajñim praṇidadhmahe* "we salute *Vāc* that is fully Ardhamāgadhi and who modifies herself into all the different languages, and is perfect and omniscient". In the Paṇṇavaṇāsutta 59f. the Aryans are divided into nine classes ; of them the sixth one is the *bhāsāriyā*, "those that are Aryans by language". About them it is said, p. 62¹¹ : *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā | bhāsāriyā je naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jāttha vi ya naṃ bambhī livi pavattai*, "what is meant by 'Aryans by speech' ? Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhi language, and who use the Brāhmī alphabet". That Mahāvira preached in Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned, besides in the passage quoted above from the Samavāyaṅgasutta, also in the Ovavāiyasutta § 56; it runs thus : *tae naṃ samane bhagavaṃ mahāvīre addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsai | arihā dhammaṃ parikahe | tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ agūlāe dhammaṃ āikkhaṃ | sā vi ya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ appaṇo sabhāsāe pariṇāmenaṃ pariṇamāi*. The same idea is emphasized also by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadasāo p. 46 and Malayagiri on the Sūriyapannatti, in WEBER, *Bhagavati*, 2, 245 ; cf. also Hc., *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 59 with commentary. In a passage quoted by Hc. 4, 287, it is said that the older Suttas are composed in Addhamāgahabhāsā¹² : *porāṇaṃ addhamāgahabhāsāniyayam haviṃ suttam*. Thereon, remarks Hc.—although this is the tradition also of the older people, Ardhamāgadhi follows its own rules, and not the rules he would frame later for Māgadhi.¹³ The second of the illustrative examples, cited by him, *se tārise dukkasahe jindie*=*Dasaviyāliyasutta* 633, 19, would read in Māgadhi as *se tālīse dukkaśahe yidindie*.

1. Kalpasūtra p. 17 ; *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri* (Leipzig. 1886), p. xi f.—2. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—3. *Erzählungen* p. xii.—4. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—5. *Beiträge zur grammatik des Jaina-Prākṛit* (Berlin 1876).—6. See under sec. 18.—7. First in FISCHER, *De Gr. Pr.* p. 29.—8. D' ALWIS, *An Introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language* (Colombo 1863) p. cvii ; MUIR, *ost.* 2³, 54 ; FRYER, *Proc. ASB.* 1879, 155f.—9. The text has been published by WEBER also ; *Index*, 2, 2, 406 ; cf. further below the passage quoted from the Ovavāiyasutta.—10. So do the Mss. ; the printed edition (Bombay 1894=Kāvyamālā 43) reads *sarvāpām*.—11. The text was published by WEBER also, *IS.* 16, 399, and *Index* 2, 2, 562.—12. LEUMANN, *Das Aupapātika Sūtra* (Leipzig 1883), p. 96 s. v. *Addhamāgahā bhāsā* suggests *niyayam*=*nijaka*, "to hold". But Hc. himself explains it by *niyata*, and that is demanded by the sense.—13. Wrongly explained by HOERNLE. The Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇam or Chanda's Grammar of the Ancient (Ārṣha) Prākṛit (Calcutta 1880). p. xix, note.

§ 17. It follows, therefore, that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhi are identical, and that according to tradition, the language of the older Jaina-Suttas was Ardhamāgadhi¹, and in fact, as demonstrated by the passage from *Dasaveyāliyasutta* quoted by Hc. § 16, it was used not merely in prose but also in poetry. But in spite of all the correspondences there is a greater amount of difference, between the language of prose and that of poetry. The chief characteristics of Māgadhi are :—change of *r* into *l* and *s* into *ś*, and the nom. sing. ending in—*e* instead of in—*o* of *a*-stems

as well as of the consonant stems that are reduced to *a*-stems in declension. Ardhamāgadhi retains both *r* and *s*, but it has the nom. in—*e*; and according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98² and Uvās. p. 46 it derives its name “Half Māgadhi” on that account; *ardhamāgadhi bhāṣā yasyām rasor laṣau māgadhyām³ ityādikaṁ māgadha-bhāṣālakṣaṇaṁ paripūrṇaṁ nāsti*. As already suggested by STEVENSON⁴, WEBER⁵ has proved that the contact of Ardhamāgadhi with Māgadhi is “not very close”. Besides the nom. in—*e*, the only feature that is common to both is *da* = Skt. *ta* in the past passive participle of roots in—*r*, but that too is not the only possible form in Mg. (§ 219). The preponderance of *ya* must be considered as a characteristic common to both, although the conditions under which it comes in are not quite similar. Further we may consider the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), that occurs in Mg. in sporadic cases only, and the frequent *pluti* in the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (71), that takes place in Dh. as well as in A. Had the literary Mg. monuments been more numerous and handed down to us in a better condition the contact could undoubtedly be further illustrated. At the present time, however, it is the chance that decides the issue. Thus AMg. *uṣiṇa* = Skt. *uṣṇa*, is equivalent to Mg. *koṣiṇa* = *koṣṇa* (§ 133), and it is very much remarkable that both AMg. and Mg. use the Sanskrit genitive form *tava*, that is wanting in other dialects (§ 421). From the Lāt-dialect, comes the loc. sing. in—*msi*⁶ of *a*-stem. In poetry even in Ardhamāgadhi, in the nomin. sing. of *a*-stem, the forms in—*o* abound instead of those in—*e*; in our texts forms in both are retained near one another. Thus Āyār. p. 41, 1, *abhivāyamiṇe*, but 2 *hayapuvvo*, 3 *lūsiyapuvvo*; p. 45, 19, *nāo*, but 20 *se mahāvīre*, 22 against *aladdhapuvvo* and *gāmo*; p. 46, 3 *dukkhasahe*, *apaḍinṇe*, 4 *sūro*, 5 *saṁvude*, 6 *paḍisevamāṇo*, 7 *acale*, 14 *aputtihe*, 15 *puttiho*, *aputtiho*. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faulty which should have been corrected by the editors. The Calcutta edition has, 45, 22, *gāme*, 46, 6, *paḍisevamāṇe*, besides the forms in—*o*. Here, in all these places —*e* must be written. But in other metrical passages undoubtedly, the original form is the nomin. sing. in—*o*, as in Āyār. p. 127ff.; instead of *maūḍe*, p. 128, 3, as in ms. B. it should have been written *maūḍo*. It is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, in Uttarajjhayaṇasutta, in Dasaveyāliyasutta, etc. Further, the language of poetry shows many other remarkable variations in phonology and morphology, from that of prose, and very often approaches M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, but, however, without, coinciding with either. Thus for example the Skt. word *mleccha* is written as *mūlakku* in AMg. in prose, but in poetry, as in M., JM., Ś., and A., it is written as *mēccha* (§ 84): AMg. has only in verses, like M. and JM. the verbal form *kuṇāḍi*, from *√kr* [§ 508]. In AMg. the absol. forms in—*tuṇa* and—*uṇa* are almost, if not all exclusively, limited to poetry, though they are supreme in M. and JM. (§ 584). In construction of Sandhi, in flexion, and in vocabulary the metrical works stand in contrast with those in prose. Consequently many of the grammatical peculiarities may be noticed only in works like Dasav., Uttar., and Sūyag. The characteristics of the poetical dialect almost tally with those laid down by Kramadīśvara, who in 5, 98, says that AMg. is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhi *māhārāṣṭrī-miśrārdhamāgadhi*.⁷ This may, therefore, be considered to be the third separate dialect of the Jainas. Further, it is noteworthy, that though in Pāli, the language of poetry, has a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, they are not sufficient to give the former the status of a separate dialect. In the same way, as the dialect of poetry doubtlessly agrees with that of prose fundamentally, I have designated both of them with the traditional

Ardhamāgadhī (AMg.). In Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48, Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned by the side of Māgadhī, Āvanti, Prācyā, Sūrasenī, Bāhlikā and Dākṣiṇātyā, as one of the seven bhāṣās, and again in the same work 17,50=Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 173, 3, it is said that it is used in dramas, as the language of menials, Rājputs and bankers: *ceṭānām rājaputrāṇām śreṣṭhīnām cārdhamāgadhī*. But our dramas do not conform to this, and Mārkaṇḍeya rejects, as already stated above (§ 3), the existence of Ardhamāgadhī as an independent dialect beside Māgadhī. We may expect that in dramas wherein the Jainas may appear, they speak AMg. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 410 ff., has even attempted to describe the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhī, on the basis of Prab. and Murdār., and he holds the view that the language of the barber in Dhūrtas. is Amg. In Mudrār. pp. 174-78; 183-187; 190-194, there appears the beggar monk (*kṣapaṇaka*) Jivasi-dhī, about whom Dhunḍhirāja, in his commentary on this work, p. 40, explicitly remarks—*kṣapaṇako jainākṛtiḥ*: in the dialect of this Kṣapaṇaka, the nominative sing. forms ending in *e* agree with those of AMg.: thus *kuvide*, *bhadante* (178,4), also in the neuter *adakkhiṇe paṅkhatte* (to be read as °*hki*°; 176.1.2); further therein occurs also the change of *ka* into *ga*, in *śāvagāṇam* (175,1; 185,1: 190, 10) in the voc. sing. *śāvagā* (175,3; 177,2; 183,5 etc.), wherein has to be noted also the lengthening of the final vowel (§ 71), in the nom. sing. *śāvage* (178,2; 193,1, it is to be so read), and in *hage* = **ahakaḥ* (§ 142. 194. 417). Otherwise, however, his dialect is Māgadhī, and Hc 4,302 cites from it examples of Mg. In Prab. also appears a Kṣapaṇaka, who is designated as a Digambara, pp. 46-64. Rāmadāsa correctly remarks that his dialect is Mg., and notes that Māgadhī is the language spoken by the Bhikṣus, the Kṣapaṇakas, the Rākṣasas, and the servants employed in female apartments. Then there appears a Digambara also in Laṭakamelaka, pp. 12-15, 25-28, who likewise speaks Mg. It must not be overlooked that wherever a Digambara appears his dialect does not immaterially differ from that of a Śvetāmbara, and it agrees with Mg., in an essential phonological characteristic (§21). We do not find any trace of AMg. in the dramas.

1. WILSON, Select Works 1,289; WEBER, Bhagavatī 1,392-2. Published by WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2406, note 8.—3 WEBER, l. c., correctly remarks that the quotation is from same hitherto unknown grammar. Nāmisādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśaṅkāra 2,12, also quotes it, but he reads *māgadhikāyām* for *māgadhīyām*. Caṇḍa, 3, 39, reads it as *māgadhikāyām rasayorlasau*. WEBER's view (Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7) that *addhamāgahābhāṣā* "expresses too little and is qualitatively inaccurate" is wrong.—4. The Kalpa-sūtra, and Navatātva (London 1848), pp. 137 ff.—5 Bhagavatī 1, 393 ff.—6. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance mentioned by MÜLLER are found also in other dialects.—7. HOERNLE, Caṇḍa, p. XIX, wrongly assumes Ardhamāgadhī= Māhā-sāṣṭri=Ārṣa.

§ 18. COLEBROOKE¹ called the language of the canons of the Jainas to be Māgadhī, and opined that this Prākṛit did not differ much from the language used by the dramatical authors in their works and which they assign to women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, like Pāli in Ceylon. LASSEN² considered it to be identical with Māhā-rāṣṭrī, and HOEFER³ asserted that many of the particularities, found in the Prākṛit of the Jaina books, are generally foreign to the common Prākṛit, and that on the whole the former appears to be one and same language as the latter. JACOB⁴ finds it to be older or archaic Māhā-rāṣṭrī,⁴ and remarks further that on a comparison of the Jaina Prākṛit, particularly in its earliest available form, with Pāli, on one hand, and with the Prākṛit of Hāla, Setubandha, etc., on the other, we find that the Jaina Prākṛit is more akin to Pāli, than it is to the later Prākṛit,⁵ and that it is an old Indian

dialect, that is closely allied to Pāli, but is decidedly later than it.⁶ Against this WEBER denies the existence of any close relationship between AMg. and M., and is more critical about its kinship with Pāli, and holds, as was already said before by SPIEGEL,⁸ and after him by JACOBI,⁹ that AMg. is considerably later than Pāli. AMg. differs from M. in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary so significantly that it is impossible to regard it as an older M. JACOBI¹⁰ himself had collected together a number of points of such differences and E. MÜLLER¹¹ has collected still more. He rejects the idea of inclusion of AMg. under M. and will like to connect it with Māgadhi of the inscriptions. The nom. sing. in *-e* alone will fully suffice to distinguish AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change that can be explained on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local dialectal peculiarity as the history of Indian Linguistics clearly shows. It assigns AMg. much further to the east than M. It is likely that that at the time of the compilation of the canons, either in the council held at Valabhī under Devardhigaṇin or in the council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhī particularly the influence of M.¹² might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant, because even by it the basic character of AMg. was not touched. To M. are unknown, thus for example, the phonetic laws like the lengthening of *-am* into *-ām* before *ēva* (§ 68), the weakening of *iti* into *i* (§ 93), the dropping of *-i* of the prefix *prati* in cases like *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna*, *paḍoyāra*, etc. (§ 163), the substitution of dentals for palatals (§ 215), the dropping of *ya* in *ahā=yathā* (§ 335) and the use of the sandhi-consonants (§ 353); further the dative in *-ttāe* (§ 364), the instrumental in *-sā* (§ 364), the locative in *-msi* (§ 366^a), the nom. sing. of the *i*-stem in *-m* (§ 396), the instrumental forms like *kammunā* and *dhammunā* (§ 404), the peculiar types of numerals, the inflection of many verbs like *āikkhai* from *khyā* (§ 492), *pāuṇai* from *āp* with *pra* (§ 504), *kuvaī* from *kr* (§ 508), the strong and the *s*-aorists (§ 516 ff.), the infinitives in *-ttu*, *-ittu* (§ 577), the absolutives in *-ttā* (§ 582), *-ttāṇam* (§ 583), *-ccā*, *ccāṇam*, *ccāṇa* (§ 587), *-yāṇam*, *-yāṇa* (§ 592). The process of cerebralization has in AMg. a wider sphere than in M. (§ 219. 222. 289. 333), and likewise the change of *ra* into *la* (§ 257). The phonetic laws that are usual in AMg. are found to hold good only rarely in M.: such are the use of the separation-vowel *-a* (§ 132), the retention of long vowels and the simplification of consonant groups in the case of the suffix *-ira* (§ 87), and in that of *kṣa* (§ 323), the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), and of *pa* into *ma* (§ 248), etc. These, the *yaf-ruti*, (§ 187), the often wholly different vocabulary and many other grammatical peculiarities irrefutably demonstrate that AMg. and M. have been fundamentally different dialects from the beginning. Due to its elevation to the status of a literary language AMg. did not escape the fate of the other (literary) dialects, and on account of the dropping of consonants it has become fundamentally changed. The nom. in *-e* shows that in the matter of fixation of the linguistic boundary of AMg., we need not go further in the west beyond Allāhābād.¹³ At present it is not possible to determine its region more accurately.

1. Misc. Essays 2¹, 213.—2. Inst. pp. 1.42.43.—ZWSpr. 3, 371.—4. Kalpasūtra, p. 18; cf. p. 19 and Erz. p. xii; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,3, xiv, note 7.—5. SBE. xxii, p. xli.—6. Ayāramga Sutta p. viii.—7. Bhag. I, 396 f.—8. Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen 1849, p. 912.—9. Kalpasūtra p. 17 f., Erz. p. xii.—10. Beiträge pp. 3 ff.—11. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra, pp. 15 ff.; SBE xii, pp. xxxvii ff.; WEBER, IS. 16, 218.—12. Suggestion of JACOBI, Erz. p. xxii.—13. See §. 24.

§ 19. WEBER, in IS. 16, 211-479; 17, 1-90 has studied in detail the holy scriptures of the Śvetāmbaras written in AMg. These essays were further

supplemented by the copious extracts that WEBER included in the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, 2, 2, 355-825 ; therein he has also specified all the Indian and European editions of all such works¹ as were published by that time. In this grammar the entire literature that has been published has been utilized. Unfortunately there do not still exist many strictly critical editions: many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. The most important prose text for our purpose is the first Aṅga, the Āyār-āṅgasutta², which has the most antiquated language of all. After it comes into consideration particularly the second Aṅga, the Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for the poetic language what Āyār., is for prose. The fourth Aṅga, the Samavāyaṅgā, is essential for a knowledge of the numerals. The sixth, the Nāyādhammakahā, the seventh Uvāsagadasāo,³ the eleventh, the Vivāgasuya, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhapannatti, contain continuous narratives, and, therefore, offer much more information with regard to declension and conjugation than do others. The same is true also of two of the Upāṅgas, namely the Ovavāiyasutta and the Nirayāvaliyāo, and also the first section of the Kappasūya among the Chedasūtra. Among the Mūlasūtras the Uttarajjhayaṇasutta, that is written almost entirely in verse, is of the highest importance ; it contains plenty of peculiar and archaic forms : and of significance is the Dasaveyāliysutta, although its language is very much degenerated. The endless repetitions of the same words and phrases render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of the corrupt texts, in several cases ; but in other cases it was not possible to reach any certainty and much has to be left out of consideration, because the sources were inadequate. Nevertheless, it is now possible to draw a clear and correct picture of AMg., and it is now proved that AMg., is the most important of all the Prākṛit dialects,⁴ because it is best preserved and is most copious. First of all, it was STEVENSON, Kalpasūtra, pp. 131 ff., who gave the incomplete and erroneous information about AMg. ; HOEFER, ZWSpr. 3, 364 ff., furnished something additional ; herein he pointed out some of the chief characteristics of the language such the yaśurti, the anaptyctic vowels, the change of ka into ga, etc. Of fundamental importance for AMg., was the work of WEBER ; Über, ein Fragment der Bhagavatī, Theil 1.2 (Berlin 1866. 1867)=Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademischer Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, p. 367-444 ; 1866, p. 155-352. It was here that WEBER, first of all, treated the peculiar orthography of the Jaina manuscripts, and attempted to determine (of course, in many places wrongly) the sound value of certain letters of the alphabet, and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, and also specimens of the language. It may be noted here that the Bhagavatī, is the fifth Aṅga, and its canonical name is the Vivāhapannatti, by which name it will be referred to in this grammar : it will be quoted simply as Bhagavatī whenever the reference is to WEBER's above mentioned essay. The work of E. MÜLLER, the author of Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit, Berlin 1876, does not take us much further, although the writer, in it, has made several improvements upon WEBER in respect of phonology. JACOBI in Āyār., pp. viii-xiv, gave a cursory resumé of the grammar in comparison with of Pāli.

1. A list of the utilized editions and translations along with the abbreviations has been given at the end of this grammar.—2. It is due to the objectionable practice that has become a customary that the Jaina texts like Kalpasūtra, Aupapātikasūtra, Daśavikālikasūtra, Bhagavatī, Jitakalpa, etc., are designated by their Sanskrit titles. Only HOERNLE in his edition of Uvāsagadasāo made a noteworthy exception. In this grammar, the Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference will be made to the remarks of the editors concerned

who have named them as such, and this has been done with a view to avoid error.—3. The edition of HOERNLE (Calcutta 1890, Bibl. Ind.), remains up to the present day the only edition of a Jaina work with its text and the commentary critically edited. Without extracts from the commentaries, the text often remains unintelligible.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52, p. 95.

§ 20. The dialect used in the non-canonical writings of the Śvetāmbaras differs from AMg. significantly. As already stated above (§ 16) JACOBI has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. More suitable perhaps would have been Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, that was suggested by JACOBI¹ earlier, if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. But that, however, is a hypothesis that cannot be established and, therefore, the name Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī may be retained, because undoubtedly this dialect is very close to Māhārāṣṭrī, even though in no way it is fully identical with it. JACOBI² wrongly supposes that M. is fully identical with M. of Hc., and not with that of Hāla, Śetubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. go back to Hāla, Rāvaṇavaho, Gaṇḍavaho, Viṣamabāṇalīlā and Karpūramañjarī. Hc. had simply extended the orthography of the Jains also to these works as it was so in the original Jaina manuscripts (§ 15). But in fact, it appears that Hc. had taken into consideration some specific works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least, it must be noted that not a small number of his rules may as yet be instanced only in JM. AMg. too has not remained without any influence on JM. Of the characteristics of AMg. enumerated under § 18, many are to be found also in JM.: thus for example, the saṁdhi consonants, the nom. of *t*-stems in *-m*, the infinitives in *-ittu*, the absolute in *-tiā*, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. Therefore, JM. is not pure M., but in fact it is so close to it that, after all, it may be called M. The most important text in JM. is the Āvaśyaka legends edited by ERNST LEUMANN, Heft I, Leipzig, 1897. Lack of a commentary makes the understanding of the text extremely difficult, and much remains completely obscure. But even these few sheets of paper show that out of these JM. texts we may expect many new and important things notably lexicographical, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. The later texts, in greater part, are contained in the Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch, Herausgegeben von HERMANN JACOBI, Leipzig 1886. The introductory elementary grammar contains also a section on syntax, but that is confined only to the forms that occur in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration the Kakkuka inscription (§ 10), and the smaller pieces, like the Kālakācāryakathānaka, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493 ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravātī, ZDMG. 42, 493 ff., and the stūpa of Mathurā SWA 137, the Rṣabhapañcāśikā, ZDMG. 33, 445 ff., and in the Kāvyaṁālā, Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp 124 ff., and the extracts in the Reports that are mostly unfit for use. Probably in JM. was written also the rhetorical work of Hari, from whom Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṁālā-kāra, 2, 19 cites a stanza.³

1. Kalpasūtra, p. 18.—2. Kalpasūtra, p. 19.-3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, p. 314. In the commentary on 1, 2, for Rudra read Hari.

§ 21. We are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the language of the canons of the Digambaras. This language does not insignificantly differ from that of the canons of the Śvetāmbaras. If a conclusion has to be drawn on the basis of the non-canonical writings, it will be said that in one important aspect, as it respects phonology, i.e., so far as the change of *ta* into *da*, and of *tha* into *dha*, is concerned, it is closer to Māgadhi, than to the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras. In any case, the later day writings of the Di-

gambharas as well observe this phonetic law. For instance the Gāthās, in the *Gurvāvali*, referred to by JACOBI,² and the extracts from Kundakundācārya's *Pavayanasāra*, and Kārtikeyasvāmin's *Kattigeyānupēkkhā*, that has been published by BHĀNDĀRKAR³ (§ 203). Śaurasenī also observes the same phonetic law; and as the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *-o*, in the language of the scriptures of the Digambaras, this dialect may be designated as the Jaina Śaurasenī. But here we have to be more cautious than even in the case of J.M., so as always to remember that this designation merely serves as a convenient term even though it is by no means accurate. Even a preliminary examination of the dialect will show that it has such forms and words as are altogether foreign to the Śaurasenī, though, however, they are found partly in M. and partly in AMg. Thus typically M. is the loc. sing. of *a*-stems ending in *-mmi*, as in *dāṇammi*, *suhammi*, *asuhammi*, *nāṇammi*, *daṃsaṇamhammi* (Pav. 383, 69; 385, 61; 387, 13), *kālammi* (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of *-vva=iva* (Pav. 383, 44). The root *kr.* is inflected, always showing *da=ta*, partly like M. *kuṇaḍi* (Kattig. 399, 310. 319; 402, 359. 367. 370. 371; 403, 385; 404, 388. 389. 391), and partly like AMg. *kuṇvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340) and *kuṇvade* (403, 384), side by side with forms that are Ś. e. g. *karedi* (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377. 378. 383) and M., J.M. AMg. *karadi* (400, 332). The form of the passive is *kiradi* (Kattig. 399, 320; 401, 342. 350,) as in M. J.M. The absolute mostly ends in *-ttā*, as in AMg. *cattā=tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *jāṇittā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāṇittā* (Pav. 387, 21); *ṇamaṇsittā*, *nirūṇjhittā* (Pav. 386, 670); *ṇihanittā* (Kattig. 401, 339); also in *-ya* as in *bhaviya* (Pav. 380, 12; 387, 12); *āpiccha=āpēcchiya* (Pav. 386, 1); *ādāya* (Pav. 386, 6); *āsṭijja*, *āsējja=āsāḍya* (Pav. 386, 1. 11); *samāsijja* (Pav. 379, 5); *gahiya* (Kattig. 403, 373); *pappa* (Pav. 384, 49), and in *-ccā* as in *kiccā* (Pav. 379, 4; Kattig. 402, 356. 357. 358. 375. 376); *thiccā* (Kattig. 402, 355); *sōccā* (Pav. 386, 6). Side by side with such forms are found also the absolute in *-dūṇa*; *kādūṇa*, *ṇedūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 374. 375), wrongly⁴ also in *-ūṇa*: *jāi-ūṇa*, *gamiūṇa*, *gahiūṇa*, *bhuṇjāvūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 373. 374. 375. 376). Such Digambara texts may have been the source, according to which Hc. allows even in Ś forms in *-ttā* and *-dūṇa* and such other forms as are not found in Śaurasenī of the dramas, (§ 22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). Side by side with the AMg. *pappodi=prāpnoti* occurs the commonly found *pāvadi* (Pav. 380, 11, Kattig. 400, 326; 403, 370); by the side of Ś. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) is seen *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 3 8, 302. 303; 400, 323) as well as *ṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25); moreover, here are used the forms like *muṇadi* (Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313. 316. 337), *muṇedavvo* (the MS. has °*eva*², Pav. 380, 8) that are unknown in Ś. Mg. In this way there occur many other forms from M. AMg. S. side by side. From what has seen up till now it seems that JŚ. has much more of common characteristics with AMg. than with J.M., and is partly more archaic. Both the texts are in verse.

1. BHĀNDĀRKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), pp. 106 ff.; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 823 f.—2. Kalpasūtra pp. 30.—3. l.c. pp 379-389; 398-404. The references are given according to page and verse: cf. also PETERSON, Fourth Report pp. 142 ff.—4. In the manuscripts, exactly as in those of the dramas, very often the M. forms are given in lieu of those of Ś.

§ 22. Among the Prākṛit dialects that are used in the prose of the dramas, Śaurasenī occupies the first place.¹ As its name indicates, its basis is the dialect of Śūrasena, of which the capital city was Mathurā.² According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 the dialect of the dramas should be based on the Śaurasena dialect, and according to 17,51, the heroines

of the drama and their lady—friends should speak Śūrasenī. According to Śāhityadarpaṇa, p. 172, 21, the cultured women, not of lowly origin, speak Ś. and according to p. 173, 11f, it is spoken also by the maid-servants who are not too low, eunuchs, children, lower grade-astrologers, the insane and the sick. Śūrasenī is mentioned as the language of women also by Daśarūpa 2,60. According to Bharata. 17, 51 : Śāhityadarpaṇa 173 4 ; Prthivīdhara on Mṛcchakaṭikā p. V, ed. STENZLER = p. 493, ed. GODABOLE the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā³, which according to MK. fol. 72, is prescribed also for other amusing characters. MK. refers to Bharata and remarks—Prācyā is grammatically derived from Śūrasenī ; *prācyāyāḥ siddhiḥ śaurasenyaḥ*. The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to decipher, all that MK. describes as the characteristics of Prācyā. They are very meagre and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that for *mūrkhā* should be used *murukha* ; the voc., sing. of *bhavatī* is *bhodi* ; for *vakra* is prescribed a form that differs from that of Ś.⁴ : the voc. sing. of a stems may have pluti : the Vidūṣaka uses *hi*, *hī*, *bho* to express his joy,—*hī*, *māṇahe* to express wonder (*adbhuta*) and *avida* 'o express dismay. There appears to be some special rules to regulate *nam*, *iva*, and perhaps also for the future. Prthivīdhara refers, as a characteristic, to the repeated use of *kaḥ svārthe*. Hc. 4, 285, *hi hi vidūṣakasya*, prescribes Ś. directly for the Vidūṣaka, and 4, 282, *hi māṇahe vismayanirvede*, is likewise recorded as Ś., and that is certainly correct. Śūrasenī is the language of the Vidūṣaka as well as of a number of other characters that appear in the dramas. The older grammarians deal with Śūrasenī very briefly. Vr. 12,2 says :—its basis is Skt. For it he gives 29 rules with which the texts mostly agree,⁵ and under 12, 32 he remarks that in other respects it agrees with M. *śeṣaṁ mātārāṣṭriyat*. Hc. 4, 260-286 has 27 rules of which the last one reads of *śeṣaṁ prākṛtayat* and corresponds to Vr. 12, 32. In other respects Hc. and Vr., differ strongly from one another, a thing which, to a great extent, is to be explained by the fact that Hc., has taken into consideration also the Śūrasenī of the Digambaras (§ 21), the peculiarities of which the Jainas have carried over to Śūrasenī of the dramas with the result that the Śūrasenī texts of the latter have become corrupt and later writers have been misled.⁶ Even Ki. 5, 77-85 says little on this topic. Contrary to this, the later grammarians like MK., fol. 65-72, and Rv., fol. 34 ff., say much more thereon. The manuscripts of these works that are available in Europe are so corrupt that in this case as well we can use only a part of the material contained in them. Their verification is rendered difficult on account of most of the editions of the dramas being uncritical. Of the editions that have appeared in India, only a few are of any use : one such is BHĀNDARKAR'S edition of Mālatīmādhava (Bombay 1876) ; and even among the texts printed in Europe not many are of any use for the purpose of linguistic study.⁷ In every cases, the new editions do not show any improvements upon the older ones. Thus : the edition of Mudrāṅkasa by TELANG (Bombay 1884), is worse than the one printed in the Majumdār's series and edited by TARANATHA TARKAVACASPATI (Calcutta Samvat 1926) ; BOLLENSEN'S edition of Mālavikāgnimitra (Leipzig 1879) is deplorably a retrograde step. In spite of all this, I have cited from both of them, because in them the readings are often correctly reproduced from the MSS. and, therefore, they are indispensable. Very often it has been possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama.⁸ Many of the editions show a noteworthy admixture of dialects. It is in this way that the first Prākṛit words in Kāleyakutūhala, 2,4 *bho kim ti tue hakkarido hage maṁ khu eṇīm* (text *eṇīm*) *chuhā bāhei* contain three dialects : *hakkarido* is Ś., *hage* is Mg., *eṇīm* and *bāhei* are M.; subsequently the

text is much more in M. than in Ś. In Mukundān. 58,14,15, both Ś., *kadua* M. *kāūna* stand near one another in the same stanza. Here this may have been due to editor's error. In other cases it is clear that poets themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§ 11) and Rājasekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectical errors committed by Rājasekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in the Bālarāmāyaṇa and Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Thus, all the MSS. of Karpūramañjarī, 7,6 ed. KONOW=11,2 ed. Bombay, have *ghēttūna* in place of the only Ś. form *geñhia*., an error that recurs also elsewhere (§ 584) : 9,5=13,5 (ed. Bom.), has the dative form *suhāa*, that is wrong in Ś. (§ 361) ; further the following are the dialectical irregularities *tujjha* 10,9=14,7 and *majjha* 10,10=14,8 (§ 421,418), *vva* 14,3=17,5 for *via* (§ 143), locatives like *majjhammi* 6,1=9,5 for *majjhe kavvammi* 16,8=19, 10 for *kavve* (§ 366^a), ablatives like *pāmarāhiṃto* 20,6=22,9 for *pāmarādo* (§ 365), etc. In Rājasekhara, we further find many dialectical errors in the use of deśi words. According to MK. fol. 50, Rājasekhara's M. had its own peculiarities. He says *rājasekharasya mähārāṣṭryāḥ prayoge ślokeṣvapi drśyata iti kecit*, whereby, as it appears, is meant the substitution of *da* for *ta* in lieu of its dropping. The manuscripts of his dramas show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with *da* in Ś. Due to the mixing up of dialects in the Devanāgarī and the south Indian recensions of the Śakuntalā and in the south Indian recension of the Vikramorvaśī,⁹ these works do not serve any purpose in settling critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties, it is, however, possible to obtain on the whole a fairly correct picture of Ś. In phonology, the most striking characteristic is the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha* (§ 203) ; in declension and conjugation, a host of forms of M. AMg. JM. JŚ. have been very much simplified. Similarly in the case of the *a*-stems only the abl. sing. in-*do* and the loc. sing. in-*e* are used : in the plur., only such forms of all the stems are nasalised at the end as are found to have been used in the ins., in the gen., as well as in the loc.; the *i*- and the *u*-stems have in the gen. sing. only-*no*, and not also-*ssa* ; in respect of verbs, the Ātmanep. forms had by then disappeared almost completely : the opt. had only the endings-*eam* (I. sing.) and-*e* ; many verbs have stem forms that deviate from those of M. ; the future is formed only from *i*-stems ; the passive is obtained only in-*ia* ; the absolute, against M., is found almost exclusively in-*ia*=Skt.-*ya*, etc.¹⁰ In flexion and in vocabulary, in which Ś. greatly deviates from M., it approaches Skt. very closely, as rightly observed by Vr.

1. Even Śūrasenī is often wrongly called Śūrasenī.—2 LASSEN, IAlt. 1², 158, note 2 ; 796 Note 2 2², 512 ; CUNNINGHAM, The Ancient Geography of India (London 1871) 1,374.—3. FISCHER, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā (Breslau 1875), pp. 16f.—. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 26.—5. FISCHER, KB. 8, 129 ff.—6. That Hc. utilized the texts of the Digambaras, even though he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, has been shown by LEUMANN, IS. 17, 133, note 1.—7. FISCHER, Hemacandra, I,xif. Since 1877 unfortunately there has been little change in the circumstances. For the purpose of grammar, primarily the materials can be drawn only from Mṛcchakaṭikā, edited by STENZLER, Śakuntalā, edited by FISCHER, and Vikramorvaśī, edited by BOLLESEN ; in the second line comes the Ratnāvalī edited by CAPPELLER, which in fact, is the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variants it has been planned somewhat very systematically. I could use the excellent edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW, when the present work was in the press. But Rājasekhara, as already pointed out above, is no authority for Ś.—8. A list of texts used along with necessary notes is given at the end of this grammar.—9. FISCHER, KB. 8, 129 ff. Die Recensionen Śakuntalā, pp. 19 ff. Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, pp. 613 ff. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14, 39 ff., 161 ff. A collection of incorrect forms was made by BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae quas editioni suae Śācuntālī Pro Supplemento adjecit. Vratislaviae 1874.—10. FISCHER, Jenaer Li-

teraturzeitung 1875, pp. 794 ff.; JACOBI, Erzählungen, pp. LXX ff. Further details have been furnished in the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 23. Māgadhi has been transmitted to us in a wouse condition than Śaurasenī. According to Kohala, in MK fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rākṣasas, beggars Kṣapaṇakas, servants, etc.; according to Bharata 17, 50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 2, Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, among whom were, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityaḍ. 81, eunuchs, Kirātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhīras, Śākāras, and chamberlains; and according to Bharata, 24, 50-59 eunuchs, snātakas, and chamberlains. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, the Piśācas and all the low-class people speak Mg., and according to Sarasvatik., 56, 18 the people of lower status speak it. In the dramas, the chamberlains always speak Skt. (Śak. 93 ff.; Vikr. 37 ff., Venis. 17ff.; Nāgān. 61 ff.; Mudrār. 78.; 110 ff.; Anarghar. 109 ff.; Pārvatīp. 36 ff.; Priyad. 2f; 28ff.; Pratāpar. 132ff.) The following speak Mg.: in Mr̥cch., the Śākāra, his servant, Sthāvaraka, the masseur, who later becomes a Bhikṣu, Kumbhīlaka, the servant of Vasantasenā, Vardhamānaka, the servant of Cārudutta, the two Cāṇḍālas, Rohasena, the little son of Cārudatta²; in Śak. 113ff., both the constables and the fishermen, 154 ff., Sarvadamana, the little son of Śakuntalā; in Prab. 28-32, the disciple of Cārvāka and the messenger from Oriṣa; in 46-64, the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153f., the servant who prepares seats; in 174-178, 183-187, 190-194 the Jaina monk; in 197 the messenger³; in 256-269 Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Cāṇḍālas, while they, in another rôle in pp. 224 ff., speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565-567, the bards and the spy who, however, also speaks Ś., in another rôle at p. 567 f.; in Venis. 33-36 the Rākṣasa and his wife; in Mallikām. 143.144 the elephant drivers; in Nāgān. 67 68, and Cait. 149f., the servant; in Caṇḍak. 42-43, the scoundrel, in 60-72, the Cāṇḍālas; in Dhūrtas. 16, the barber; in Hāsyārṇava 31, Sādhuhīmsaka; in Latakam. 12ff., 25ff., the Digambara Jaina; in Kāmasavadha 48-52, the humpbacked; and in Amṛtodaya 66, the Jaina monk. With the exception of Mr̥cchakaṭikā only short pieces are written in Mg., and they, in the Indian editions, have come down in such a mutilated form that often it is hardly possible to recognize the dialect. It is unfortunate that even after such a long time, Prabodhacandrodaya has not appeared though it was announced long ago by the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The edition of BROCKHAUS is worthless, and I have used the Pūnā, the Madras and the Bombay editions throughout as they are better. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. appears to be essentially in agreement with the rules of the grammarians; among the other stray texts, like those of Mr̥cch. and Śak. the MSS. show agreement with the rules of different dialects. Usually they are so strongly influenced by Ś., which according to Vr. 11, 2, is the basis of Mg. and according to Hc. 4, 302, mostly coincides with it, that the character of the dialect is very much effaced. The rule, Hc. 4, 288, *rasorlasau* is followed rigorously; according to 4, 287, the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *-e*; according to 4, 301, = Vr. 11, 9, *hage* is substituted for *aham*, and more rarely also for *vayam*. On the other hand no text other than Lalitav. conforms to Hc. 4, 292 = Vr. 11, 4, 7, that prescribes the retention of *ya*, and substitution of *ya* for *ja*, of *yya* for *dya*, *rya* and *rja*. There can be no doubt that this, like all other rules of grammarians, has to be followed against the manuscripts. All the grammarians from Vr. downwards are substantially in agreement,⁴ on the essential points. Hc. finds these peculiarities, according to 4, 302, in Mudrār., Śak., and Venis., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and even the manuscripts

of Hc. are lacking at this place. The more the manuscripts become available to us the more the variants become noticeable that go against our existing texts. In Mṛcch. 22,4, for instance, in STENZLER's edition, which, as usual, is followed here in 61,5 in GODABOLE's edition, occurs the passage *tava jjeva haste ciṣṭadu*: according to the grammarians it should be read as *tava yjeva haste ciṣṭadu*. The MSS. DH in GODABOLE read *jeva*, C. *jjeva*; almost all the MSS. have *haste* and *ciṣṭadu*, i. e. *ciṣṭadu* as in J. It is repeated throughout. Mudrār. 154, 3, E, reads (as in Hc. 4, 302) *yjeva*, and 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has *jeva*; likewise Venīs. 35. 7; 36,5. The rule, Hc. 4,295, whereafter for an intervocalic *cha* is substituted *śca*, I have strictly observed in the Śakuntalā, for it was suggested by the MSS. and also because the MSS. of the Mṛcch. prove this (§ 233), which also partially conform to Hc. 4,291 prescribing the change of *stha* and *rtha* into *sta* (§ 310. 290). The characteristics of Mg. in phonology, are the transformation of *ra* into *la*, of *sa* into *śa*, the retention of *ya*, the change of *ja* into *ya*, of *dya*, *rja* and *rya* into *yya*, of *nya*, *ṇya*, *jña*, *ṛja* into *ñña*, of *ceha* into *śca*, of *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* into *ṣṭa* etc. (§ 24), and in the inflection, especially of nouns, the formation of the nom. sing. of *a*-stem in *-e*; in other respects, as regards flexion, Mg. strictly corresponds with Ś. with which it agrees also in the transformation of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha*.

1. It is not clear as to what was meant by Bharata by *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāh*.—2. It is attested by Prthivīdhara, in STENZLER, p. v and GODABOLE, p. 493. In the printed edition he speaks Ś; but the MSS. throughout indicate Mg. as in 161, 9, they have *ale ale*, in 161,16, *māledha*, in 165, 25, *ala*, and in DH in GODABOLE, p. 449 9 also there is *māledha*. In the introductory scene, there is, 327, 10=484, 12 ed. GODABOLE H, *āvutte*. Wrongly analysed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc, p. 4. Cf. § 42.—3. Cf. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39, 130. 4. Cf. § 24 and the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 24. According to Prthivīdhara on Mṛcch., ed. STENZLER, p. V=p. 494, GODABOLE's edition, the brother-in-law of the king speaks Śākārī, a dialect that is mentioned as a form of Apabhraṃśa. It is mentioned also by Kī. 5,99; Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17,53; and Sāhityad. p. 173.6. LASSEN, Inst., pp. 422 ff, has attempted to determine the peculiarities of this dialect and has come to the conclusion (p. 435) that Śākārī is a Māgadhi dialect. This conclusion is quite correct, as Mk., fol. 76, also derives it from Mg.; *māgadhyāḥ śākārī | sādhyatīti śeṣaḥ*. Further Prthivīdhara on Mṛcch. 9,22, ed. STENZLER, p. 240 = p. 500 of GODABOLE's edition, has shown that in this dialect *a y* was pronounced before the palatals, viz. *yciṣṭha*=*tiṣṭha* (§ 217). This *y* was so weak that it could not gain: therefore, any importance from the view point of metre. According to Mk. this phonetic rule was valid for Mg. and Vṛāṇa Apabhraṃśa as well (§ 28). Other peculiarities like the change of *ta* into *ḍa* in certain past passive participial forms (§ 219), and the genitive sing. of *a*-stems in *-āha*, beside in *-aśa* (§ 366) are found in the language of other persons also; the loc. in *-āhiṃ* (366^a) and the voc. plur. in *-āho* (§ 372) are met with in the dialect of Śākāra, but perhaps this is so merely by accident. In respect of the last three forms this dialect coincides with Apabhraṃśa, and consequently the classification of Prthivīdhara is not without justification. The grammarians and the rhetoricians mentioned above name Cāṇḍālī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk., fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhi and Śauraseni, and is rightly considered likewise by LASSEN, Inst. p. 420, to be a form of Māgadhi. Mk., fol. 81, derives again Śābarī from Cāṇḍālī. Accordingly the basis of the former would be Ś., Mg. as well as Śākārī. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. § 162. According to Mk., fol. 3, to the Māgadhi dialects belongs also Bāhlikī, which is assigned by Bharata, 17,52 = Sāhityad. p. 173,7 to gamesters, and by others to the Piśāca countries. (§ 27).

Undoubtedly Mg. was not a homogeneous language, on the other hand, it was dialectically diversified. It is thus that we can explain the development of *kṣa* sometimes as *ḥka* and sometimes as *śka*, of *rtha* sometimes as *stā* and sometimes as *śta*; and of *śka*, sometimes as *śka* and sometimes as *śka*. All the dialects that have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *r* and *ś* for *s*, and form the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e* should be regarded as Mg. It has already been shown above (§ 17. 18) that the boundary of the *-e* dialect extended beyond the frontiers of Magadha. Bharata 17,58 asserts that the languages of all the provinces lying between the Gaṅgā and the sea are full of *-e* forms. But we can conclude nothing from such a vague statement. HOERNLE¹ has divided all the Prākritis into two groups: "the Sauraseni Prākrit tongue" and the "Māgadhi Prākrit tongue" and has drawn a line of demarcation between the groups from Khālsī, extending in the north over Bairāt, and Allahabad, and in the south through Ramgaṛh upto Jaugaḍa². GRIERSON³, who is in agreement with HOERNLE, assumes that the two groups of Prākrit gradually come closer and calls the resultant obtained from a mixture of the two a third Prākrit, namely Ardhamāgadhi, and he assigns it to the land lying about Allāhābad and that of the Marāṭhās. I do not believe that these assumptions are tenable. The Lāt-dialect shows significant vestiges of dialects, so much so that even between Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa,⁴ there exist dialectical differences, but generally it seems to be a homogeneous language, which, perhaps was also the language of the empire and was, therefore, understood rather than spoken over a wide area in the north, the west and the south.⁵ Consequently the inscriptions of Aśoka found at Khālsī, Delhi, and Mirāt, and the inscription of Bairāt as well as others furnish us with no information about the language of the country. In earlier days, as it happens today, certain individual dialects, which need not be called Prākrit, (§ 5), it is true, gradually shaded into each other. Ardhamāgadhi is a strong proof of this. There is no connecting link between the modern Mg.⁶ and the old Mg.

1. Comp. Grammar, p xvii ff.—2. Caṇḍa, p. XXI.—3. Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Biḥari Language, Part I (Calcutta 1883), p. 5. ff.—4. SENART, Piyadasi 2,433 ff.—6. GRIERSON, Seven Grammars, Part III, (Calcutta 1893).

§ 25. In Mṛcchakaṭikā pp. 23-39, Māthura, the keeper of the house of gambling, and his fellow player speak the dialect, called Dhakkī, named after Dhakka that is in the Eastern Bengal. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. LASSEN, Inst. p. 5, and Prthvīdhara on Mṛcch. p. V=p. 493, ed. GODABOLE, record Dhakki, along with Śākāri, Cāṇḍālī, and Sābarī among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa. Corresponding to its geographical situation, it seems that Dhakki was a transition dialect between Māgadhi and Apabhraṃśa. According to Prthvīdhara this dialect is phonetically characterized by preponderance of *la*, and by the use of the two sibilants, namely the dental *s* and the palatal² *ś*; *lakāraprāyā*¹ *dhakkavibhāṣā saṃskṛtaprāyaṭve dantyātālavyasaśakāradvayayuktā ca*. It is to be understood from this that in it, as in Mg., *ra* is changed into *la*, and *ṣa* into *śa*, which, as well as *ś*, remains, however, unchanged in places where it occurs in Sanskrit. In the texts the mode of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts preserve very often the fairly correct reading. STENZLER reads in 29, 15 and 30, 1 *are re*; in 30, 7 *re*; in 30, 11, *are*, but GODABOLE reads in 82, 1; 84, 4; 86, 1, *ale*; in 85, 5 *le* according to the most of his manuscripts, and it is read otherwise everywhere as in STENZLER (30, 16; 31, 4. 9. 15; 39, 16). Further this rule is corroborated by *luddhu* = *ruddhaḥ* (29, 15; 30, 1), *palivevida* = *parivepita* (30, 7), *kulu kulu* = *kuru kurn* (31, 16), *dhāledi* = *dhārayati* (34, 9; 39, 13), *puliso* = *puruṣaḥ* (34, 12). But in

more cases *ra* remains in the texts and the manuscripts. So throughout we have *jūdiara* (29, 15 ; 30, 1. 12 ; 31, 12 ; 36, 18), but only in 36, 18 = 106, 4 ed. GODABOLE, the word is found with *la* (v. l.); likewise in the Calcutta edition (Śaka 1792) at p. 85, 3, there is *jūdakalassa*, and in the Calcutta edition (1829), p. 74, 3, *muṭṭhipahāleṇa* against *°reṇa* found in all others ; while all the editions in the following line have *ruhirapaham* *anusarēṃha* in stead of the expected reading *luhilapadham* *anusalēṃha*. In the verse 30, 4. 5, by the side of *salanam* for which the Calcutta edition of 1792 rightly has *salanam*, there is *ruddo rakkhidum tarai* in lieu of *luddo lakkhidum taladi*. Other cases are : *anusarēṃha* (30, 13) *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), *pidaram*, *mādam* (32, 10. 12), *pasaru* (32, 16), *jajjara* (34, 11, beside *puliso*!), *uaroḍheṇa* (36, 24), *ahareṇa rai* (39, 8). Likewise the manuscripts oscillate in the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct forms *daśasuvannāha* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *daśasuvannam* (31, 4 ; 32, 3 ; 34, 9. 12 etc.), *sunṇu* (30, 11), *śela* (30, 17) there occur the wrong forms like *jasam* (30, 9), *ādamsaāmi* (34, 25), *paḍisudia* (35, 5); the palatal sibilant has been wrongly used in forms like *śamaviśamam*, *sakaluśam* (30, 8. 9), where GODABOLE has correctly used *samaviśamam*, *aikasam* (read *adi*°); but in spite of this he has erred in using *kaśśa* (114, 9) for *kassa*, as found in the ed. of STENZLER (39, 8). With *la* and *śa* Dhakkī becomes close to Mg., and with the endings *u=ah*, and *-am*, as well as in the second person singular of the imperative it comes close to Apabhramśa. Here also the manuscripts are not wholly dependable. Beside *deulu* (30, 11) there occurs *deulam* (30, 12) ; by the side of *esu=esaḥ* (31, 12 ; 34, 17 ; 35, 15) there is *eso* (30, 10); beside *pasalu=prasara* (32, 16) there is *geṇha* (29, 16 ; 30, 2) as well as *paacca=prayacca* (31, 4. 7. 9 ; 32, 8. 12. 14 ; 34, 24 ; 35, 7) ; by the side of the nom. in-*u*, as in *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *vippadīṇu pādu=vipratīpaḥ pādaḥ* (30, 11), *dhuttu, mādhulu, niṇṇu=dhūrto māthuro niṇṇaḥ* (32, 7), *vihavu=vibhavaḥ* (34, 17), the texts have the nominatives in-*o*, as in *baddho* (31, 12), *°pāṇudo puliso=°prāvytaḥ puruṣaḥ* (34, 12), *ācakkhanto* (§499) (34, 24), *°vutto=°vyttaḥ* (31, 3), and also in-*e*, such as *pāḍhe=pāṭhaḥ* (30, 25 ; 31, 1), *laddhe gohe=laddhaḥ puruṣaḥ* (31, 3). That here we have just the cases of blunders committed in the manuscript-tradition and that such forms do not present any special dialectal peculiarities, are clearly demonstrated by the presence of the word *baddho* (31, 14) in Mg. for the correct word *baddhe* that is not to be found in any of the editions. Certainly erroneous is *tha* in *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), for for which should be read *mādhulu*; as for *pāṭhe* found in all the editions (30, 25 ; 31, 1), and also in Mg. (31, 2), the manuscripts DH of GODABOLE, p. 88, read *pāḍe*, K has *pāḍhe*, a form which including the ending is correct only in Dh. Thus we have in 30, 16 *kadham=katham*, but in 36, 19 *ruhirapaham=rudhirapatham*. The correct form would be *luddhilapadham*. As in Ś. and Mg., so also in the case of Dh. as well, the manuscripts are not reliable, and there is no hope that, with the limited number of the texts that we have, we shall ever be able to obtain a clear description of this dialect.³ Cf. § 203.

1. So correctly reads STENZLER ; GODABOLE reads at p. 2 and p. 494 *vakāraprāyā*.

—2. So correctly reads GODABOLE.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 414 ff., holds that the gambler speaks Dākṣiṇātyā and Māthura, the Āvanti dialect. See § 26. BLOCH's decision is wrong, in Vr. und Hc. p. 4.

§ 26. Likewise it is difficult to get a clear idea about the other dialects mentioned by the Grammarians. According to Prthivīdhara, in Mṛcchakaṭikā, the two police officers, Viraka and Candanaka, pp. 99-106, speak the dialect of Avanti. About this dialect all that he says is that it has *sa* and *ra*, and that it is full of proverbial expressions : *tathā*

śauraseny-avantijā prācyā | etāsu dantyasakāratā | tatrāvantijā repḥavatī lokokti-vahulā. The quotation from Prthivīdhara is = Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51 = Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, Avantijā is to be spoken in dramas by the *dhūrtāḥ*, whereby according to the scholiast, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 36, are meant the dice-players. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 417-419, therefore, considers Āvantī to be the language of Māthura, but this is wrong. Mk. fol. 3, like Kī. 5, 99, considers Āvantī as a *bhāṣā* and defines it in fol. 73, as the admixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This admixture is found in one and the same sentence : *āvantī syānmāhārāṣṭrī śaurasenyāstu saṁkarāt | anayoḥ saṁkarād āvantībhāṣāsiddhāsyāt | saṁkaraścaikaṣminneva vākye bodhavyaḥ*. In this dialect are found, for instance *hri* = *bhavati*, *peṭchadi* = *prekṣate*, *darisedi* = *darśayati*, etc. This description is in accord with the dialect of the two police officers, as it is given in the MSS. In the stanzas 99, 16. 17 there are found Ś. *acchadha* and M. *bhettūṇa* and *vaccāi*, side by side ; similarly in 99, 24. 25, Ś. *āacchadha* and M. *turiām, jatteha, karējjāha* and *pahavai*; in 100, 4 there is *darisesi* ; in 100, 12 M. *jaha* and Ś. *khudido* occur side by side: again in 100, 19 ; 101, 7; 105, 9, is found *vaccadi*, a mixture of M. *vaccāi* (99, 17) and Ś. *vajjadi*, as well as *vajjai* (100, 15); in 103, 15 there is *kahijjadi* and in 16 *sāsiijai*; the second one is a pure M. form and the first one an admixture of M. *kahijjai* and Ś. *kadhiadi*; many other examples are to be found in prose and poem. Accordingly the definition enunciated by Prthivīdhara might appear to be correct. But so far as it respects Candanaka, the latter's own statement as given in 103, 5 goes against him: *vam dakkhiṇattā avoattabhāsiṇo..... mlecchajātūnām anskadesabhāṣābhijñā yatheṣṭam mantrayāmaḥ* : we southerners speak unintelligibly; because we are expert in languages of many barbarian countries we speak just as we like. Candanaka, therefore, describes himself as a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*) that is proved also by his own statement found in 103, 16: *kaṇṇāḍakalahappaoam karemi*, "I proceed to fight in the manner of Kaṇṇāṭa. Therefore, it is very much improbable that the language in what he should have spoken is Āvantī, on the other hand, it is to be assumed that his language is Dākṣiṇātyā, which Bharata 17, 148 calls as one of the seven *bhāṣāḥ*, and which according to 17, 52 = Sāhityad. p. 173, 5, is spoken by hunters and police officers in the drama. Mk., fol. 3 (cf. fol. 76) rejects it as an independent language because it does not have any distinctive characteristic (*lakṣaṇākaraṇāt*). LASSEN, Inst. pp. 414-416, assigns the Dākṣiṇātyā language to the unnamed gambler in Mṛcch. and he is inclined to believe that in the language of the police officers in Śak. pp. 113-117, there are vestiges of this dialect. Both of his views are wrong. The dialect used by the gambler is Dhakkī (§ 25) and the language of the police officers in Śak. does not differ on any point from the common Ś, as already observed by BÖHTLINGK¹. As some of the manuscripts of the Bengali recension show doubling of the aspirates, I believed earlier² that this must have been the distinctive characteristic of Dākṣiṇātyā. But the doubling is found also in Mg. in one of the manuscripts and it is in no way linguistically important, rather it is just an orthographical device (§ 193). So far as we have been able to see up till now it seems that Dākṣiṇātyā must have been very close to Āvantī which is spoken by Vīraka, and that both of them were very much akin to Ś. Apart from the dialectical admixture, there are a number of forms that are against idiomatic usage in Ś. Thus: *vam* for *amhe*, *do* = *dvau*, and remarkable is the change of *tya* into *ta* in *dakkhiṇattā* (§ 281). The form *darisaanti* occurs also in Ś. in Mṛcch. 70, 25.

1. In his edition of Śak., p. 240.-2.GN. 1873, pp. 212 ff.

§ 27. One of the very archaic dialects is Paisāci. Vr., 10, 1 ff. knows only one dialect of this name; likewise Ki., 5, 96, and Simhadeva-gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, 2, 3, where this dialect is called Paisācika, and Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaalamkāra, 2, 12 calls it Paisācika and in a grammatical quotation he refers to it by the name Paisāciki: Hc. 4, 303-324 deals with Paisāci and appends to it, 325-328, Cūlikāpaisācika. Hc. is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43 ff., and Sr. fol. 63 ff., and both of them call the second dialect Cūlikāpaisāci. An unknown author (§ 3 note 1) referred to by Mk., fol. 2, describes eleven types of P. *kāñcīdeśīyapāṇḍye ca pāñcālagaṇḍamāgadham | vrācaḍaṁ dākṣiṇātyaṁ ca śaurasenaṁ ca kaikayaṁ | śābaraṁ drāvīḍaṁ caiva ekādaśa piśācakāḥ*. Mk. himself, as per fol. 3, treats only 3 Paisācis., namely Kaikeya, Saurasena and Pāñcāla; because they alone were used as literary dialects: *kaikayaṁ śaurasenaṁ pāñcālaṁ iti ca tridhā | piśācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyāna na lakṣitāḥ* — Kaikeya, according to Mk. fol. 86, is based on Sanskrit, and Saurasena upon Śaurasenī: the only difference that Pāñcāla maintains in comparison with Śaurasena consists in the former having as its characteristic the change of *ra* into *la*. RV., in LASSEN, Inst., p. 22, recognizes only two classes of Paisāci: Kaikeyapaisācam and the second one whose name has been handed down to us in the corrupt form Caska. In any case, in accordance with the grade of purity, these are again divided into sub-classes, of which, according to LASSEN, Inst., Appendix p. 6, Māgadha and Vrācaḍa (read thus for Brāvḍa) are called Paisācikas. Lakṣmīdhara, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 13, derives the name P. from the countries, of the Piśācas, in which it is spoken, and is named as such according to the opinion of the people of the earlier age: these countries are Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Gāndhāra, and four others whose names have been transmitted to us in their corrupt forms: Sudeśa, Bhota, Haiva, and Kanojana. These names point towards the north and the west of India. A nation is referred to as Piśācas in the Mahābhārata 7, 121, 14. But the Indians understand by the word Piśāca only demons, (*bhūta*) of this name (Kathāsaritsāgara, 7, 26-27). Thus it is referred to by Bhāmaha in his commentary on \ r. 10, 1: *piśācānāṁ bhāṣā piśāci*, and, therefore, he calls it also *bhūtabhāṣā* "the language of the demons", (Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa 1, 38; Sarasvatik. 95, 11. 13; Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 29; 8, 30; HALL, Vāsavadattā p. 22 note) or even *bhūtabhāṣita* as well as *bhautika* (Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 3, 1. 3), *bhūtavacana* (Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 5=Sarasvatik. 57, 11). There is the popular belief that the unmistakable identifying characteristic of a *bhūta* is that he speaks with a nasal accent, and thereupon CROOKE¹ assumes that like modern English this language too for that reason has been called a Piśācabhāṣā. The grammarians make no mention of this phonetic characteristic and I deem it probable that originally P. also like M. Ś. Mg. was named as such after the name of some people or country and the name of this country or people was similar in sound to *piśāca* and that on account of this the language as well began to be referred to as the dialect of the Piśācas, meaning demons. The nation of the Piśāca or Paisāca, except in the passage of the Mahābhārata referred to above, is nowhere mentioned, even though individual tribes like the Kekaya and Bāhlika, to whom Mk. clearly assigns as their language a Mg. dialect (§ 24), Kuntala and Gāndhāra are mentioned very frequently. According to Daśarūpa, 2, 60, the Piśāca or Māgadha language is especially spoken by the Piśācas, the people of lowly origin, etc. According to Sarasvatik. 56, 19; Śāhityad. p. 173, 10, P. is the language of the Piśāca; Bhojadeva, Sarasvatik. 57, 25, forbids the use of pure P. by high class characters: *nāyuttamapātraprarojyā piśāci suddhā*. The example

given by him is found in Hc. 4, 236 as that of Cūlikāpaśācika. High characters, who do not appear in the highest rôles, according to Sarasvatik. 58, 15, speak in a language that is Sanskrit and Paśācī at the same time, by means of the popular play of words *bhāṣāśleṣa*, which is comparatively easier in Paśācī than in any other Prākṛit dialect inasmuch as P., of all the Pkt. dialects, is most akin to Sanskrit. Vr. 10, 2, it is true, says that Śāurasenī is the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with him; but as shown by Hc. 4, 324, in phonology, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of PG. The characteristic of P., and in addition to that, of CP. as well, the two dialects that the grammarians do strictly differentiate, is the change of the voiced consonants into the voiceless ones, e. g. P. CP. *matana*=*madana*; *tāmotara*=*dāmōdara*; P. *patesa*=*pradeśa*; CP. *nakara*=*nagara*; *kiri*=*giri*; *mekha*=*megha*; *khamma*=*gharma*; *rācā*=*raja*; *cīmūta*=*jīmūta* etc. (§ 190. 191). Another characteristic feature is the retention in unchanged form of most of the consonants including *na* into which is transformed also *ṇa* and the change *la* into *ḷa*. HOERNLE², on account of mutation of the voiced mutes and the change to *ṇa* into *na* and *la* into *ḷa*, assumes that P. is a form of the Aryan language that developed in the mouth of the Dravidian people when the latter wanted to speak the Aryan Language. SENART³ was perfectly correct in rejecting this view. Against the hypothesis of HOERNLE that in none of the Aryan dialects of India even a trace of the devocalization of voiced mutes is visible it has to be noted that in a number of sporadic cases this mutation is noticeable in the dialect of Shābhāzgarhī⁴, in the Lāt⁵-dialect and in the Leṇa⁶-dialect⁷; in the NIA. languages the mutations of the aspirate voiced mutes takes place in the Dardū, Kāfir, and in the Gypsy languages⁷ and this suggests that the home of P. has to be searched for in the north-west in India.⁸ P. is so much peculiar and independent that it began to be considered as the fourth language, besides Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa (Kathāsarits. 7, 29; cf. 6, 148, Brhatkathām. 6, 52; Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 4.5; Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is understood also by *grāmyabhāṣā*, in which, according to Vāgbhaṭa, *Ālaṁkāratilaka* 15, 13, was composed Bhīmākāvya. It is deplorable that we have to depend exclusively on a few and insufficient statements of the grammarians for a knowledge of P. Brhatkathā was written in P. by Guṇādhya,⁹ whose time has been calculated by BÜHLER¹⁰ as the first or second century A D. The only connected fragments in this dialect are found in Hc. 4, 310, 316. 320. 322. 323¹¹ and perhaps also in 326. According to the annals of the northern Buddhists there lived 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras who belonged to four different castes and spoke four different languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa and Paśācī respectively. The Sthaviras, forming one of the four chief schools of Vaibāṣikas, are said to have used Paśācī¹²

1. An introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 149.—2. Comp. Grammar p. XIX f.—3. Piyadasi 2, 501, (note 1). 4. JOHANSSON, Shābhāzgarhī 1, 172 ff.—5. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 375 (*kaṁboca*), 376 (*paṭi-pāyacham*, etc.); 397 (*tuphe*, etc.) 6. HULTZ, ZDMG. 37, 549; 40, 66, note 5.—7. MIKLOSICH Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I, II (Wien 1874) p. 15ff.; IV. (Wien 1878) p. 51. Cf. also Gyp. *khūl*=Hindi *ghūr* in PSCHHEL, Beiträge Zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeunern (Halle a. S. 1894) p. 42 and Kalāṣa *khūs*=Gyp. *khās*=Hindi *ghās*=Skt. *ghāsa*.—8. PSCHHEL, Deutsche Rundschau XXXVI (Berlin 1883) p. 368. The hypothesis that Guṇādhya was a Kashmirian is incorrect. He was a South-Indian, but his work was popular in Kashmir as is proved by its abridgments by Somadeva and Kṣemendra. HALL,—Vāsavadattā (Calcutta 1859) p. 22f., note.; BÜHLER, IA. 1, 304ff., LEVI, JA. 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷaṁkāra, 2, 12—10. Detailed Report p. 47.—11. PSCHHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 33. I am unable to find the passage in Somadeva's work. Kathāsarits. 11, 48. 49 agrees in

certain places but not sufficiently accurately.—12. WASSILJEW, Dr. Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen, Geschichte and Literatur. Translated from Russian (by TH. BENEY) 1,248, note 3. (St. Petersburg, 1860).

§ 28. Apabhraṃśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one—, i.e. Sanskrit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects (§ 4), and only remotely does it signify particular form of the Prakrit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according the usual practice that obtained in Prākṛit (§ 5). Hc., 4, 329-4+6, treats A. as a uniform language. But from his rules it appears that under the name A., have been included together a number of several different dialects. The forms *dhruṃ*, *tram* (4,360) *iudhra* (4,372), *prassadi* (4,393), *brōppinu*, *brōppi* (4,391), *grhanti*, *grñheppinu*, (4,341. 394. 438), *vṛāu* (4,399) with their *r* and *ṛ* belong to a dialect altogether different from the one that has been described in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, which prescribes that in A. the sounds *ka, kha, ta tha, pa, pha* generally become *ga, gha, da, dha, ba, bha* respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far most of the other rules and examples : thus for instance 4, 446, according to which A. should mostly be dealt with like Ś.¹ The language of Piṅgala has gone much further than A. towards disintegration in Vikramorvaśi of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author cited by Mk., fol. 2, recognizes 27 different dialects of A. among which are included all the sub-classes mentioned under Paisāci (§ 27). Similarly Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. App. p. 5. Mk., on account of the differences being of insignificant character (*sūkṣmahedatoāt*), Mk. confines A. only to three varieties, *nāgara*, *vṛāṇḍa* and *upanāgarra*, a classification that is adopted also in Kī. 5, where the second variety has been designated as *vṛāṇḍa*. The chief variety of A. is Nāgara, and according to Mk. this was the language of Piṅgala as well, as is evident from the fact that he (Mk.) cites passages from this work under it. From Nāgara is derived Vṛāṇḍa, which according to Mk., fol. 85, originated in Sindh: *sindhudeśedbhavo vṛāṇḍopabhraṃśaḥ*. Among its peculiarities, Mk. notes the development of *y* before *c* and *j*, and the change of *ṣa* and *sa* into *śa*—the phonetic characteristics that are ascribed by him also to Mg. and by Prthivīdhara to the dialect of Śākāra, (§ 24). Further the optional change of the initial *ta, da* into *ṭa, ḍa*, and as it seems, the retention of *ṛ*, with the exception of *bhṛṭya*, etc. occur as other characteristics. The rest is all corrupt in the MSS. From an admixture of Nāgara and Vṛāṇḍa springs Upanāgara. Kī. 5, 70 is not clear. According to Mk., fol. 81, Hariścandra considered also *Śāklī* or *Śākkī* as an Apabhraṃśa dialect, but Mk. himself describes it as an admixture of Skt. and Ś., and includes it in his list of vibhāṣāḥ in fol. 3. The words *ehu² je=ṣa yadi*, found in Piṅgala 1, 4^a, according to Ravikara in BOLLENSSEN on Vikra. 527, belong to Vārendrī bhāṣā, which, therefore, is located behind Bengal.³ On Dhakkī, see § 25. Thus it is clear that A. extended from Sindh to Bengal, and this is in conformity with its nature as a popular language. Only a small portion of the many A. has again been turned into Prākṛit. Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1.1.29.61 calls the language of Piṅgala to be Avahatṭhabhāṣā⁴=Apabhraṣṭabhāṣā, but at p. 22, 15, he says that he would like to describe, in short, Varṇamarkaṭi, that has been overlooked by Piṅgala and other teachers, by *śabdaiḥ prākṛitaiḥ avahatṭhakaiḥ*. Hc., in Deśin. 1,37 says that *avajjhāo=upādhyāyaḥ* has not been mentioned by him as it has *prākṛtam apabhraṣṭam iva rūpam*; in 1, 67, he quotes the view of some teacher according to whom the Apabhraṃśa word *āsiao* is equivalent to *āyasikaḥ*, and in Kathāsaritsāgara, 17, 141, the pure

Māhārāṣṭrī words *eso tho' kkhū majjāro*⁵ are said to be *apabhraṣṭa*. The literary A., therefore, actually is *prakṛto'pabhramśaḥ*, "Prākṛit—Apabhramśaḥ". In spite of the phonetic disorder and the inchedible freedom with which the poets, at their sweet will for, the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number, and voice with one another A. has remained extraordinarily important and interesting, and it shows affinities with the Vedic language not in a small measure (§ 6).

1. FISCHER, Hc. I, IX.—2. BOLLENSEN has *eho* in the text and *eha* in the commentary; in the Bombay edition the text has *eo*.—3. B. R. s. v. Varendra and Vārendra.—4. The Bombay edition has everywhere. *°haṭ*. Cf. Sarasvatik. 59.9.—5. BROCKHAUS gives the wrong form *majjhāo*; DURGA PRASAD and PARAB correctly read *khū*.

§ 29. For a knowledge of A. up to this date the most important source is Hc., 4,329-446, whom follows Triv. § 3, 1ff. Besides the materials utilized in my edition of this work I have used also the Vyutpatidīpikā of Udayasāubhāgyagaṇin, and that both in the Pūṇā MSS¹. The work is designated as Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūṇḍhikā and is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hc.'s rules. Therefore, it is worthless for the most part. Unfortunately even the text is not essentially improved by these two MSS., because they too have all the defects of the manuscripts² used by me earlier. Like Trivikrama, Udayasāubhāgyagaṇin has added Sanskrit equivalents to the examples of A.; this makes the understanding of the subject extraordinarily easy and has proved to be of great advantage to me. We can say nothing about the sources whence Hc. collected his examples. They, however, create the impression of having been drawn from an anthology of the type of Sattasāi. As already noted by ZACHARIAE³, the stanzas quoted under Hc. 4,357, 2 3 are found along with an elaborate Skt. gloss also in Sarasvatik p. 76; further, Hc. 4,353 is found also in Caṇḍa 1 11⁴ (p. 36), 4,330, 2, also in Caṇḍa 2, 17⁵ (p. 47), and in 2,27¹ (p. 47) he quotes an A. stanza of his own (see § 34 note 4). Hc. 4,420, 5 is found also in Sarasvatik., p. 158, and Hc. 4,367, 5 is found even in Śukasaptati, p. 160. Next after Hc. comes into consideration the A. stanzas found in Vikramaovaśi pp. 55-72. Unfortunately SHANKAR P. PANDIT⁴ and BLOCH⁵ have declared these metrical passages to be spurious. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not of the South Indian source, in which even other works have been systematically abridged,⁶ and, as shown by KONOW,⁷ are thoroughly free from suspicion as it respects their genuineness. The Piṅgalachandaśūtra will make rich materials available to us when we shall have a critical edition of it. A beginning of the work had already been made by BOLLENSEN in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaśi, pp. 520ff. The materials collected by him have been taken over to Berlin by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT,⁸ who had planned an edition of the work, and other materials are to be found abundantly in India.⁹ The Bombay edition (1894), in the Kāvya-mālā (41), of Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa by ŚIVADATTA and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB is hardly usable. I have compared the text of Piṅgala of this edition with that of GOLDSCHMIDT upto 2, 140.¹⁰ In several places this text has been found useful to me. Generally it agrees with the Bombay edition, even in respect of errors, and this shows that the material found in Europe, is not sufficient for a critical edition. It is true, that the text of GOLDSCHMIDT was not meant for printing, and it is evident from the MS. itself that it was the result of researches carried for private use. There still remains much to be done here, and without an edition furnished with all the

critical materials and the oldest and the best commentaries, for this A., the work is useful to a very limited extent. Besides detached A. stanzas are met with here and there; thus in Erz. edited by JACOBI, pp. 157f.; in Kk. 260, 43 ff.; 272, 34-38; in Dvār. 504, 26-32; in Sarasvatik. p. 34.59. 130. 139. 140.165. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260f.; in the commentary on Daśarūpa 139, 11; 162, 3; in Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 of Ānandavardhana (§ 14 with note 2); in Śukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by RICHARD SCHMIDT (Leipzig 1893) pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, edited by UHLE., p. 217, No. 13: 220 No. 20; in Simhāsanadvātrimśikā, IS. 15, 394; in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Bombay 1888) pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248., and in BEAMES, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. Most of these stanzas are so much corrupt that we can utilize only particular words from them. In Alaṅkāratilaka, 15, 13, Vāgbhaṭa mentions Abdhima-thana as a work written in A.

1. SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR. A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888), p. 68, No. 276; p. 118, No. 788.—2. Hc. 1-IX.—3. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—4. Vikramorvaṣīyam (Bombay 1879) p. 9 ff.—5. Vararuci und Hemcandra p. 15ff.—6. PISCHEL. GN. 1874, 214; Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin 1875, 613. Even Pañcatantra and the Mahābhārata are abridged in the south Indian recensions, but they are by no means the oldest.—7. GGA. 1894, 475.—8. WEBER, Verzeichniss, 2, 1, 269ff.—9. AUFRICHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 336 ff.; 2, 75, where it has been correctly remarked that in our texts spurious passages are found in quite a good number. Thus for example a quotation from Karpūramañjarī p. 199. 200. 211. —10. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 270, Nr. 1711.

§30. According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 31-44¹; Daśarūpa 2, 59.60; Sāhityad. 432 in the drama men of high position and, among women, the nuns, the chief queens, the ministers' daughters, and the courtesans, according to Bharata also the female artists speak Sanskrit; and all other women speak Prākṛit; the apsaras on the earth can speak the language of their choice. Generally these statements are in conformity with the practice obtaining in the dramas. Yet everywhere the chief queen speaks Prākṛit; Mālātī and Madayantikā, the daughters of the minister, speak Prākṛit in Mālātīmādhava; the harlot Vasantasenā speaks mostly in Prākṛit in Mṛcchakaṭikā, but at pages 83-86, she speaks in verses in Sanskrit. It was assumed in the case of harlots that they were well versed in both the languages; it is noteworthy that in order to become a fully qualified harlot she must be adept in 64 arts, be endowed with all the 64 kinds of accomplishments, and be conversant with the 18 popular languages:² *gaṇ'yā...cāusatthikalāpandīā cāusatthi gaṇ'yāguṇovave'yā...atthārasadesibhāsā-visārāyā* (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55 ff.). Prosperity in the profession was concomitant with this. In Kumārasambhava 7, 90, the priest Sarasvatī praises the married pair, Śiva and Pārvatī, in two languages, Śiva, in Sanskrit, and Pārvatī, in an easily intelligible language, i. e. in Prākṛit. Rājaśekhara, Karp. 5.3.4 says that a work in Skt. is rough and that it is sweet in Pkt.; accordingly the difference between the two languages is the same as that between a man and a woman. In Mṛcch. 44, 1ff., the Vidūṣaka says that two things make him laugh, one is a Sanskrit-speaking woman and the other is a man who sings in a low voice; the woman who speaks Sanskrit makes the sound *su su* like a heifer through whose nose a cord has been passed and the man who sings in a low voice resembles an aged family priest who mutters his prayer with a dry garland of flowers worn over his head. The director of the play, in Mṛcch., who subsequently plays the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, speaks in Sanskrit in the beginning, but as soon as he begins to talk to a woman he (2,14), "according to the circumstance and

usage", expresses his readiness to speak in Prākṛit. In support of the statement that a man should speak to a woman in Prākṛit Pṛthivīdhara (495, 13) gives a quotation : *stīṣu nā prākṛitān vadet*. From all this it is gathered that Prākṛit is characterized as the proper language of women, as has been prescribed by the authors on rhetorics. Besides, they not only understand Skt. but they speak it as well the moment they have to say something in verse. So speak Vicakṣaṇā in Viddhaś. pp. 75, 76; Mālātī in Mālatīm. pp. 81, 84; Lavaṅgikā p. 253; Sītā in Prasannarāghava, pp. 116-118 even in prose, and pp. 120, 121, 155 in verses; Kalahansikā in Anarghar. p. 113; the girl friend of the heroine in Karmas. p. 30, and the heroine herself, p. 32; Sindūrikā in Bālar. pp. 120, 121; in Chardi, Jivān. 20, in Subhadrāh. the actress, p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; in Mallikām., Mallikā, pp. 71, 17; 75, 4; 81, 12; 82, 1; 85, 9; Navamālikā 72, 8; 75, 10; Sārasikā 78, 14; 251, 3; Kāṇḍī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; in Dhūrtas. p. 11f., Anaṅga-senā, also in prose; and sometimes also women in Cait. Buddharakṣitā cites Mālatīm p. 242, Kāmasūtra 199, 17f. Even the men who speak usually Pkt. now and then cross over to Skt. when they have to say in verses. So the Vidūṣaka, in Viddhaś. p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper medium of expression for people of his class (*amhārisajajogge pāudamagge*), in Karmas. p. 14, and Jivān. pp. 53, 83; similarly in Kāmasavadha p. 12, the gate-keeper, in Dhūrtas. p. 9, and in Hāsy. p. 23, 33, 38, the snātaka, and at p. 28 also the barber. In Jivān. pp. 6ff. Dhārāṇā speaks to herself in Pkt. but in the guise of a female ascetic she speaks to the minister in Skt.; in Mudrār., Virādhagupta, in the guise of a snake-charmer, pp. 70ff., speaks Pkt., but to himself, pp. 72ff. 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa, p. 85, he speaks in Skt.; and at p. 82, 2 he introduces himself as a Prākṛit poet. An unknown poet complains that even in his time many people are not capable of reading a Prākṛit poem³, and another one (H. 2=Vajjālagga, 324, 20) asks why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like poetry in Prākṛit and still trouble themselves about true love. We as yet do not know if in Sarasvatik. 57, 8, Nāṭyarājasya is the correct reading, and the person who has been designated by this term is also unknown. Likewise we are not sure about the identity of Sāhasāṅka referred to in 57, 9. Perhaps in the kingdom of the former there was nobody who could speak in Pkt. and in that of the latter there was none who did not speak Skt.⁴ Notwithstanding the praise of Prākṛit expressed here and there it has always, in comparison with Skt., been considered to be a language of inferior status, and perhaps for that reason the word Prākṛta, even as the name of the language, signifies very appropriately "common", "general", "inferior" which is also commonly denoted by the word. It is useless to carry an investigation into the antiquity and succession of the dialects (§32).

1. Bharata gives more of details, and here I have entered into them only to a limited extent, because the text is very often doubtful.—2. The number of the popular dialects is mentioned to be 18 also in Ovay. §109; Nāyādh. §121; and Rāyap. §291. In Kāmasūtra 33, 9 only the *deśabhāṣāḥ* in general are referred to.—3. PSCHEL, Hc. 2, p. 44, on Hc. 1, 181.—4. Both of the following verses, i.e. 57, 10, 11, literally are=to Bālar. 8, 4, 5; 57, 13, resemble Bālar. 8, 7. Since Rājasekhara lived a century earlier than Bhoja, it is the author of Sarasvatik. who has borrowed it from him.

B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS.

§ 31. At the top of the list of the names of native workers in the field of Prākṛit must be placed the name of Bharata, in case, by this name, we, with the Indians, mean the mythical author of Indian dramaturgy. Mk. fol. 1 refers to Bharata among his sources. Neither the quotation found at

fol. 4 nor the others, cited by the scholiasts¹, are to be found in our text of the Bhāratīyaṇāṭyaśāstra²; in adhyāya 17 thereof, the different languages have been treated, and in stanzas 6-23 there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prākṛit grammar. Besides, in chapter 32 of the work there is a number of examples in Prākṛit, and all these are thoughtlessly distorted. A second work, that is ascribed to Bharata, is Saṅgītanṛtyākara.³ According to DEVIPRASĀDA⁴ this work is very rare. There are found hardly any citations from that work, on the other hand, they are all from another recension of Nāṭyaśāstra. Mk. fol. 1 mentions Śākalya and Kohala side by side with Bharata. According to Mk. fol. 48 Śākalya, beside *tujjesu* and *tumbhesu*, reads also *tujjhisu* and *tumbhisu*, which were not acceptable to many (*etat tu na bahusammatam*) and according to fol. 71, in Ś., beside *bhodi*, occurs also *hodi*⁵. The quotation from Kohala is given in § 23. It cannot be affirmed if both of them are identical with the ancient grammarians⁶. Likewise nothing can be said with certainty with regard to Pāṇini, who is credited with the authorship of Prākṛitlakṣaṇa, a Prākṛit grammar, by Kedārabhaṭṭa in Kavikaṇṭhapāśa⁷ and Malayagiri⁸. He is credited also with the authorship of two artificial epics, namely Pātālaviṇaya and Jāmbavatīviṇaya⁹. In view of the fact that from the first are cited the forms *grhya* and *paśyati* that go against Pāṇini's own rules 7, 1, 37. 81 KIELHORN¹⁰ and BHĀNDARKAR¹¹ are suspicious about the identity of the poet with the grammarian Pāṇini. But we know that the antiquity of the Indian artificial epics goes back to a period, far earlier than hitherto supposed¹² to be. The word *grhya* is quite common in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and likewise the forms of the participle ending in *-atī*, instead of those in *-antī*, are not rare.¹³ It is highly improbable to hypothesize that Pāṇini might not have known the Mahābhārata. His grammar does not codify the language of poetry, but the correct Skt. of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras,¹⁴ and it does not follow from this that many of the forms, that have not been mentioned in his grammar, either did not exist from before his time or that he, as a poet, could not use them. According to tradition Pāṇini, the poet, was identical with Pāṇini, the grammarian¹⁵, and I do not see any reason to doubt its correctness. It seems probable that Pāṇini, might have written a grammar of Prākṛit as well, and that perhaps as a supplement to his Skt. grammar which was the original work. However, the Prākṛit grammar of Pāṇini is said to be very bad. Along with the names of earlier writers Mk. fol. 171 mentions also one Kapila.

1. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 1f.—2. Besides the edition of ŚIVADATTA and PARAB (Bombay 1894=Kāvya-mālā 42), I have used both the MSS. of Pūnā; they are transcriptions from the same archetype and constitute the basis of the printed edition. The edition of GROSSET (Lyon 1897) extends up to the end of the fourteenth adhyāya only.—3. AUFRICHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 396. 686—4. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1883 (Allahabad 1884) p. 100f.—5. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 2. 3.—6. AUFRICHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 130 mentions one Kohala, who was a writer on music. He might have been identical with the Prākṛit grammarian. Cf. also WEBER IS. 8, 272f; I Str. 2, 59; B. R. s. v.—7. A work bearing this title is often referred to without any mention of its author (AUFRICHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 86: 2, 16). It is ascribed to Kedārabhaṭṭa by D'ALWIS; An introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo, 1863) p. xxv. Cf. WEBER, I Str. 2, 325, note 2.—8. WEBER, IS. I Str. 2, 325, note 2; IS. 10, 227, note 1, KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 472; LEUMANN, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885) 3, 2, 557 f.—9. AUFRICHT, ZDMG. 14, 581 f; 28, 113; 36, 366 ff; Halāyudha s. v. *srkvan*; PETERSON, Subhāshitāvalī (Bombay 1886) p. 54ff., who has rightly remarked that both of them may have been the names of the same epic; FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 95ff. 316.—10. GN. 1885, 185ff.—11. JBoAS. 16, 344ff.—12. BÜHLER, Die indischen inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie. Wien 1890. Cf. BHĀNDARKAR l.c.—13. HOLTZMANN, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata (Leipzig. 1884); BÖHTLINGK. BKSGW. 1887, 213ff. on WHITNEY § 449. 990.—14. LIEBICH,

Pāṇini Leipzig 1891) p. 47 ff. The conclusion drawn by him from the Bhagvadgītā, p. 32 ff., as shown above, cannot be proved.—15. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36,365ff; FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 97f.

§ 32. The oldest of the Prākṛit grammars that we possess is Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci. Of the several persons bearing this name¹, the grammarian is distinguished from others by his gotra name, Kātyāyana. This appellation was given to him by the unknown² author of the commentary Prākṛtamañjarī, who in his introduction interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other, throughout, and under 2,2 uses the name Kātyāyana in lieu of Vararuci.³ This sort of inconsistency is noticeable also in the case of the name of Vararuci, the author of the Vārttika. That he also was called Vararuci is reported by Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara 2, 1, and Kṣemendra, Brhatkathāmañjarī, 1, 68; 2, 15. Besides, the tradition goes as back as Gūṇādhyā⁴ and reaches down upto Sāyaṇa⁵, and the lexicographers⁶ fix it in the middle course. The anthology, Saduktikarṇāmrta contains a stanza composed by the Vārttikakāra⁷, a term that can denote Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana alone⁸, and Patañjali, on Pāṇini, 4,3,101 (2,315 ed. KIELHORN) mentions *vārurucam kāvyam*⁹. From this it appears probable that our Vārttikakāra was not a simple dry grammarian, but also a poet like his successor Patañjali¹⁰ and his predecessor Pāṇini (§ 31). This makes it clear that Kātyāyana could be confused with Vararuci, who, according to the tradition, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and was one of the nine jewels in the court of Vikramāditya¹¹. WEBER¹² has attributed the same sort of confusion also with regard to the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, and he¹³, WESTERGAARD¹⁴ and BLOCH¹⁵ have expressed the opinion on the question of identity of Vārttikakāra with the Prākṛit grammarian, that is against the view of COWELL¹⁶, MAXMÜLLER¹⁷, FISCHER¹⁸ and KONOW¹⁹. When even Vr. could be surpassed by Hc. and the south Indian grammarians in the art of criticism there is no reason to push him upwards, just on account of his critical acumen, upto Vārttikakāra, referred to above, "the stubborn castigator of Pāṇini"²⁰. By the time of Hc. Prākṛit grammar had already made great progress as compared with the time of Vr., and it is one thing to improve upon a work that has been ready from before and it is quite another to plan a work all new. After all it was a fact that Patañjali found one Kātyāyana to criticize and improve upon him. That the dialects taught by Vr., more particularly Māhāraṣṭrī, have forms that are phonetically much later than those of the language of the inscriptions of Aśoka and that of the Nāśika inscriptions proves nothing at all²¹. Because the Prākṛits are merely artificial dialects and existed by the side of the popular and the official dialects it is wholly wrong to draw a chronological sketch of the Prākṛit languages on the basis of the inscriptions. If the Sattasāi be the work of a single author, it is wholly wrong to suppose, as opined by JACOB and BLOCH, that Māhāraṣṭrī did not come into common use before the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The names of 318 poets that have been transmitted to us through the medium of this anthology alone presuppose that there existed from before a rich literature in Prākṛit (§13), which up to the time of Govardhanācārya, and therefore, till up to the 12th century A. D. was the only literary dialect employed in composing aphoristic musical stanzas, mostly depicting love themes, and written in the Āryā metre, that might have later been collected together in the form of an anthology.²² The Gitagovinda of Jayadeva goes back to an original work written in Apabhraṃśa²³; besides, it may be noted that several Sanskrit works, of course not rarely, are found to be just imitations of some earlier works in Prākṛit²⁴. The assumption of

BLOCH that Vr. could not have lived before the 5th century A. D. is not important on linguistic grounds. On the other hand, the possibility is not altogether ruled out that the author of *Prākṛtamañjarī*, confused the two Vararucis, although a reference in his work to the grammarian is to be taken less lightly than that in the work of the Tibetan Tārānātha. Then there is the tradition that Kātyāyana was a Prākṛit grammarian as well, and it seems to me that the name Vārttikārnayabhāṣya, a work taken to be a grammar of Prākṛit and mentioned by Appayadīkṣita, *Prākṛitam-apidīpa* 5, among his sources of information, immediately after *vārarucā granthāḥ*, corroborates it. The identity of Kātyāyana with Vararuci can not naturally be looked upon as certain.

1. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,551.—2. In OPPERT, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, (Madras 1880. 1885) 1,290, No. 3426 and 2, 371, No. 6341 Kātyāyana is mentioned as the author.—3. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. 10 f.—4. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 473.—5. COWELL, The Prākṛita-Prakāśa, Second Issue. Advertisement; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 9. Cf. also Prakriyākāumudiprasāda in BHĀNDARKAR, Report 1883/84, p. 362, 18.—6. B. R. s. v. Kātyāyana.—7. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 524.—8. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39,98. The Prākṛtamañjarī speaks about *mahākavi Kātyāyana*.—9. In what respect does this sort of reference to this *kātyam* in the Mahābhāṣya warrant the statement, "that this reference to bhagavān Kātyaḥ, as the author of this Kāvya, does not hold good for Vararuci as its author" WEBER, Istr. 3,227, I do not understand.—10. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36. 370.—11. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 474.—12. Istr. 3,378.—13. Istr. 2, 53ff.; 3,27 ff.—14. Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Litteratur (Breslau 1862) p. 86.—15. Vr. und Hc. p. 9 ff.—16. The Prākṛita-Prakāśa, p. VI.—17. HASL. p. 148. 239ff.—18.—De gr. Pr. p. 9. ff.—19. GGA. 1894, 473.—20. WEBER, Istr. 3,278.—21. WESTERGAARD l. c.; JACOBI, Erzählungen p. xiv f.; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 12f.—22. FISCHEL, Hofdichter p. 30.—23. FISCHEL, l. c. p. 22.—24. FISCHEL, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgāratilaka (Kiel 1886) p. 13 note 1.

§ 33. In any case, if Vararuci is not the oldest, he is one of the oldest Prākṛit grammarians. The title of his grammar is *Prākṛitaprakāśa*, that was edited with notes and translation by COWELL : The Prākṛita Prakāśa : or The Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuci, with the Commentary Manoramā of Bhāmaha. Second Issue. London 1868 (printed for the first time, Hertford, 1854). A reprint of the text has recently been brought out by RAMA SHASTRI TAILANGA (Benares 1899). Vr. treats in paricchedas 1-9, M., in 10, P., in 11, Mg., and in 12, Ś. In parts, the text has come down to us in a very mutilated condition and in several places its recensions differ strongly, and this goes to prove its antiquity¹. The oldest of its commentators was Bhāmaha, an inhabitant of Kashmir, who was also a rhetorician as well as poet². His time has been determined only to this extent that he was older than Udbhaṭa, who lived under the king Jayapīḍa of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.) and wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of Bhāmaha³. Bhāmaha's commentary on the Prākṛitaprakāśa bears the title Manoramā⁴ and is lacking in pariccheda 12. Undoubtedly Bhāmaha misunderstood Vr. now and then. The most striking proof of this is furnished by 4, 14.⁵ It is uncertain if he had ever understood the gaṇas⁶ exactly as they were conceived by Vr. A distinction, that is to be seen throughout, has to be rigorously maintained between the sūtras and the commentary. We can just have an idea as regards the sources of information of Bhāmaha from the significant passages quoted by him. Such passages occur under Vr. 8,9; 9,2. 4-7. 9-17; 10, 4, 14; 11, 6. Of them, under 9,2 is given *hūm sāhasu? sabbhāvaṃ*=H. 453 (cf. the v. l.), where none of the MSS. has *hūm*. According to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 153) the writer of this stanza is Viṣṇunātha : under 9,9 occurs *kiṇo dhuvasi*=H. 369, it is also cited in Hc. 2,216, and according to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 120) it is of Devarāja. I cannot trace the remaining ones : the examples given under 10,4,14 have been taken from Bṛhatkathā. In 9,4 the Gāthās are generally referred to. A later

commentary is the Prākṛtamañjari of which the unknown author (cf. § 32, note 2) wrote it in verses and who was evidently a South Indian. The manuscript containing these verses utilized by me is in the Malayālam character : it belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, London⁸ and is incomplete and extends upto Vr. 6,18. The author evidently knew Bhāmaha. The examples given by both of them mostly tally, nevertheless the number of examples quoted by the anonymous writer is often smaller than that of those given by Bhāmaha, though sometimes a few are added by him here and there ; his text differs in many places from that of COWELL.⁹ The commentary is not of a high value.

I COWELL p. 97 ; FISCHER, De. Gr. Pr. p. 10, 13 ; BÜHLER, Detailed Report p. 75 ; HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f.—2. AUFRECHT, IS. I 6, 207f : Cat. Cat. 1.405f. ; PETERSON Subhāsitāvali p. 79 ; FISCHER, Rudraṭa p. 6f.—3. FISCHER, Rudraṭa p. 13—4. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 960, wrongly calls it Prākṛtamañoramā. Wrong is also the statement that it is called Prākṛtacandrikā as well. Both the statements are based upon KIELHORN, A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces (Nagpur 1874) p. 84, No. 44. All the other sources quoted by AUFRECHT have Manoramā. The manuscript referred to by HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f. ascribes it to Vararuci himself.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 28.—6. It is not, therefore, certain that the gaṇas did never have a fixed number of words as was supposed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 31. As in Sanskrit, so in Prākṛit as well, the schools were differing from one another.—7. We must read as such in lieu *sāhusu* in COWELL and *kadhehi sāhusu* in TAILANGA, and in the translation it is to be changed into *sādhusu*.—8. Noted by AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,360.—The more important ones in FISCHER, De. Gr. Pr. p. 10-16.

§ 34. The opinions differ very widely with regard to Caṇḍa, whose Prākṛtalakṣaṇam has been published by HOERNLE : The Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam or Caṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prākṛit. Part I. Text with a critical introduction and indexes. Calcutta, 1880. HOERNLE is of the view that Caṇḍa had treated Ārṣa (§ 16. 17). He bases his edition on the manuscripts AB, which give the least of the texts : he is of the opinion that MSS. CD contain later interpolations. He considers C. to be older than Vr. and Hc., and as such, generally speaking, he considers him to be the oldest of the known Prākṛit grammarians. Against this BLOCH¹ thinks "the grammar of Caṇḍa is an inaccurate and superficial abridgement of another work, may be perhaps even of Hemacandra." Both the views are incorrect. That Caṇḍa is not so old as he is considered to be by HOERNLE is proved by the introductory stanza 1, in which the author states that he will fashion his work on the basis of the views of the earlier writers (*vṛddhimaṭāt*). This stanza is found in all the manuscripts of HOERNLE as well as in PETERSON, Third Report (Bombay 1887) p. 265, and in BHANDARKAR, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency. Part I (Bombay 1893) p. 58, and, therefore, cannot persumably be considered, in agreement with HOERNLE, p. 1, note to be a later adaptation. It is doubtful as to how far the work can generally be considered to be an adaptation. It is true that the manuscript C, in the commentary, appears to have received many additions. But all the rules that C and D, rather B, C. and D, have in common, cannot be denied to be the original work. C evidently deals with M., JM., AMg. and JS. side by side. This is demonstrated by the rules; thus in 1, 5, the genitive in-*āṇam* is mentioned by the side of that in-*āham*; in 2, 10, the nominative in-*e* is taught close to that in-*o*; in 2, 19, the absolutive in M., JM., AMg., JM. and JS' as well as in A. is treated; in 3, 11. 12 the rules relating to M. AMG., and JS' are combined into one². This peculiarity is noticeable to a far greater extent in C and D. Thus in 1, 26³ (p. 42) occurs A. *haū* by the side of *ham* and *aham*; in 2, 19, C and D add forms of M. and A. to those of the absolutive of M. AMG., JM., JS' and

A; likewise in 2, 27^{a-1}. the forms of A. are preponderant and in 27^{b-k}, also of JS'; in 3, 6 (p. 48) the forms from JS', AMG., and JM. are mixed up together; 3, 11^a furnishes supplementary forms from CP. in addition to those given in 3, 11. 12. Hence the assertion that 3, 6 (p. 48) is fully in keeping with the characteristics of the work and that 3, 39^a is wrong may be an impossibility. Sometimes the additions appear to be going back to Hc. as the source: Thus the definition of Prākṛta in C. on 1, 1 is verbally Hc. 1, 1, but the former gives just the beginning; 1, 11^a (p. 36) is=Hc. 4. 353; 2, 1^c (p. 37) is=Hc. 1, 6, but the former is shorter; 3, 11^a (p. 48) corresponds to Hc. 4. 325, but here also the former is shorter. Thus everywhere C. is shorter, and in certain cases, such as in 3, 34 (p. 51)=Hc. 1, 177, in spite of so much of correspondences the distinction is so great that C. cannot be considered to be the borrower. As against what has been said above, it is noteworthy that Hc. 3, 81 seems to have referred to C. 1, 17 as noted by HOERNLE, p. XXII. There C. teaches that *se* is used also in the genitive plural, and Hc., 3, 81 remarks that some author desires the use of *se* in the genitive plural as well : *idantador āmāpi se ādeśam kaścid icchati*. BLOCH³, in fact, is of the opinion that reference to C. by the singular form *kaścit* in Hc. is indicative of the fact that no great importance is to be attached to him. But the entire thesis of BLOCH with regard to the manner of giving citations in Hc. and in other Indian grammarians is essentially wrong. When Hc. says *kaścit* thereby he means to refer to one more authority. Besides, there is no grammarian other than C. who is known to have framed an identical rule; thus the greatest possibility is that in places where C. and Hc. have an identical rule the borrower is not C. but Hc. All other such cases have been correctly put together by HOERNLE p. XXIII^f.⁴ I shall, however, just add the example *cauṛisaṃ . . . pi . . .* given under C. 2. 12^a (p. 44) which is much more detailed in C. than in Hc. 3, 137. Further, the terminology employed by both of them is not identical throughout. Thus in C. 2, 1^b (p. 37) the vowel that remains after elision of a consonant is called *uddhṛta*, but in Hc. 1. 8 it is designated as *udvṛtta*; C. 2, 10 has Visarjanīya, but Hc. 1, 37 has Visarga; C. on 2, 15 (p. 45) uses Ardhānusvāra, but Hc. in 3, 7, Anunāsika; etc. Moreover, sometimes C. gives us quotations that Hc. does not have. Thus 2, 21. 22. 24; 3, 38. 39 where the second example given under 1, 1 (p. 39) is quoted also by Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra, 2, 2 (§9); further those given under 2, 24 (p. 46), under 2, 27^b and 2, 27^c (p. 47). In no way C. had desired to treat the Ārṣa dialect all alone. The so called archaisms, such as retention of *t*, *th*, the lengthening of the vowels in the endings *-ām*, *-īm*, *-ūm*, etc. are errors committed by the scribe like the so many errors that are quite common in Jaina MSS.⁵ Even in the case of the manuscripts of C. it is note-worthy that all of them do not mostly have such errors in them and seldom do they have these all in one and the same places. The dialect mainly taught by C. is M., and along with it he himself mentions expressly Apabhraṃśa in 3, 37, Paisāciki in 3, 38, Māgadhiḱā in 3, 39, Ārṣa in 2, 13^{a-b} (p. 44), which as already noted is referred to several times also in the A and B recensions; Śaurasenī is mentioned 3, 39^a (p. 52). The example quoted in D 2, 1^c (p. 37) is=Gaṇḍavaho (p. 220) and is found also in Hc. 1, 6; the second example given in C and D under 1, 26^a (p. 42) *teṇ*aham viddho* is clearly Hāla 441⁶. Because these examples are not found in all the manuscripts, it is risky to depend on them for determination of the age of C. The text has been handed down to us in such a mutilated condition that it can be used only with great caution and that also after a careful examination of the variants. In any case this much seems to be certain that C. was older than Hc. and

was one of his authorities. The very fact that C. is preserved in several recensions goes to suggest his comparatively earlier antiquity. Differing from all other grammarians, C. begins with the nominal and pronominal flexion (*vāhaktividhāna*): in the second section he treats the vowels (*svaravidhāna*) and in the third, the consonants (*ryaṅjanavidhāna*). The C and D recensions bifurcate the third section after 3, 36, and designate the remaining portion beginning from 3, 37 up to 3, 39^a the fourth section and give to it the heading *bhāṣāntaravidhāna* "Rules on the other languages"; corresponding to this name this section deals with the other Prākṛit dialects like M., JM., AMg., and JŚ., and therefore, it was wrong to consider this alone to be an entire work *Prākṛitabhāṣāntaravidhānā* as in BÜHLER (ZDMG. 42, 556) and BHĀNDĀRKAR (Lists p. 58); BÜHLER and BHĀNDĀRKAR call the author of this to be Candra.⁷ The extract quoted in BHĀNDĀRKAR shows that they meant by it the same work. The introduction to C and D is certainly correct. Now there remains little scope for the doubt about this as the manuscript of BHĀNDĀRKAR has the same colophon as in A and B. C. does not at all treat the verb; perhaps this is just the legacy of transmission of the text. That the grammar was really very short is suggested by one of its name, *Prākṛitasāroddhāravṛttiḥ*, which is given in the MS. in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 265.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—2. This could be applied to Ś. also in lieu of JŚ. But the very nature of the grammar, particularly 3, 6 in C and D (p. 48) refers to JŚ.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—4. That the forms were comprehended under 2, 27¹ (p. 47) by C. as those of common Prākṛit, as was considered by HOERNLE p. XXIII, is wrong. The stanza is composed in pure Apabhraṃsā. It has to be read as:—*kālu, lahevijū joī jīva mohu galai tīva tīva dapsaṇu lahaī jo niamem apbu munci*, "the measure in which, with the passage of time he dissolves his delusion, the yogin, who comes to know the self by penance, attains enlightenment". *joī* is not=*jāyāyah*, but=*yogikah*=*yogī* from *yogin*.—5. On t cf. §203.—6. cf. §417, note 2.—7. Caṇḍa is the most authentic form of the name: by it we must never understand that it refers to Candra, i.e. Candragomin, (LIEBIG, Panini p. 11), since it has been proved that according to KIELHORN, IA. 15, 184 the terminology used by Candragomin is quite different from the one used by Caṇḍa.

§35. As a lexicographer of Pkt. there was the energetic Dhanapālā, whose dictionary of synonyms, the *Pāiṇyalacchī*, that is *Prākṛitalakṣmīḥ*, has been published by BÜHLER: The *Pāiṇyalacchī Nāmamālā*, a Prakrit Kosha, by Dhanapālā, Edited with critical notes, an introduction and a glossary by GEORG BÜHLER, Göttingen, 1878 (=BB. 4, 70-166^a). According to his own statement (stanzas 276-278) Dhanapālā composed his work at Dhārā in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era=972 AD., that is during the period when Mānyakhēṭa was sacked in a series of attacks by a Mālava prince, for his younger sister Sundarī.¹ In stanza 1, he calls his work a *Nāmamālā*, and in 278 he designates it as *Deśi*=*Deśī*. As already pointed out by BÜHLER (p. 11), the *Deśis* constitute only a quarter of the words of the lexicon, all others are either *tatsamas* or *tadbhavas* (§8), and, therefore, this work is not of any great value.² It contains 279 stanzas in the *Āryā* metre, and the first one is the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and the last four constitute a statement of the event referred to above. Each object takes one complete strophe in stanzas 1-19, a verse in 20-94, a half verse in 95-202; the stanzas 203-275 contain single words that are explained sometimes by means of synonyms and sometimes by half of a verse. Dhanapālā is acknowledged by Hc., *Deśin*. 1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17 as one of the sources of his information. But sometimes the citations are not traceable at all in *Pāiṇyalacchī* (3, 22; 4, 30; 8, 17), or partly they do not accord with the statement of Hc. (1, 141; 6, 101). Therefore, rightly conjectures BÜHLER (p. 15) that Dhanapālā had written another work of the same³ type as well. After his conversion to Jainism Dh. wrote *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*.

1. Details in BÜHLER p. 5 ff.—2. BÜHLER p. 13ff.—3. Vide §20; BÜHLER p. 9; KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 445. On Dh.'s other literary activities see BÜHLER p 10; AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 27, 41; Cat. Cat. 1, 267.

§ 36 Of the Prākṛit grammars that have as yet come to light by far the most important is that of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.). His Prākṛit grammar constitutes the eighth section of the Siddhahemacandra, i. e. grammar dedicated to Siddharāja and written by Hemacandra¹, whereof the first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language. Hc. himself wrote thereupon a commentary in two recensions, one, the *Bṛhatī*—and the other, the *Laghu-vṛttī*²; of them the *Laghu-vṛttī* bears the name *Prakāśikā* and has been printed in the editions of Mahābala Kṛṣṇa, Bombay, Saṁvat 1929, and PISCHEL : *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen* (Siddhahemacandram Adhyāya VIII), herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Teil I. II. Halle a. S. 1877. 1880. On the *Vṛttī*, Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin wrote an etymological commentary, *Haimaprākṛtavṛttīdīpikā*, under the title *Vyutpattidīpikā*, (§29), and on the eighth chapter, Narendracandrasūri wrote a running commentary named *Prākṛtaprabodha*³. Hc. has divided his grammar into four sections : of them the first two are devoted to Phonetics, the third one contains rules on Morphology, in the fourth, under 1-258, he gives root-substitutes, the classification of roots that differ in conjugation from those of Sanskrit and detached rules for forming the passive, in rule No. 259 he makes certain observation on the meaning of roots: he deals with Sauraseni in 260-286, Māgadhī in 287-302, Paisācī in 303-324, Cūlikāpaisācīkā in 325-328, Apabhraṁśa in 329-446, and finally in 447-448 he passes some general remarks. The language taught by Hc. in 1,1-4,259 is preponderantly M. But by the side of it he carries by force also J.M. and occasionally even JŚ., and that without differentiating strictly between these dialects everywhere. In 260-286, he has in view also JŚ. (§21). Nothing can as yet be said about his predecessors whose works were utilized by Hc. in his grammar. He refers by name only to Hugga 1,186, not as a grammarian, but as a lexicographer⁴, and that with reference to Skt. only; otherwise he refers to his sources simply in general terms such as *kāśit* (2,80 : 3,81); *kecit* (1, 67. 209; 2, 80. 128. 138. 145. 188; 3, 19. 25. 103. 153); *anyaḥ* (3, 103. 117); *anye* (1, 35. 88; 2, 163. 174. 207; 3, 177); *anyaiḥ* (4, 2); *anyesaṁ* (4, 327) *eke* (1, 35). JACOB⁵ is of the opinion that Hc. used the sūtras of Vr. as the basis of his grammar in the same manner as Bhaṭṭojidikṣita had the sūtras of Pāṇini the basis of his *Siddhāntakaumudī*. The sūtras of Vr. were irrefutably held in high esteem, and their exposition, relatively restricted, had become the main problem for Prākṛit grammarians. That Hc. stands to Vr. in a relation similar to that of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini is all wrong⁶, as has been shown in detail by BLOCH⁷. We cannot determine with certainty if Hc. has even utilized the work Vr. at all. It is just probable that he may have done so, but it cannot be proved. It has already been noted above (§34) that presumably he knew Caṇḍa. Besides his grammar, Hc. has written also a dictionary of Deśis, the *Deśināmamālā* or the *Deśīśabdasaṁgraha*, that was designated as *Rayanāvali* = Skt. *Ratnāvali*, by the author himself (8,77). According to the evidence available at pp. 1, 4ff. he wrote it after his grammar, and according to 1, 3 he wrote a supplement also to it. The text has been published by PISCHEL : *The Deśināmamālā of Hemchandra*, Part I. Text and critical notes. Bombay, 1880⁸. Like *Dhanapāla* (§35) Hc. also included tatsamas and tadbhavas under Deśī, but in proportion to the volume of the work their number is very small, and for a knowledge of Prākṛit it is extraordinarily essential. The *Deśināmamālā* is divided into alphabetically

arranged eight vargas. The words are divided into two classes. In the beginning occur the words arranged according to the number of syllables that have one meaning (*ekārthāḥ*), then follow the similarly arranged ones having more than one meaning (*anekārthāḥ*). To the first class of words are added illustrative examples in verses which were composed by Hc. himself; most of them are silly : it was so because Hc. was obliged to collect together in single verses words of different meanings. They serve as mnemotechnical auxiliaries and contain sometimes, by the side of Deśis, furthermore, the words and forms that are not usually included in Pkt. Besides, it is not rarely that this book helps us in ascertaining the exact meaning of several Deśi words⁹. Hc. has written a commentary to his Deśin. as well. He makes no claim that his work is not based on other sources, on the other hand, he admits that his work is nothing but a compilation from earlier works of similar pattern. In 1, 37 he leaves the problem of deciding whether *ambasamī* or *ambamasī* is the correct form to the reader, (*ambamasīti ke ciṭ paṭhanti tatra keṣām cid bhramobhrahmo veti bahudṛṣṭvāna eva pramāṇam*) ; in 1, 41 he is not clear either with regard to the form or the meaning of *acchi-harullo* and that because even authors differ from one another he leaves it to the well informed ones to decide (*tad evaṃ granthakṛdvipratipattau bahujñāḥ pramāṇam*) ; in 1, 47 he distinguishes between the words *avaḍāhia* and *avaḍakkia*, which others have explained as synonyms on the basis of observation of the materials found in the best writings on Deśis (*asmābhis tu sāradeśinirīkṣaṇena vivekaḥ kṛtaḥ*) ; in 1, 105 he firmly holds that *udduhia* in lieu of *uttuhia* remains due to scribe's error; likewise in 6, 8 *hora* occurs in lieu of *cora*. In support of his own decision he refers to many works in Deśi in 2, 28; to the best writings in it in 3, 12, 33; in 8, 12 he scolds modern writers on Deśi and their commentators; in 8, 13 he leaves again the decision to judicious people (*kevalam saṅgdayāḥ pramāṇam*). After 1, 2 the merit of the work lies in its alphabetical arrangement. According to 1, 49 he does it for students. He refers by name to *Abhimānacihna* (1, 144; 6, 93; 7, 18; 12, 17); *Avantisundarī* (1, 81, 157); *Devarāja* (6, 58, 72; 8, 17); *Droṇa* or *Droṇācārya* (1, 18, 50; 6, 7; 8, 17); *Dhanapāla* (1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17); *Gopāla* (1, 25, 31, 45; 2, 82; 3, 47; 6, 26, 58, 72; 7, 2, 76; 8, 1, 17, 67); *Pādalipta* (1, 2); *Rāhulaka* (4, 4); *S'ilāṅka* (2, 20; 6, 96; 8, 40); *Sātavāhana* (3, 41; 5, 11; 6, 15, 18, 19, 112, 125). Of them, *Abhimānacihna*, *Devarāja*, *Pādalipta* and *Sātavāhana* appear also as *Prākṛit* poets in the *Sattasaī* (§13) as well; 'about *Avantisundarī* *BÜHLER*¹⁰ conjectures that she might have been identical with *Sundarī*, the younger sister of *Dhanapāla*, for whom he wrote *Pāiyalacchī*. When she herself could write and actually wrote on Deśi it appears improbable. Rather she might have been identical with *Avantisundarī*, the wife of *Rājasekhara*, on whose inducement, according to *Karp.* 7, 1, the *Karpūramajjari*, a drama wholly written in *Prākṛit*, was presented on the stage and in fact it is she who is cited by Hc. in his grammar. *Rāhulaka* is referred to as a *Sanskṛit* poet in *Śaraṅgadharapaddhati* and *Subhāṣitāvalī*. From among the writers in *Sanskṛit* Hc. refers by name to *Kālāpāḥ* (1, 6), *Bharata* (8, 72), *Bhāmaha* (8, 39), and without naming him he cites *Halāyudha* (1, 5; 2, 98). Mostly he refers to his sources in some general terms: thus *anye* (1, 3, 20, 22, 35, 47, 52, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70, 72, 75, 78, 87, 89, 99, 100, 102, 107, 112, 151, 160, 163; 2, 11, 12, 18, 24, 26, 29, 36, 45, 47, 50, 51, 66, 67, 69, 77, 79, 89, 98; 3, 3, 6, 8, 28, 40, 41, 58, 59; 4, 3, 4, 6, 7, 18, 22, 23, 26, 33, 44, 47; 5, 9, 30, 33, 36, 40, 45, 50, 61;

6, 14, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 42, 48, 53, 54, 61, 63, 75, 81, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 97, 99, 105, 106, 116, 121, 132, 134, 140, 145, 7, 2, 16, 17, 18, 21, 31, 33, 37, 44, 45, 48, 62, 68, 69, 74, 75, 76, 88, 91; 8, 10, 15, 18, 22, 27, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 59, 67); *eke* (2, 89; 4, 5, 12; 6, 11; 7, 35; 8, 7); *kaścit* (1, 43; 2, 18; 3, 51; 5, 13; 8, 75); *kecit* (1, 5, 26, 34, 37, 41, 46, 47, 67, 79, 103, 105, 117, 120, 129, 131, 153; 2, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 29, 33, 38, 58, 87, 89; 3, 10, 12, 22, 23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 44, 55; 4, 4, 10, 15, 45; 5, 12, 21, 44, 58; 6, 4, 55, 80, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 110, 111; 7, 2, 3, 6, 47, 58, 65, 75, 81, 93; 8, 4, 51, 69, 70); *pūrvācāryāḥ* (1, 11, 13); *yad āha* (1, 4, 5 [Halāyudha], 37, 75, 121, 171; 2, 33, 48, 98 [Halāyudha]; 3, 23, 54 [Skt.]; 4, 4, 10, 21, 24, 45; 5, 1, 63; 6, 15, 42, 78, 81, 93, 140, 142; 7, 46, 58, 84; 8, 1, 13, 43, 68); *yad āhuḥ* (1, 5; 3, 6; 4, 15); by some other expressions (1, 18, 94, 144, 174; 3, 33; 4, 37; 6, 8, 58, 93; 8, 12, 17, 28). In spite of so much of care taken by him in utilization of the writings of his so many predecessors Hc. could not always avoid gross blunders, for the simple reason that he drew his materials from secondary sources: Thus in 2, 24 he says that *kaṇṭhadināra* means "an opening in a fence" (*ṛtvivāra*), and again in 6, 67 he teaches that *paero* also means "an opening in a fence" (*ṛtvivāra*), in addition to "a particular ornament" (*kaṇṭhadināra*). Clearly he read somewhere in some verse referred to in 6, 67 the nom. *kaṇṭhadināro*, in lieu of the locative *re*, and with the help thereof he construed 2, 24; but later he found the correct reading of 6, 67 and gave the right meaning, but he did not take notice of the error committed by him earlier. *kaṇṭhadināra* is certainly an ornament made from Denar that is worn about the neck. *poālo* "steer" (6, 62) is really the same word as *voālo* (7, 79) which as a second member of a compound needed its preceding form.¹¹ As far as I can see the Deśin. constitutes an "authority of the first rank"¹² that shows to us that there still remains much to be known about the valuable contributions made in Indian languages and that we still do not know much about the rich literature that exists in Prākṛit.

1. BÜHLER, Ueber das Leben Das Jaina Mönches Hemachandra (Wien 1889) p. 15.—2. BÜHLER, l.c. p. 72, note 3.—3. In AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360 the author is said to be Naracandra. According to PETERSON, Det. Report (1883) p. 127, No. 300 and BHANDARKAR, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888) p. 328, No. 300 he calls himself Narendracandrasūri. The MS. was lent out when I wanted to utilize it.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 186; ZACHARIAE, GGA, 1889, 996, note 1; Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kos'a) (Strassburg 1897; Grundriss 1, 3a) p. 7; Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Mañkhakośa (Wien 1899) p. 17 ff. 5. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1876, 797.—6. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 145.—7. Vr. und Hc. p. 21 ff.—8. Found by BÜHLER, IA. 2, 17 ff. 9. BÜHLER had desired to publish the second part that would have contained the dictionary, FISCHER Deśin. p. 8.—10. Pāyālacchī-p. 7 ff.—11. Another example in SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 2, 1109.—12. SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, l.c.

§37. Undetermined remains the age of Kramadīśvara. Scholars have attempted to place him between Hc. and Bopadeva. ZACHARIAE¹ has correctly remarked that we cannot prove that Ki. lived later than Hc. and that we do not find any strong reason to support the untenable proposition that Ki. had written his grammar before Hc. Ki.'s grammar Saṁkṣiptasāra, like that of Hc., is divided into eight chapters (pādas), whereof the last chapter deals with the Pkt. languages. This is a thing that also is in agreement with Hc. But in other respects the two grammars have nothing in common. The arrangement and the technical terms are altogether different.² As regards the antiquity of Ki. it is noteworthy that a quotation in his Skt. grammar cannot be dated earlier than the eighth and later than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The latest of the authors cited by him is Murāri,³ about whom we now definitely know that he was anterior to Ratnākara,⁴ the author of Haravijaya,⁴ who lived in about the middle of the ninth century A.D. With respect to finding the latest limit

to the age of Ki. it may be noted that he, like some later grammarians, gives names of more dialects than those mentioned by Hc. LASSEN, Inst. p. 15 ff. 393. 440 ff. 449 ff., Appendix 39-58, was the first scholar to give a detailed account of Ki. The chapter on the Root has been published by DELIUS: *Radices Pracriticae* (Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839) pp. 10-12. A complete edition of the *Prākṛtapāda* is said to have been published by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA in the *Bibliotheca Indica-Series*.⁵ It could not be possible for me to procure it. I have before me pp. 17-24 of the text and pp. 141-172 of the Word-Index, from *bhādūko* up to *saddāviadi*,⁶ and pp. 1-8 of the English translation. If I am allowed to draw my conclusion on the basis of the proof-sheets I shall say that the edition had been very bad. A new edition of the eighth pāda had been printed in Calcutta, 1889. I got it through the courtesy of BLOCH, and it is from this that I have given the quotations in this grammar. This too is a very bad edition, and therefore, I have constantly taken into consideration the extracts given in LASSEN. Ki. closely follows Vr., but has, as the review given in LASSEN. Inst., App. pp. 40. ff. demonstrates, certain deviations that point to some other source, thus for instance his treatment of A. is well in contrast to that of Vr. Ki. himself wrote a short commentary to his *Samkṣiptasāra*, whereof the *Rasavati* of Jumarānandin is a careful exposition and elucidation.⁷ The *Prākṛtadīpikā* of Caṇḍidevaśarman⁸ is a second commentary on the *Prākṛtapāda* only. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁹ names a third one: The *Prākṛtapādaṭīkā* of Vidyāvinoda "son of Nārāyaṇa, grand'son of Vāneśvara, and great grand'son of Jaṭādhara". He is followed by AUFRECHT,¹⁰ who, as already remarked elsewhere¹¹, calls the author Vidyāvinodācārya. I had utilized the Oxford MS. as the *Samkṣiptasāra* had, by then, not been printed.¹² The introduction, that RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA has published on the basis of a MS. that is better than that of AUFRECHT, seems to suggest that at the end of the different chapters and in the colophon the author calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya and admits that he has annotated upon an older writing of Nārāyaṇa, son of Bāneśvara, who was a son of Jaṭādhara, and perhaps whose brother's name was Sumeru. Nārāyaṇa had written a bigger work, but that was destroyed by a wicked man: the work that is before us is an abridgement of the work of Vidyāvinoda.¹³ It has nowhere been mentioned in the work itself that the *Prākṛtapāda* is a commentary on Ki. In the subscripts the author always calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya¹⁴ and his work *Prākṛtapāda*; thus it is still doubtful if the edition of RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA is authentic. The author follows Vr. most closely, but his work is devoid of any of his merits.

1. BB. 5, 26.—2. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 26. At the end of the eighth Pāda Ki. treats briefly Metrics and Rhetorics.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 58.—4. PETERSON, *Śubhāsitāvalī* p. 91.—5. cf. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part first. Grammar.* (Calcutta 1877) p. 75; BHĀṆḌĀRĀS, JBoAS. 16, 250.—6. This note does not belong to the book proper, rather it contains a number of Prakrit words quoted from Vr., Mrcch., Sak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn., Veṇis., Mālatīm, Uttar., Mahāv., Cait., Piṅgala, and Sāhityadarpaṇa.—7. LASSEN, Inst. p. 15; ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 22 f.; AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—8. LASSEN, Inst. p. 16; AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—9. Notices of Sanskrit MSS. 4, 162 ff. (Calcutta 1878).—10. Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—11. Cat. Oxon. p. 181.—12. De gr. Pr. p. 19.—13. The introduction is very much obscure, and it is doubtful if the foregoing explanation is correct. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181. In the Cat. Cat. 2, 212, AUFRECHT has the explanation quoted by me, and that clearly in following PETERSON's Ulwar Catalogue that is not available. The work is there designated simply as *Prākṛtavṃśa*.

§38. Fully depending on Hc. is Trivikramadeva in the commentary to his *Prākṛtavṃśa*. He was a son of Mallinātha and grand'son of Āḍityavarman. I have utilized two MSS. of his work, the one, a transcription of the Tanjore MS. preserved in the India Office Library, Burnell

Collection. No. 84 in Grantha, and the other, a Devanāgarī transcription of the Tanjore MS. No. 10006 collated in the Sūtra with 10004¹, that BURNELL had arranged to be prepared for me, besides the printed edition in the Granthapradarśanī Series, Nos. 1-32. It extends up to the end of the first adhyāya only. In his grammar² Triv. has employed an especial type of technical terms that he has explained in the beginning of the work.³ From 1,1,17 he, in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras, has everywhere verbally followed Hc. whom in the introduction he mentions as his authority, so much so that I have referred to him very rarely. In my edition of Hc, I have sometimes quoted the corresponding rules from his grammar in the margin. His special contributions are the topics 1, 3, 106; 1, 4, 121; 2, 1, 30; 3, 1, 132 and 3, 4, 71 in which he has collected together the words that cannot be regulated according to the rules of grammar and, in a great measure, belong to the category of Deśi; thus for instance in 3, 4, 71 they are expressly designated deśyāḥ. I have published and reviewed the first two chapters in BB. 325 ff.; 6, 84 ff.; 13, 1 ff. The age of Trivikrama has been determined to the extent that he lived after Hc. (+1172 A. D.) and before Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha inasmuch as he in his commentary on Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha (ed. Madras 1668) refers to him by name in 218, 21 and without naming in 62, 19 ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4⁴ Pratāparudra II, to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295 to 1323 A. D.⁵ In 123, 1 ff. Kumārasvāmin describes the coronation of Pratāparudra as having taken place long ago (*purā kila*). His father Kolācala Mallinātha cites Bopadeva,⁶ who lived in the court of Mahādeva of Devagiri,⁷ who ruled from 1260 to 1271 A. D.⁸ Thus we see that the hypothesis of AUFRECHT that Mallinātha could not have lived before the 14th century A. D.⁹ is confirmed. Therefore, Trivikrama may well be placed in the 13th century.

1. BURNELL, Classified Index 1,43.—2. Trivikrama is the author of the Sūtras as well. In De gr. Pr. p. 29, I had wrongly interpreted *nija* in *nijasūtramārgam* as referring to Trivikrama himself. The title of the work is Prākṛtavayākaraṇa and not Vṛtti as is shown by an inscription that occurs in the commentary itself.—3. Communicated by FISCHER, De gr. Pr. pp. 34-37.—4. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 38.—5. SEWELL, A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India (Madras 1883), p. 33.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 113.—7. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 616.—8. SEWELL, I. c. p. 114.—9. Cat. Oxon. p. 113.

§39. Simharāja, the son of Samudrabandhayajvan, based his Prākṛtarūpāvatāra on the grammar of Trivikramadeva. Of this work, I have utilized two manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London: one of them, i.e. No. 159, is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Malayālam character, and the other, i.e. No. 57, is a paper manuscript in the same character: the latter is a transcription of the former. Simharāja, following the style of Kaumudi, has arranged the grammar of Trivikrama. It begins, after a brief description of the technical terms (*saṁjñāvivbhāga*, *paribhāṣāvivbhāga*) and a *saṁhitāvivbhāga* on the *saṁdhi* and *lopa*, immediately with declension (*subantavivbhāga*; fol. 4-46), whereunder he treats the indeclinables as well; then follows the conjugation (*tiṇantavivbhāga*; fol. 46-59) and the appendix on *dhātuvādeśa*, to which are added the rules for Ś., Mg., P. CP. A. (*śaurasenyādivivbhāga*; fol. 59-74). He provides with a paradigm for each class of noun: *vrkṣa* for the *a*-stems, *agni* for the *i*-stems, *taru* for the *u*-stems, *khalapū* for the *ū*-stems and *bhrāṭṛ* for the *r*-stems. He further demonstrates the method of forming Prākṛit stems from these words and teaches the endings and the process of combining them. He treats the feminine and neuter nouns ending in vowels and consonants, the pronouns *yusmad* and *asmad*, the verbs whereof he gives *has* and *sah* as paradigms in the same manner.¹ The Prākṛtarūpāvatāra is not an unimportant treatise for a knowledge of declension and conjugation, particularly because some-

times Sr. gives more forms than do Triv. and Hc., though it is true that many of such forms are possible in theory only, but in view of the fact that they are formed strictly according to the rules they are not devoid of interest. Following the method of Sr. on the sūtras of Triv., Raghunāthaśarman has rearranged the sūtras of Vr. in the *Prākṛiānandī*.² Similar is the treatment of Lakṣmidhara in *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*³ and of the wholly recent writer Nāgobā in *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-subantarūpādarśa*, a "superficial tract"⁴ on declension.

1. Details in FISCHER, *De gr. Pr.* p. 39-43.—2. HOERNLE, *Proc. ASB.* 18880, 100 ff.—3. BURNELL, *Classified Index* p. 43. Cf. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 11-15.—4. BURNELL l.c. p. 44.

§40. For a knowledge of the dialects other than M. J.M. AMg. JS'. important is the *Prakṛtasarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. I have utilized two of its manuscripts. One of them belongs to the India office and is written on palm-leaves in the Nāgarī character. It is Mackenzie MS. No. 70, foll 98. It has wooden binding whereupon was formerly inscribed *Piṅgalavyākaraṇa* (Nāgarī script) and *Pengale Prakrota Surva Bhala Vakaraṇaḥ* (Roman script). There was also an endorsement that has by now disappeared: it read as *Pengala praukrota Surva Bhausha Vyacaranum*. The following line occurs on the first leaf in the Nāgarī script: *śrīrāmaḥ¹ piṅgalaprākṛtasarvasvabhāṣavyākaraṇam*. The second is the Oxford MS. mentioned in AUFRECHT, *Cat. Oxon.* p. 181 No. 412. Both the manuscripts are of the same source and are hopelessly so much corrupt that they can be utilized only in parts. Particularly for Ś. it is deplorable that it is so in view of the fact that Mk. has given more details about this dialect than they are to be found in the grammar of any other writer and that Mk. has drawn a line of sharp distinction between Ś. and M. MK. has been referred to according to the London MS. that I could use once again at Halle through the courtesy of TAWNEY. From the colophon of the MS. that has been published by AUFRECHT, l.c. it is proved that MK. wrote this work in Orissa during the period of reign of one Mukundadeva. AUFRECHT conjectures that this refers to Mukundadeva, who, according to STERLING, ruled in 1664 A.D. But we can say nothing about his age with certainty. MK. in the introduction mentions as an authority one Vasantarāja in addition to Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci and Bhāmaha (§§31-33). This refers to Vasantarāja, the author of *Prākṛtamañjarī*, which, as assumed by COWELL¹ and AUFRECHT,² is not a commentary on Vr., but is an independent work that follows Vr. It has been cited by Vāsudeva on Karp. 9, 11, ed. Bombay: *taduktam prākṛtamañjirvinyām prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṃskṛtam yonih* (§1). That this Vasantarāja is identical with the king Kumāragiri Vasantarāja,³ the brother-in-law of Kāṭeyavema⁴, seems to me⁵ to be very much possible. This Kāṭeyavema is mentioned as the author of a *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Vasantarājiyam*,⁶ hence his occupation with Pkt. seems to be very much probable. We have the inscriptions of Kāṭeyavema dated 1391, 1414 and 1416 A.D.⁷ If the two Vasantarājas were identical in all events the age of MK. must have been later than the first quarter of the 15th century. Vasantarāja, who wrote Śākuna, is, with HULTZSCH,⁸ to be differentiated from the Prākṛit grammarian. MK. mentions in his work one Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Bhojadeva, Daṇḍin, Hariścandra, Kapila, Piṅgala, Rājasekhara, Vākpatirāja, the *Saptaśatī* and the *Setubandha*⁹ as well. Chronologically the youngest of the above-mentioned authors is Bhojadeva, the writer of *Rājamṛgāṅka*, the famous treatise on *Karaṇa*. He lived in about Śaka-Samvat 964=1042-3 A.D.¹⁰ MK. begins with a preamble containing an introduction on the Prākṛit dialects from which all that is essential has been detailed in the foregoing paragraphs; in the beginning

he describes M. in 8 pādas (fol. 4^b—65^b). This section, that is the largest one, is divided on the model of Vr., is less exhaustive than Hc. and is in many respects independent. Then follows Ś. in the 9th pāda (fol. 65^b—72^b) that is divided into 9 prakaraṇas. Prācyā is described in the 10th pāda, Āvanti and Bāhlikī in the 11th, and Mg. with a reference to AMg. in the 12th (§3). The entire section, pādas 9-12, bears the title Bhāṣāvivēcanam. It is followed in pādas 13-16 by *vibhāṣāḥ* (§3), in 17.18 by A., and in 19. 20 by P. A portion of the 17th pāda has been anticipated in the 13th pāda, and this has not altered the numbering of the folios. Next to Saurasenī the language described most accurately is Apabhraṃśa. Unfortunately the condition of the MS. is so deplorable that it is not possible to utilize fully the valuable materials contained in it.

1. Vr. p. x f.—2. Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—3. That Kumāragiri was the name of the king and his surname was Vasantarāja shows EI. 4, 318 ff. Cf. particularly HULTZSCH, p. 327.—4. The name Kāṭeyavema was established by me first of all, GN. 18/3, 201 f. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 237 changes the correct name into a wrong one, i.e. to Kātavema. The inscriptions, EI. 4, 318 ff., do not leave any doubt about the name.—5. De gr. Pr. p. 18. From the fact that Kāṭeyavema, in his commentary on the drama Prākṛta-mañjarī, does not mention this it can not be concluded that in case both the persons are identical Vasantarāja wrote his commentary after his treatise on Rhetorics and later than K.—6. De gr. Pr. p. 18; EI. 4, 327, strophe 17.—7. HULTZSCH, EI. 4, 328.—8. Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna nebst Text proben (Leipzig 1879) p. 29.—9. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 17.—10. THIBAUT, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (Strassburg 1899; Grundriss III. 9) § 37.

§41. Very much similar to the grammar of Mārkaṇḍeya, particularly in the section on the dialects other than M., is the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmatarakavāgīśa. The only known MS. of this work, the Bengali manuscript No. 1106 of the India Office, is so much mutilated that it can scarcely be utilized. LASSEN has dealt with it in Inst. p. 19-23. From p. 20 it is proved that Rv worked on the model of an earlier treatise of Laṅkeśvara, whereby is meant the Prākṛtakāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa, that is known also as Prākṛtalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa, or shortly also as Laṅkeśvara.¹ Of the Prākṛtakāmadhenu we have as yet found only fragments². If this Laṅkeśvara be identical with the author of Śivastuti which has been published in the Kāvya-mālā 1, 6-8, he is older than Appayadikṣita, who in the Kuvalayānanda, 73, 1 (ed. Benares samvat 1928), cites³ its fifth stanza; therefore, his age must have been earlier than the close of the 16th century A.D.⁴ and later than that of Rāmatarakavāgīśa. A worthless selection from Trivikrama is Prākṛtaśabdapradipikā of Narasimha, whereof the beginning⁵ has been published as Nos. 3.4 in the Grantha-pradarśanī Series. Besides the famous treatises there exist a large number of manuscripts. We know nothing about many of them except their titles and the names of the authors, or only one of the two. Śubhacandra wrote one Śabdacināmaṇi, which, according to HOERNLE⁶ contains two adhyāyas, each of which has four pādas, and essentially follows Hc. Like the South Indian Trivikramadeva and Simharāja (§38. 39) he begins his grammar with a number of Saṃjñāsūtras. Perhaps it is this very work that is referred to by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁷ as Audāryacināmaṇi and is ascribed to one Śubhasāgara.⁸ An incomplete work in verses with a prose commentary is the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa, from which PETERSON, Third Report p. 342-348, has given extracts. According to 343, 5 his teacher was Nṛsimha, or according to 348, 21 Narasimha, whereby perhaps the author of Prākṛtaśabdapradipikā is to be understood. According to 343, 6 it was written for children (*śiṣuhitaṁ kurve prākṛtacandrikāṁ*), according to 343, 19 he seems to hold Ārṣam to be identical with M., because he does not mention them there notwithstanding the fact that

he treats them all separately. The illustrative examples quoted by him show that he had utilized Hc. thoroughly well. His quotations from different dialects and their assignment to individual characters, pp. 346-348, are in the greatest measure taken word for word from earlier authors, like Bharata and Bhojadeva. Recent is Bhāradvāja p. 348. A Prākṛtacandrikā was written by Vāmanācārya, who calls himself Karañjakavisārvabhauma and is the author of a commentary on the Prākṛtapiṅgala as well.⁹ A compendium for beginners is Prākṛtamanīpī of Appayadikṣita,¹⁰ the polyhistor, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmidhara, Bhoja, Puṣpanātha, Vararuci, a Vārtikārnabhāṣya and also Appayajvan (§32) as his authorities. In fact, however, his work is nothing better than an all incomplete extract from Trivikrama devoid of all of its merits; a small portion of it, i.e. up to 1, 4, 99 has been published as Nos. 3. 5. 6 8-10. 13 in the Granthapradarśani Series. Elsewhere are referred to Prākṛtakaumudī,¹¹ a Prākṛtavayākaraṇa of Samantabhadra¹², etc. A Bhāṣārṇava was written by Candrasekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, according to Sāhityadarpaṇa 174, 2: Candrasekhara refers to one Prākṛtasāhityaratnākara in his commentary on Śakuntalā 175, 24, ed. FISCHER, where under 180, 5 he quotes one Bhāṣābheda, which perhaps was a work on Prākṛit. From Deśiprakāśa, quotes Prthivīdhara on Mṛcch. 14, 5 p. 244, ed. STENZLER=40, 5 p. 503, ed. GODABOLE: *kāṇḍī kanyakāmātā*. In the works of the scholiasts are found here and there Prākṛit Sūtras whereof it is not possible to trace the source.

1. To me this seems to be a reasonable statement. In RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA. Notices 9, 239, No. 3157 the author is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as Rāvaṇa, and the colophon reads as *iti rāvaṇakṛtā prākṛitakāmadhenuḥ samāptā*. In No. 3158 in the colophon the author calls it Prākṛitalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa. LASSEN, Inst. p. 9, considers according to COLEBROOKE, Prākṛitalaṅkeśvara to be the name of the work, which according to him is different from Prākṛitakāmadhenu, whose authorship, he, in agreement with LEYDEN, ascribes to Vidyāvinoda. In Rāmatarakavāgīśa (LASSEN, Inst. p. 20) the author is said to be Laṅkeśvara. The author of Śivastuti and Kālāgniudropaniṣad (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 542) is also so named. It is clearly a synonym of Rāvaṇa. That this Rāvaṇa "is obviously distinct from the ten-headed monster" as he is usually believed to be can with RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA be easily accepted. 2. The Nos. 3157 and 3158 of the Notices 9, 238 f. clearly contain different parts of the same work, which, according to 239, 5. 6, seems to be a selection from a larger work. The first section seems to be treating the Apabhraṃśa of Piṅgala—3. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Kāvyaṃālā 1, 7, note 1.—4. Kāvyaṃālā 1, 91 note 1; EI. 4, 271.—5. According to AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 81 it could be considered that the work existed in a complete form. Up till now only 8 pages have been printed.—6. I A. 2, 29.—7. Proc. ASB. 1875, 77.—8. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 952.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 337. 360. 564. From RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 4, 172, No. 1608 it is proved that Prākṛtacandrikā is an earlier and more voluminous work.—10. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 22; 2, 5, who has erred in respect of time. HIRTZSCH, Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India 1, 67, No. 265 assigns the work to Cinabhoṃmabhūpāla, as is proved also by the Colophon. Cf. also the printed edition pp. 21. 27.—11. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—12. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 361.

§42. With regard to the merit of the native grammarians of Prākṛit BLOCH has arrived at a quite wrong decision that he has summarized in four sentences: "1) Since we do not possess any manuscript of so earlier a time and presumably because we shall never come by any of them we alone can utilize the grammarians of Pkt. for our purpose 2) The only means to check the correctness of their statements are our MSS. 3) In places where our MSS. differ from their statement it is the latter that is to be considered wrong till a verification is made with the help of some good MSS. 4) We should not admit that such forms of our MSS. as they pass over in silence did not exist in their time. The argumentum ex

silentio is not valid for any of the Pkt. grammarians.” It is only the fourth hypothesis that is partly correct, the other three are basically wrong. The grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the MSS; but the MSS. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. In this connection I may refer to the remarks made above (§§ 22-25) with regard to Ś. Mg. Śākāri and Dhakki. Only with the help of the statements of the grammarians we shall be able to draw an outline sketch of these dialects: the manuscripts are mostly disappointing. According to BLOCH², for example, the circumstance that Rohasena, the son of Cārudatta, speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., according to Pṛthvidhara, but Ś. in STENZLER, should prove how little the scholiasts are to be relied upon. But it has already been shown above (§ 23, note 2) that such vestiges in the MSS. are not contributions of the scholiasts. Up to the time of publication of my edition of the Śakuntalā it was accepted that Sarvadamana, pp. 155-162 spoke Ś. if no notice was taken of 155, 15; 158, 15 ed. CHE’ZY. The critical notes in my edition show the vagueness of these vestiges of Mg., and notwithstanding this, nobody doubts to-day that against the majority of the MSS. Mg. has to be reconstructed here. CAPPELLER³, therefore, had quite correctly drawn a parallel between Sarvadamana and Rohasena. Surely it is true that the teachings of the grammarians require a detailed examination and further elaboration⁴. Besides, I do not find any reason to revise my opinion on Hc.⁵ Moreover, we should never forget that up to the present time only a small portion of the literature that the grammarians had before them has come to be known and that works like those of Hc. are based upon several earlier works. The few specimens of JŚ. (§21) make forthwith so much of disclosure for us regarding the sources from which Hc. came by the forms, in the section on Ś., that were not known to the older grammarians and were not found in the dramas. LASSEN, in 1837, could cover an endless number of forms from the grammarians alone, the forms that, to-day in a great measure, are abundantly found in literature, and I think that in course of time we, in our turn, shall have the same experience about ourselves. It is true that through carelessness the grammarians had committed monstrous blunders that have been corrected in the exegesis of the Veda with the help of tradition and in the case of Sanskrit-lexicography with the assistance of the native lexicographers. It is necessary that, instead of undervaluing them, efforts should be made to bring out critically edited texts as much as possible.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 48.—2. Vr. und Hc. p. 4.—3. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, 124.—4. JACOBI, GGA. 1888, 71—5. Hc. 2, p. vi.

§ 43. HOFER was the first scholar to handle the grammar of Pkt. in *De Prakrita dialecto libri duo*, Berolini 1836¹. Almost about the same time appeared LASSEN’s *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1837, based on richly more abundant materials. A supplement thereto, *die Radices Pracriticae* was published by DELIUS, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839. Up to that time none of the native grammars had been published and of the entire Pkt. literature there had appeared only a small number of dramas, the Mṛcch., Śāk., Vikr., Ratn., Prab., Mālatim., Uttara., Mudrār, besides Kāvya prakāśa and Sāhityadarpaṇa, all in very bad uncritical editions. Therefore, LASSEN was able to describe in detail Ś. only, M. in accordance with the statements of the grammarians and Mg. on the basis of Mṛcch., Śāk., and Prab. Under the conditions, LASSEN’s work is an admirable performance. He effected improvements in a very large number of places

in the corrupt texts, correctly utilized them and planned the ground work on which the edifice of later research could be raised up. These he did with great acumen and in an excellent manner. In spite of all such qualities up till now he has found no follower. The works of WEBER on M.A. Mg., of EDUARD MÜLLER on AMg., of JACOBI on JM. are devoted to individual dialects : they will be referred to in appropriate places. COWELL, A short Introduction to the Ordinary Prakrit of the Sanskrit Dramas, with a list of common irregular Prakrit words, London 1875 is based upon Vr.; it is all elementary and does not go a long way towards attainment of its goal². RISHIKESH (rather more correctly Hṛṣikeśa) SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar with English translation, Calcutta 1883, attempts to re-arrange the indigenous grammars on European pattern. But as he has used very defective texts and retained the forms he found in the manuscripts without working at them critically his grammar is not at all usable, especially because he has quoted only the well known rules. All new are his extracts from the Prakṛtakalpalatikā that is almost unknown. HAAG, in his Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen, Berlin 1869, discusses a number of phonetical phenomena that are common to the known languages. HOERNLE³ has given a general survey of the history of Prakrit—Philology and WEBER⁴ of the recent publications (1870-1881).

1. Cf. BENARY, Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik 1836, 863 ff.—2. Cf. FISCHER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, 794 ff.—3. A Sketch of the History of Prakrit Philology, Calcutta Review, October 1880. Cf. Centenary Review of the ASB. Calcutta 1885) II, p. 157 ff.—4. Hala² (Leipzig 1881) p. vii f. with note.

§44. In this grammar an attempt has been made for the first time to treat the different Prakrit dialects beside one another and to utilize the entire available materials. Subsequent to LASSEN, we have come to know of AMg. JM. and almost the whole of M., and as a matter of that, all the most important dialects with correlated literature. I have introduced all new Dh. D. Ā. JŚ. whereof we have up till now come by a few textual specimens. Ś. and M. have undergone a thorough revision. As already remarked above (§§19. 20. 23), most of the texts in AMg. Ś. Mg. have not as yet been critically edited and published; therefore, a greater part of them is not useful for the purpose of grammar. Hence the main task, at least with regard to Ś. and Mg., has been to collect trustworthy materials, and for this purpose I have utilized three to four different editions of many dramas, a task that has been tedious, painful and not always fruitful. But this has not been possible for AMg., and as it respects this dialect, the critical remarks will later require many improvements. Nevertheless I hope to have paved the way, in spite of the materials being very often faulty. As already remarked above, although Sanskrit is not the only source of Prakrit a complete description of the latter has to be independently based upon it. Pāli, the Aśokan dialects, the Leṇā dialect and the modern Indian languages have been quoted very sparingly for the purpose of comparison, though I have had plenty of materials in hand as the present volume, which exceeds much beyond the scope of the scheme of the Grundriss, would have become still bigger. Consequently linguistic hypotheses have been scrupulously avoided. In the first place it provides a sure philological grounding, and I think that I have succeeded in my efforts for most of the dialects. Necessary quotations have been amply furnished. But the knowledge of Pkt. and its literature is limited to such a small circle of scholars that to me it appears wistful to shift the evidences accurately

in support of the rules and to make at the same time a beginning of a lexicon.

II. PHONETICS.

§45. The phonetic system of Pkt. differs from that of Classical Skt. to the extent that there exist in Pkt. $\epsilon^{\check{}}$, ϕ^1 , la (§226), and dialectically also the independent \tilde{n} (§237), lha (§242) and the composite sounds $\tilde{n}na$ (§282), yca , yja (§217), yha (§331), lha (§330), $\check{s}ka$, $\check{s}kh$, $\check{h}ka$ (§§302.324), $\check{s}ta$ (§310), $\check{s}ta$, $\check{s}tha$ and $\check{s}ta$ (§303), and that on the contrary in all the Pkt. dialects the sounds r , l , ai , au^2 , $\check{s}a$ except in Mg. *ciṣṭhadi* = *tiṣṭhathi* (§303), h , voiceless non-conjunct consonants are wanting, besides most of them do not have r , na , ya , $\check{s}a$ and conjunct consonants of non-homogeneous types. Generally conjunctions of homogeneous consonants occur only when the first member is a nasal.³ In places of consonants that drop inside a word, between two vowels, there develops as a glide sound ya , that is written in all the dialects in Jaina manuscripts, and it is a distinctive feature of AMg., JM. and JŚ. (§187). In this grammar it has been transcribed by ya .

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT denies the existence of $\epsilon^{\check{}}$ and $\phi^{\check{}}$, Prākṛtica p. 28 ff. Against that JACOBI, KZ. 25, 292 ff.; PISCHEL, GGA., 1880, 325—2. In Pkt. ai has been retained only in the interjection ai : see §60.—3. C. 2. 14p. 18. 44; Hc. 1, 1; Triv. and Sr. in PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 34 ff.; Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report 344, 1 ff.; Kalpacūṛṇi in LEUMANN, Av. 6, Note 4; Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1, 2, p. 3, 4 ff., where read in the fifth line bha for ma , besides *śādraputṭhe hi be vi*, and in the sixth line something like *pāue patihi* for *pādāue na hvavanti* because very often *atthi* stands for the plural *santi* (§498). Neither *hvavanti* nor *hṇti-bhavanti* fits in metrically. In line 6 read bha for ma and in line 7 read au $aḥ$ ba ya . Accordingly ba as well should be wanting in Pkt. On this see §201.

§46. The accent-system of M. AMg. JM., of poetical A. and presumably also of JŚ. corresponds to that of the language of the Vedas essentially. In Pkt. takes place weakening, dropping as well as raising of vowels; besides there occurs doubling of consonants in certain cases; therefore, it could not be purely musical, on the other hand it must have been preponderantly expiatory. In Ś. Mg. Dh., besides, the system of accent is the same as that in Classical Skt. which mostly corresponds to that of Latin.¹ The relevant paragraphs furnish the details.

1. PISCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff.; 35, 140 ff. Besides JACOBI, ZDMG. 47, 574 ff.; KZ. 35, 578 ff.; GRIERSON, ZDMG. 49, 395 ff.

A. SONANTS AND VOWELS

1. SONANTS

§47. r was retained just dialectically only in A. (Hc. 4, 329; Ki. 5, 16; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra 2. 12, p. 15, 9); *ṛṇu* = *ṛṇam* (Hc. 4, 329; Nāmisādhū l.c.); *sukṛdu* (Hc. 4, 329), *sukṛdam* (Ki. 5, 16) = *sukṛtam*; *grṇhai* = *grṇhāti*, *grṇanti* = *grṇhanti*, *grṇhe* *pṇu* = **grṇhūvānam* (§588) = *grṇhūvā* (Hc. 4, 336. 34.; 2. 394. 438, 1) *krḍantahō* = *krṭāntasya* (Hc. 4, 370, 4). In most of the Apabhraṃśa dialects r is unknown as in all the Prākṛit languages. CP. *khṛta* = *ghṛta* in Ki. 5. 102 may be an incorrect reading for *khata*, as *taḥahitapaka* = *drḍhahṛdayaka* (5, 102) shows. In LASSEN Inst. p. 441 the example does not occur. As a sonant r might be pronounced with a tinge of a —, i —and u —¹. Like the consonantal r (§287-295) the sonantal r is assimilated to the preceding consonant, so that only the vowel remains. Thereafter, r following a consonant is transformed into a , i , and u . On initial r , see §56. 57, and on $\epsilon^{\check{}}$ for r , §53.

1. MAHLOW, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 24, 10. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus 2, 2 f.; Kritik der Sonantentheorie p. 175 ff.; BECHTEL, Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher p. 128 ff. Further literature in WACKERNAGEL, Alt. gram. 28, shows that the original pronunciation was a r -vowel.

§48. As the vowel pronounced with *r* was not determined it was weakened in the same words not only in different dialects but even within the same dialect. The native grammarians consider the change of *r* to *a* as usual and they have enumerated under *gaṇas* the words that show a change of *r* into either *i* or *u* (Vr. 1, 27-29; Hc. 1, 126-139; Ki. 1, 27.30. 32; Mk. fol. 9. 10; Pkl. p. 31 ff.; no classification in C. 2, 5 p. 15. 43) instead of into *a*. Generally the texts illustrate their statements with examples taken from M., and they are to be reviewed accordingly. The examples, as far as possible, have been given in the following pages in conformity with the practice adopted by the grammarians.

§ 49. *a* develops for *r*, e.g. in M. *ghaa*=*ghṛta* (H. 22; read so with the variant reading), AMg. JM. *ghaya* (C. 2. 5) [read so with the variant reading]; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 123; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; 2, 6, 1, 9. 12; 2, 134; Vivāhap. 910; Uttar. 170. 432; Kappas; Āv. 12, 12; T. 6, 4. 7; Erz.), but Ś. Mg. *ghida* (Mṛcch. 3, 12; 117, 8; 126, 5 [read so for *ghia*]).—PG. *taṇa*=*tr̥ṇa* (6, 33, likewise M. (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Ki. 1, 27; G. H. R.), AMg. (Āyār. 1, 1, 4, 6; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 129. 810. 812; Vivāhap. 120. 479. 500. 645. 658. 1245. 1250; Uttar. 106. 219. 371. 582. 695. 1048; Jiv. 356. 464. 465; Pannav. 33. 43 etc.), *taṇaga*=*tr̥ṇaka* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 18; Dasav. 623, 1), *taṇailla* (fatty; Jiv. 355); JM. (KI. 12; Dvār. 502, 31; 504, 13; Erz.), Ś. (Śak. 106. 13), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 334. 339); but also AMg. *tiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1526), JM. (Erz.), JS. (Kattig. 399, 313), Ś. (Vikr. 15, 11), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 358, 2.—M. *kaa*=*kṛta* (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 77; G. H. R.); PG. *adhikaie*=*adhikṛtān* (5, 5), *kaḍa* (7, 51); AMg. *kaya* (Uvās; Ovav.), and *kada* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Sūyag. 46. 74. 77. 104. 106. 133. 136. 151. 282. 368. 465; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Kappas.), also in compounds, such as in *akaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6), *dukkada* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; Sūyag. 233 f. 275. 284. 359; Uttar. 33), *ugaḍa*, *viyaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 7; Sūyag. 344; Uttar. 53), *sukaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; 2, 4, 2, 3; Uttar. 76), *samkhaḍa*=*samskṛta* (Sūyag. 134. 150; Uttar. 199), *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§ 306. 345), *āhakaḍa*=**yāthākṛta* (§335); JM. *kaya* (Erz.; Kk.), *dukkaya* (Pāiyāl. 53; Erz.); JS. Ś. *kada* (Pav. 384, 36 [Text *kaya*] Mṛcch. 3, 19; 41, 18; 52, 12; Śak. 36, 16; 105, 15; 140, 13; Vikr. 16, 12; 21, 9; 23, 8), Mg. *kada* (Mṛcch. 40, 5; 133, 8; 159, 22) and *kaḍa* (Mṛcch. 17, 8; 32, 5; 127, 23. 24 etc.), *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11, 1; 40, 4); P. *kata* (Hc. 4, 322. 323); A. *kaa* (Hc. 4, 422, 10), *kaaū*=*kṛtakah*=*kṛtah* (Hc. 4, 429, 1). But in Ś. Mg. the best texts and MSS. have very often *kida*, e.g. Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 21; 36, 4; 63, 12; Śak. 124, 7; 154, 9; 161, 5; Vikr. 33, 11; 35, 6; 72, 16; 84, 21), Mg. (Mṛcch. 112, 16; 121, 6; 165, 2), a form, that is correct perhaps only for these dialects and in any case that must remain in cases where *kṛta* constitutes the second member of compounds, thus Ś. *siddhikida* (Mṛcch. 6, 11. 13; 7, 5), *purakida* (Śak. 162, 13), *paccaḅkḅhikida* Vikr. 72, 12), Mg. *duskida* (Mṛcch. 125, 1. 4). So also M. in *duhāia*=*dvidhākṛta* (Hc. 1, 126; R. 8, 106), *dohāia* (R.), whereas elsewhere *ia* in M. is incorrect. A. has also *i* beside *a* for *r*: *akia*=*akṛta* (Hc. 4, 396, 4), *kiaū*=*kṛtakam*=*kṛtam* (Hc. 4, 371), *kidu* (Hc. 4, 446). Cf. § 219.—*vasaha*=*vṛsabha* (Bh. 1, 27; C. 2, 5 p. 43; 3, 13; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 151); So. M. (G. R.); AMg. Vivāhap. 225; Uttar. 338; Kappas. § 4. 32. 61; Nāyādh. § 47), also *vasabha* (Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 7. 11; Vivāhap. 1048; Pannav. 122; Anug. 502; Kappas. § 114. 118); JM. *vasaha* (Dvār. 498, 24 Kk., Erz.) and *vasabha* (Erz.); JS. *vasaha* (Pav. 382, 26. 43); but Ś. always has *vasaha* (Mṛcch. 6, 7; Mālav. 65, 8; Bālar. 73. 18; 93, 10; 287, 15; Pras.

44, 13), which occurs wrongly also in M. (H. 460. 820 ; in the first place in the variant reading and in the Bombay ed. there occurs correctly *va*^o).—AMg. *ghaṭṭha*=*ghṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 126 ; Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 3 ; 2, 5, 1, 3 ; 2, 10, 5 ; Paṇṇav. 96, 110 ; Jiv. 439. 445. 447. 449. 453. 483 ff. ; Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *maṭṭijā*, Ś. *maṭṭiā*=*mṛttikā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6 ; 2, 1, 7, 3 ; 2, 3, 2, 13 ; Vivāhap. 331. 447. 810. 1253. 1255 ; Thāṇ. 321 ; Paṇhāv. 419. 494 ; Uttar. 758 ; Nāyādh. 621 ; Rāyap. 176 ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Erz. ; Mṛcch. 94, 16 ; 9, 8, 9 ; Śak. 79, 1 ; 155 ; 10 ; Bhartṛharinirveda 14, 5).—AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṭta* (round ; Hc. 2, 29 ; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4 ; 2, 4, 2, 7, 12 ; Sūyag. 590 ; Thāṇ. 20 ; Vivāhap. 942 ; Uttar. 1022 ; Paṇṇav. 9 ff. ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas.).—AMg. *vaṇhi*=*vṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 666 ; Nāyādh. 1262), *andhagavaṇhi*=*andhakavṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 678=Dasav. 613, 33 ; Vivāhap. 1394 ; Antag. 3).

§ 50. In all the dialects *r* is most frequently represented by *i*, which corresponds today to *ri*, the most usual pronunciation of *r* in India. Such words are grouped under the *ṛṣyādi* class in Vr. 1, 28 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 9 f. ; Pkl. p. 31 and under the *kṛpādi* class in Hc. 1, 128, without an attempt to enumerate them exhaustively. Thus: M. AMg. Ś. *kīśa*=*kṛśa* (Hc. 1, 128 ; H. ; Uttar. 750 ; Uvās. ; Śak. 53, 9).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. *kivīṇa*=*kṛpaṇa* (Hc. 1, 128 ; G. H. ; Kappas. ; Kāleyak. 26, 1 [text °*va*^o] ; Mṛcch. 19, 6 ; 136, 18. 19).—AMg. *giddha*=*grdhra* (greedy ; Sūyag. 105 ; Vivāhap. 450. 1128 ; Uttar. 593 ; Nāyādh. 433. 606) ; JM. Ś. Mg. (vulture ; Vr. 12, 6 ; Mk. fol. 9 ; Erz. ; Vikr. 75, 11 ; 79, 15 ; 80, 20 ; Mālav. 28, 12 ; Śak. 116, 3).—AMg. *giddhi*=*grddhi* (Hc. 1, 128 ; Sūyag. 363. 371. 406 ; Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.), *giddhiya*=*grādhika* (Paṇhāv. 150).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś A. *diṭṭhi*=*drṣṭi* (Bh. 1, 28 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; G. H. R. ; Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Erz. ; Kk. ; Pav. 388, 5 ; Mṛcch. 57, 3. 10. 17 ; 59, 24 ; 68, 22 ; 152, 25 ; Śak. 53, 8 ; 59, 7 ; 77, 10 etc. ; Hc. 4, 330, 3).—M. *vimchua* (Bh. 1, 28 ; H. 237), *vimcua* (C. 2, 15 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; 2, 16. 89 ; Ki. 2, 68 [text *viñcao*, ed. Rāj. vicuo]), *vimchū* (Hc. 1, 26 ; 2, 16) ; *vicchua* (Mk. fol. 10), AMg. *vicchūya* (*viccuo*]), (Thāṇ. 311. 312 ; Paṇhāv. 47. 537 ; Nāyādh. 755 ; Vivāhap. 522 ; Jiv. 257), *vicchūya* (Uttar. 1064)¹=*vṛṣika*.—M. *siāla*=*śyāla* (Bh. 1, 28 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; Ki. 132 ; Mk. fol. 9) ; AMg. JM. *siyāla* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3 ; Sūyag. 296 ; Paṇṇav. 49. 367. 369 ; Jiv. 356 ; Kk.), *siyālaga* (Nāyādh. 511), *siyālattā* (Thāṇ. 296), *siyālī* (Paṇṇav. 368) ; Ś. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 72, 22 ; Śak. 85, 9) ; Mg. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 22, 10 ; 113, 20 ; 120, 12 ; 122, 8 ; 127, 5 ; Śak. 116, 3), *siālī* (Mṛcch. 11, 20).—M. AMg. JM. A. *siṅga*=*śṛṅga* (Hc. 1, 130 ; Pāiyāl. 210 ; G. H. ; Vivāhap. 326. 1042 ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas. ; Erz. ; Hc. 4, 337), according to Hc. 1, 130 also *saṅga*.—M. Ś. Mg. A. *hiāa*=*hṛdaya* (Bh. 1, 28 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; G. H. R. ; Mṛcch. 17, 15 ; 27, 4. 19. 21 ; 37, 16 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 29, 21 ; 128, 2 ; 169, 6 ; Prab. 63, 15 [so read with M.] ; Hc. s. v.) ; AMg. JM. *hiyaya* (Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Nāyādh. ; Kappas. ; Ovav. ; etc. Erz. ; Kk.) ; Mg. mostly *haḍakka* (§ 194), also *haḷaka*, *haḷaa* (§ 244) ; P. *hitapa*, *hitapaka* (§ 191).

1. It will be possible to determine accurately in individual cases the correct form of this word when more critical editions will come into existence.

§ 51. We find *u* for *r* preferably before a labial consonant, or (§ 57) when there is *u* in the following syllable. All the grammarians group together the words which have *u* under the *ṛvādi* class. Thus: M. *nīhua*=*nibhṛta* (Hc. 1, 131 ; Deśin. 5, 50 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; H. R.) ; AMg. JM. *nīhūya* (Pāiyāl. 15 ; Uttar. 627 ; Ovav. ; Erz.) ; Ś. *nīhuda* (Śak. 53, 4. 6 ; Mudrār. 44, 6 ; Karnas 18, 19 ; 37, 16).—M. *nivvua*=*nivṛta* (Bh. 1, 29 ; Hc. 1, 131 ; G. H. R. ; Śak. 96, 2) ; AMg. JM. *nivvūya* (Kappas. ; Erz.) ; Ś. *nivvuda* (Śak. 70, 4 ; 98, 7 ; Vikr. 53, 1 [read so with the South Indian recension 651, 2

ed. PISCHEL]; Mudrār. 103, 7). Cf. §219.—M. AMg. JM. *pucchai*=*prcchati* and other forms of the root (Hc. 4, 97; H. R.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; etc.; Erz.); Ś. *pucchadi* (Mṛcch. 27, 17; 105, 8; 142, 9; Vikr. 18, 8); Mg. *puścadi* (Hc. 4, 295), *puścāmi* Prab. 51, 1; 62, 6); A. *pucchimi* (Vikr. 65, 3), *pucchahu* (Hc. 4, 364. 422. 9).—M. *puhai*, *puhavi*=*prthivī* (§115. 139; Bh. 1, 29; C. 3, 30 p. 50; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.); AMg. JŚ. *puḍhavi* (Thān. 135; Uttar. 1034. 1036; Sāyag. 19. 26. 325. 332; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2, ff.; Vivāhap. 920. 1099; Paṇṇav. 742; Dasav. 630, 17; Uvās.; etc.; Kattig. 401, 346); so also JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Śak. 59, 12) beside *puhavi* (Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 501, 23; Vikr. 11, 4; Prab. 39, 6); as Mg. (Mṛcch. 38, 7) and A. (Piṅgala 1, 30; Vikr. 55, 18) also have.—AMg. *phusai*=*sprśai* (§486).—M. AMg. Ś. A. *muṇāla*=*mṛṇāla* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Śak. 88, 2; Jiv. 290; Rāyap. 55; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 24; Śak. 63, 2. 15; Karp. 41, 1; Vṛṣabh. 50, 1; Hc. 4, 444, 2).—M. *muṅga*=*mṛdaṅga* (Hc. 1, 46. 137; Mk. fol. 10); AMg. JM. *muṅga*, *muiṅga* (Paṇhāv. 512; Thān. 481; Vivāhap. 797 [also the commentary]. 920; Rāyap. 20, 231; Jiv. 251; Paṇṇav. 99. 101; Erz.); Ś. *miḍaṅga* (Mālav. 19, 1; v. l. *miāṅga*); according to Hc. 1, 137; Mk. fol. 10 also *muṅga*; Mg. *miḍaṅga* (Mṛcch. 122, 8; variant reading *mudaṅga* and also GODBOLE 337, 7).—JM. Ś. *vuttanta*=*vṛttānta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Erz.; Kk. Śak. 43, 6; Vikr. 52, 1; 72, 12; 81, 2).—AMg. JM. *vuṭṭhi*=*vrṣṭi* (Hc. 1, 137; Pāiyāl. 227; Vivāhap. 331; Kappas.; Erz.); M. also *viṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 137; Ki. 1, 32; H. 261); *vuṭṭha vrṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 137); M. *uvuṭṭha* (G. 375); AMg. *silāvuṭṭha* (Dasav. 630, 21); Ś. *puvuṭṭha* Śak. 139, 15).—M. JM. A., sporadically in AMg., *kuṇai* JŚ. *kuṇadi*=**kṛṇāti*=Vedic **kṛṇoti* (§508). On *mūsā*, *mosā*, beside *musā*=*mṛṣā* see §78.

§52. The vowel varies in the same words in many other cases as well as in those mentioned above. So M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *dadha* and JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha*=*drḍha* (§242).—*dhaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 130) and *dhiṭṭha*=*dhrṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 130; C. 1, 24 p. 41).—M. *niatta*=*nivṛtta* (Hc. 1, 132; G. H. R.) and *niutta* (Hc. 1, 132).—AMg. JM. *maccu*=*mṛtyu* (Hc. 1, 130; Sūyag. 45; Paṇhāv. 401; Dvār. 501, 25; Erz.) and Ś. *miccu* (Hc. 1, 130; Mālav. 54, 16; Karpas. 32, 17).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *masina*=*maṣṇa* (Hc. 1, 130; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Pāiyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Uttarar. 11, 8; 163, 4) and *masana* (Hc. 1, 130).—AMg. Ś. *miu*=*mṛdu* (Vivāhap. 943. 949; Ovav.; Kappas.; Vṛṣabh. 13, 13 [Text *midu*]), but always M. *maia* AMg. *maiya*=*mṛduka* (Hc. 1, 127); H. R.; Vivāhap. 943. 954; Uttar. 1022; Jiv. 350. 549); (Āṇuog. 268; Nāyādh.); AMg. *maiya* (Jiv. 508); M. *maia*=**mṛdukita*, *maiū*=*mṛdvi* (G.)—*vandāraa* (Hc. 1, 132) and *vundāraa*=*vrndāraka* (Hc. 1, 132; Ki. 1, 30).—AMg. *vaga*=*vrka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282. 484 [text *vagga*, commentary *viga*]; Paṇṇav. 367), *vagi*=*vrki* (Paṇṇav. 368) and AMg. *viga* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 12 [cf. the variant reading]; Nāyādh. 344), Ś. *via* (Uttarar. 105, 12). Cf. §219. According to Hc. 2, 110. *kṛṣṇa* in the sense of “black” becomes *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṣiṇa*, *kaṇha* and as a proper name it becomes only *kaṇha*, according to Bh. 3, 61 in the sense of “black” it always becomes *kaṣaṇa*, in the sense of “Kṛṣṇa” it becomes *kaṇha* only; according to Kalpal. p. 33 as a proper noun it becomes *kaṇha* and *kiṇha*; Mk. fol. 29 and Ki. 2, 56 make no distinction between *kaṣaṇa* and *kaṇha*. In the sense of “black” it occurs as M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa* (G. H. R.; Pracandap. 47, 4; Mṛcch. 2, 21; Vikr. 21, 8; 51, 10; 67, 18; Ratn. 311, 21; Mālatim. 103, 6; 224, 3; Mahāv. 98, 4) Venis. 61, 10), AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101; Paṇhāv. 285; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 644; Ovav., Bhag.; Dvār. 503, 6; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), also probably wrong, in M. (G. 563, the variant reading excepted), and Ś. (Mallikām. 122, 6); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha* (G.; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 18; Paṇṇav. 496 ff.; Jiv. 320; Candak. 86, 8. 9.

10 [in *kanhāhi*; text *kahna* and *kahva*], AMg. also *kinha* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1033; Rāyap. 50. 51. 104. 120. 126. 228; Panhāv. 285 (beside *kasina*) Pannav. 496 ff. [always interchanging with *kanha*]; Jiv. 255. 272. 453. 457); as a proper noun M. AMg. JM. *Ś. kanha* (H.; Āyār. p. 126, 1; Pannav. 61; Nirayāv. §2, where also in the proper nouns *sukanha*, *mahākanha*, *virakanha*, *rāmakana* *senakanha*, *māhaseṇakana*; p. 80; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 497, 6, 33; 498, 34; 499, 37, etc. caīt. 75, 14; 77, 3; 78, 10; 79, 6. 4; 92, 13 [mostly printed as *kanha*, °*da*, *kahna*]; Vṛṣabh. 9, 4; 18, 15; 23, 18 etc. (mostly printed as *kanha*)). Wrong is *kisana* (Bālar. 141, 3; Karp. 50, 12 ed. Bomb., where the variant reading in Konow p. 48 has only *kasana*) and *kinha* (Nirayāv. 79). Cf. also *kasaniya*=*krṣṇāyita*, *kasanaṣakha*=*krṣṇapaṣa* (Pāiyāl. 198. 268), *kasanasia*=**krṣṇasita* "the black-white"=Balabhadra (Deśin. 2, 23).—*vrddhi* in the sense of "growth" becomes *uddhi* (Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40; Mk. fol. 24; AMg. Uvās. §50), and in the sense of "interest" it becomes AMg. *vaḍḍhi* (Uvās). There are found also M. *parivaḍḍhi* (Mk. fol. 24; R. 5, 2) and JM. *viddhi* (growth : Ki. 20). Cf. §53.

§53. Sometimes dialectically the three vowels occur even in the same words. Thus: *prākṛta* becomes *pāyāya* in AMg. (Hc. 1, 67; Nāyādh. §145; variant reading *pāgyā*), *pāyāya* in JM. (Erz., 2, 28) and *pāyāya* (Hc. 1, 67); Kalpacūrṇi on Āv. 6, 29), *pāia* in M., *pāiya* in JM. (cited under Hc. 1, 181; Vajjālagga 325, 2 Pāiyāl. 1) and *pāua* in M. (H. 2 [v l. *pāia*, Vajjālagga 324]. 698; Karp. 5, 3), *pāuda* in Ś. (Karp. 5, 1; Mudrār. 82, 2. 5; Viddhaś. 25, 8 [read so everywhere], *pākida* in Mg. (Venis. 34, 20).—*prṣṭha* becomes in M. *puṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 131; G.), *puṭṭha* (Bh. 4, 20; R.), *puṭṭhi* (Bh. 4, 20; H. R.; Karp. 57, 6), in AMg. *piṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 35, Sūyag. 180. 285. 286; Nāyādh. §65; p. 938 958. 959. 964. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.), *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 35. 129. Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Nāyādh. 940; Dasav. 632. 24), *puṭṭha* (Nirayāv. §17), *puṭṭhi* (Sūyag. 292), in JM. *piṭṭha*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Erz.). in Ś. D. *piṭṭha* (Vikr. 39, 3; Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 9; Mallikām. 145 21; 191, 5; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), *piṭṭhi* (Kamsav. 57, 9), *puṭṭha* (Pras. 44, 14; Ratn. 316, 22), *puṭṭhi* (Bālar. 238, 10), in Mg. *piṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10), *piṣṭi* (Mṛcch. 165, 9 and in A. *puṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Hc. 4, 329). According to Hc. 1, 129, in *prṣṭha*, *r* is changed to *a*, only, when the word occurs at the end of a compound. So M. JM. *mahivaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 129); Pratāpar. 214, 9 [°*pa*]; Āv. 12, 23); Ś. *dharanivaṭṭha* (Uttarar. 63, 12; Bālar. 248, 5; 287, 16); however, also, probably wrong is JM. *dharanivṭṭha* (Sagara 7, 12), Ś. *dharanipṭṭha* [text. °*nipṭṭha*; Bālar. 245, 15]. The printed text and the MSS. of Venis. 64, 18 oscillate between *kālapuṭṭha*, °*uṭṭha*, °*piṭṭha*.—*byhaspati* forms *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 138; Sr. fol. 36) and a number of other forms with a similar variation in vowels (§212). Here a mention should be made of AMg. *bahassai* (Sūyag. 709 [text *va*°], Thāp. 82; Pannav. 116 [text *va*°]), *bihassai* (Anuog. 356 [text *vi*°]. Ovav. §36 [text *vi*°]); Ś. *bahappai* (Mallikām. 57, 3; 184, 3 [text *va*°]); *bihapphadi* (Ratn. 310, 29).—In all the dialects *vrddha* is changed to *vuḍḍha* (C. 2, 5; 3, 16 p. 49; 3, 26; Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40. 90; Mk. fol. 24; H.; Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 24; Ovav.; Erz., Ś. Mṛcch. 44, 4; 69, 20; 71, 22; Anarghar. 156, 5; Mg. Mṛcch. 117, 23; 120, 9; 124, 4 etc.), according to Bh. 1, 27 also to *vaddha*, and according to Hc. 1, 128; 2, 40 also to *viddha*.—*vinṭa* forms AMg. *vinṭa* (Hc. 1 139, Samav. 98); Pannav. 40 [text *bi*°], *tālavinṭa* (Panhāv. 33), *pattavinṭa* (Jiv. 681); commonly also *venṭa* with change of *i* to *e* before a double consonant (§ 119); so M. *venṭa* (Hc. 1, 139; 2, 31; Mk. fol. 26; H.; Sak. 119, 6), *tālaveṇṭa* (Karp. 82, 2); AMg. Jiv. 329 [text *be*°]; Pannav. 40 [text *be*°]), *tālaveṇṭa* Nāyādh. § 136), *pattaveṇṭa* (Jiv. 549 [text °*be*°]); Ś. Viddhaś. 14, 13), *tālaveṇṭa* (Vikr. 75;

10; Uttarar. 16, 7; Viddhaś. 61, 1; Venīś. 92, 22 [so it is to be read]; Bālar. 131, 13 [so it is to be read], *tālavēṇṭaa* (Mṛcch. 38, 4; 59, 7; Mg. (Mṛcch. 21, 16). Hc. [1, 67] has *talavēṇṭa* also by the side of *tālavēṇṭa* (2, 31), Bh. (10) has *talavēṇṭaa* by the side of *tālavēṇṭaa*. Further Hc. 1, 139 teaches also *vōṇṭa* 1, 67; he has *tālavōṇṭa* along with *talavōṇṭa* i.e., with the change of *u* to *ō* before a double consonant (§ 125). In AMg. abundant is *tāliyaṇṭa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṇhāv. 236 533; Anuttar. 10; Nāyādh. 277; Vivāhap. 807. 831. 964; Ovav. § 52 [so it is to be read]; Dasav. 616, 38; 626, 3) *tāliyaṇṭaka* (Paṇhāv. 488 = **tāliyaṇṭa* with a change of *r* into *a*, as in Pāli *vaṇṭa*).

§ 54. BOLLENSSEN¹ has propounded the law of assimilation, according to which, for example, only *miatiṇhiā* or *maatanhiā*=*mṛgaṭṣṇikā* has to be declared as the correct form. PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT², in his turn, has postulated dissimilation in cases like *mianika*=*mṛgāṇika* beside *mainda*=*mṛgendra*, *visaṇkhala*=*viśṇikhala* beside *siṅkhalā*=*śṇikhala* (§ 213). Taking into consideration the great divergence between statements of the grammarians and the manuscripts it is not possible to frame any accurate rule. In M., they say *maatanhā* (R.) *maatanhiā* (Sarasvatik. 172, 18), besides *mudhamia*, Ś. *miatanhā* (Dhūrtas. 16, 6; v. l. *maatinhā*), *miatinhā* (Anarghar. 60, 4), *maatanhiā* (Vikr. 17, 1), *maatinhiā* (Viddhaś. 47, 9; but ed. Calc. 36, 1 *miatanhiā*), *miatinhiā* (Viddhaś. 115, 5); further, indeed M. *mainda* (G. R.), and M. Ś. *maalañchana*, JM. *māyalañchana*=*mṛgalāñchana* (H.; Karp. 65, 10; 105, 7; Mṛcch. 169, 14, Vikr. 43, 11; 45, 20³, Pāiyāl 5, Dvār. 500, 18, Erz), but beside *maanka* (Hc. 1, 130; also in A. 4, 396, 1), JM. *māyanka* (Erz), in M. D. Ś. Mg. common *mianika* (Hc. 1, 130, G. H. R.; Karp. 60, 1; 84, 8; D. Mṛcch. 101, 11, Ś. Vikr. 58, 10; Viddhaś. 109, 5; Karp. 105, 7; Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 25); JM. has also *miyanka* (Erz). Beside Ś. *maa*=*mṛga* stand *miaā*=*mṛgayā* (Śak. 29, 2. 3) and M. Ś. *mai*=*mṛgi* (Śak. 85, 2, Prab. 67, 12); Ś. *maavahū*=*mṛgavadhū* (Śak. 86, 4), beside Ś. *sāhāmia*=*śākhāmṛga* (Mṛcch. 69, 11, Vikr. 81, 13), AMg. *ihāmīya* (Jiv. 481. 492. 508; Nāyādh. 721; Rāyap 58 [°ga]); likewise AMg. generally only *miga*, *miya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 119 ff; Uttar. 338. 412. 499. 595 601; Dasav. N. 649, 7; Sūyag. 52. 54. 56. 317, Ovav. § 37) *miyasirāo*=*mṛgasirāḥ* (Thān. 81) *migatva*=*mṛgavya* (Uttar 498), speak against JM. *māya* (Dvār. 501, 13), *māyaccū*=*mṛgākṣi* (Rṣabhap. 26), M. *maacchī* (Karp. 65, 4). In compounds it is the euphony that has undoubtedly assisted in the choice of vowels.

§ 1. On vikr. 17, 1, p. 216.—2. Specimen des Setubandha (Göttingen 1873) p. 83 on 2, 2.—3. The v. l. has *mia*^o and the same occurs in Viddhaś. 63, 4 also.

§ 55. The *r* of nouns ending in *r* is changed into *u*, before the suffix *-ka*, and also when such a noun is the first member of a compound (Hc. 1, 134); PG. *jāmātukasa*=*jāmātrkasya* (6, 14), *bhātukāna*=*bhrātrkāṇām* (6, 18); M. *jāmāua*=*jāmātrka* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Mk. fol. 10; H.); JM. *jāmāuya* (Erz.); Ś. *jāmādua* (Mahāv. 27, 22; Malikām. 209, 22); *jāmādusadda*=*jāmātrśabda* (Mallikām 209, 1); JM. *bhāuacchala*=*bhrātrvatsala* (Dvār. 503, 38; 507, 30), *bhāughāyaga*=*bhrātrghātaka*, *bhāuya*=*bhrātrka* (Erz.); Ś. *bhādusaa*=*bhrātrśata* (Venīś. 59, 3); Ś. *bhādua* (Vikr. 75, 8); Mg. *vañcidabhāduka*=*vañcitabhātrka* (Mṛcch. 129, 6); AMg. *puttanattupariyāra*=*putranaptipariyāra* (Vivāhap. 482). *ammāpiusantie* (Āyār. 2, 15, 15), *ammāpiusūsaga* (Vivāhap. 601), *māupiusujāja* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav § 11), *māuoya*, *piusukka*=*mātrojaḥ*, *pitṛsukra* (Sūyag. 817. 822; Thān. 159; Vivāhap. 111), *māuya* (Nāyādh. 1430); Ś. *mādughara* (Mṛcch. 54, 4); Mg *māduka* (Mṛcch. 122, 5); M. *piuvaha*=*pitṛvada* (G. 484), JM. *nattuya*=*naptṛka* (Āv. 8, 31); AMg. *nattui*=*naptṛki* (Kappas. § 109). How-

ever, *i* as well, does not occur rarely: *M. nattia*=*napṭṛka* (Hc. 1,137; Sarasvatik. 8,13), *taṭṭhigghaḍaṇā*=*tvastṛghaṇā* (G. 704), *māihara* (Hc. 1, 135); AMg. *māimaraṇa*, *bhāimaraṇa* (Sūyag. 787), *māirakkhiya* (Ovav. § 72); Ś. *mādivacchala* (Śak. 158,12); AMg. *peiya*=*paitṛka* (Vivāhap 113); JM. *bhāivacchala*, *bhāighāyaya* (Dvār. 501, 3. 38), *bhāivahaga*=*bhrātṛva-dhaka* (Erz. 14,28; 23,19), *bhāisoga*=*bhrātṛśoka* (Erz. 53,11); AMg. *am-māpisamāna*, *bhāisamāna* (Thāp. 284); A *piimāimosana*=*piṭmālmoṣana* (Erz. 158,3); AMg. *bhaṭṭidāraja*=*bhartṛdāraka* (Paṇnav. 366), S. *bhaṭṭi-dāraa* (Mahāv. 28,2;32,22); Ś. *bhaṭṭidārā* (Lalitav. 560, 9; 561, 6. 12; 562,22; 563,5; Mālatim. 72, 2.4.8; 73,5; 85,3; Nāgān. 10,9.13; 12,5.10; 13,4, etc.) In declension, the masculine nouns are inflected like *a*—, *i*—and *u*—stems, the feminine ones, like *ā*—stems; and *māṭṛ* also is declined like *i*—and *ū*—stems (§ 389—392).

§ 56 Generally the initial *r* becomes *ri* (Vr. 1,30; C. 2,5; Hc. 1, 140; Kī. 1,28; Mk. fol. 11), and *li* in Mg. So M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. A. *riddhi*=*ṛddhi* (Pāiyāl. 62; G. H; Sūyag. 954; Ovav.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Kattig. 400, 325; 403, 370; Mṛcch. 6, 4; 21, 7; 77, 10; 94, 19; Hc. 4,418,8).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (Hc. 2.19; Pāiyāl. 96; H.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Bālar. 221,5; 250,18) and M. AMg. Ś. *riccha*=*ṛkṣa* (Vr. 1, 30; 3, 30; Hc. 1, 140; 2, 19; Pāiyāl. 128; R.; Rāyap. 124; Śak. 35, 9; Anarghar 156, 5).—M. JM. *riṇa* (Bh. 1, 30; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Mk. fol. 11; H.; Kk.); Ś. *ariṇa*=*aṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 64, 22; Śak. 24, 13; 141, 10); Mg. *liṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 19) with metrical lengthening of *i* (§ 73).—AMg. *riu*=*ṛtu* (Hc. 1, 111. 209; Pāiyāl. 208; Samav. 119; Nirayāv. 81); Ś. *riḍu* (Bālar. 131,12).—AMg. *riuvveja*=*ṛveda* (Thāp. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirayāv. 44; Ovav. § 77 [so to be read]; Kappas. § 10).—M. AMg. *risaha*=*ṛsabha* (C. 2, 5 v. 43; Hc. 1, 141; R. [as a proper noun]; Paṇhāv. 270; Vivāhap. 10; Ūvās.; Ovav.), AMg. Ś. also. *risabha* (Thāp. 266 [as a proper noun]; Śak. 95, 7).—Ś. *ricāim*=*ṛcaḥ* (Ratn. 302, 11).—AMg. JM. Ś. *risi*=*ṛṣi* (Hc. 1, 141; Pāiyāl. 32; Sūyag. 202; Erz.; Mṛcch. 326, 14 [interpolation]); Mg. *liṣi* (Prab. 46, 15. 16; 47, 1); AMg. *māhārisi* (Sūyag. 203; Nāyādh. 1475). In cases, like AMg. *rāyārisi*=*rājāṛṣi* (Vivāhap. 908.915.916; Nāyādh. 600 ff. 1022; Uttar. 279 ff. 563), *māhānarisi*=*brahmarṣi* (§ 250; Nirayāv. 48, 50 ff.), JM. *māharisi*=*maharṣi* (Erz.) Ś. *sattariṣi*=*saptarṣi* (Viddhaś. 49, 4.6.8), JM. *divāyānarisi*=*dvipāyānarṣi* (Dvār. 496, 7. 38; 497, 3) the existence of a separation—vowel (§ 137) has to be accepted; all these forms, therefore, directly go back to Sanskrit.

§ 57. An initial *r* develops, not rarely, into *a*, *i*, *u*, besides into *ri*. So M. AMg. JM. Ā. A. *acchāi* P. *acchati*=*ṛccchali* (§ 480).—AMg. *accha*=*ṛkṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345, by the side of *riccha*; Paṇnav. 49.367), *acchī* (Paṇnav. 368); cf. Skt. *acchabhalla*.—AMg. *ana*=*ṛna* (Hc. 1, 141; Paṇhāv. 150).—AMg. JM. *iḍḍhi*=*ṛddhi* (Thāp. 80.178; Uttar. 116.666; Vivāhap 55.221; Nāyādh. 990; Ovav. § 33. 69; Ūvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. § 16; Dasav. 635,38; 640,5; Dasav. N. 652, 28). As LEUMANN rightly remarks (Aup. S. s. v. *riddhi*) *iḍḍhi* is the form that occurs in older texts and *riddhi*, in later texts. The same holds good for AMg. as well in the case of other forms with *ri*° that are found by the side of such as have some vowel.—AMg. Ś. *isi*=*ṛṣi* (Vr. 1, 28; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Kī. 1,32; Mk. fol. 10; Paṇhāv. 448 [suisi]; Uttar. 375. 377. 630; Vivāhap. 795.851; Śak. 41, 1; 61, 11; 70, 6; 79, 7; 98, 8; 155, 9; Vikr. 80, 17; Uttarar. 123, 10; Unmattar. 3, 7 etc.); in proper nouns AMg. *isigutta*, *isiguttiya*, *isidatta*, *isipālīya* (Kappas.), and in compounds like AMg. Ś. *māhesi*=*maharṣi* (Sūyag. 74.137; Uttar. 717.720.815; Anarghar. 151, 10; Unmattar. 4, 18); M.Ś. *rāesi*=*rājāṛṣi*

G.; Śak. 19, 5; 20, 12; 21, 4; 50, 1; 52, 16; 57, 12; Vikr. 6, 13, 16; 7, 2; 8, 14; 10, 2.4.14 etc.).—AMg. *uu=rtu* (Hc. 1, 131.141.209; Vivāhap. 423.798; Paṇhāv. 464.534; Nāyādh. 344.912 916.918; Āṇuog. 242.432; Dasav. 627, 11; Dasav. N.648, 14); Ś. *udu* (Śak. 2, 3). Cf. § 157. On the likely M. *uu* see § 04.—AMg. Ś. *ujju=rju*, (Hc. 1, 131.141; 2, 98; Paṇnav. 847; Āṇuog. 541.542 552 633; Uttar. 698.698; Ovav.; Kāṇsav. 57,20), AMg. *ujjukada=rjukta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1); usually found *ujjua=rjuka* (Vr. 3, 52); so M. (H.R.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 88, 18; 90,21; Śak. 30, 4; 130, 5; Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Mudrār. 192, 13; Anarghar. 113, 9; Kārṇas. 20, 13, etc.), *adiujjua* (Ratn. 309, 24; Priyad. 43, 15); AMg. *ujjuga* Paṇhāv. 381; Uvās.), *ujjuya* (Pāiyāl. 175; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; 2, 3, 2, 14, 16; Uttar. 170; Ovav.; Kappas.), *anujjuya* (Uttar. 990).—*usaha=rṣabha* (C.2, 5 p. 43; 3,34 p. 51; Hc. 1, 131.133); AMg. *usabha* (Āyār. 2,15,21; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *usabha* (Hc. 1, 24; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 21; Erz.); JM. *usabhaya* (Āv. 46, 21), AMg. *usabhadatta* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Kappas.); AMg. *usabhasena* (Kappas.).—According to Kī. 1, 31 *ṛṇa* always becomes *uṇa*. A mention ought to be made of *riṇa* (§ 56) and *aṇa* (§ 57) only.

1. So it is to be read; cf. PISCHEL on Hc. 2, 98. CODABOLE 249, 9; 256, 1 writes *ujja*, what the scholiast translates by *ujjala* and *udya*.

§ 58. Corresponding to the development of *y* into *i*, *u*, in the declension of *r*—stems, *r̄*—develops into *i*, *ū*: AMg. *ammāpīṇan̄i*, *ammāpīṇan̄am* (§ 391.392). Skt. *ir* and *ūr* originating from earlier *r̄* are regularly treated according to the phonetic law of Pkt: M. JM. *tirai*, *tira* *tiryate* (§ 537); M. *paiṇṇa=prakīṇa* (G.H.R.), *viṇṇa=vikīṇa* (H.), *vivaiṇṇa=viprakīṇa* (H.R.); JM. *viṇṇa=vitīṇa* (Erz.); M. *pūrai=pūryate* (§ 537); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *puṇṇa=pūrṇa* (H. R.); Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Prab. 57, 2). By the side of M. Ś. *jīṇṇa=jirṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; H.; Pratāp. 201, 13; Mṛcch. 93, 9), Mg. *jīṇṇa* ((Mṛcch. 162, 23), there is found very abundantly M. AMg. JM. Ś. *juṇṇa=Vedic jūrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; G.H.; Karp. 88, 3; Āyār. 2, 16, 9, Vivāhap. 1308; Nāyādh. 321. 983. 985. 987; Uttar. 440; Rāyap. 258f.; Āṇuog. 292; Āv. 37, 26; 40, 16; Erz.; Śak. 35, 9; Karp. 53, 5; Viddhaś. 114, 6; Mallikām. 88, 23; Hāsy. 25, 5); AMg. *parijunṇa* Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1; Thāṇ. 540; Uttar. 63); AMg. *junṇiya* (Nāyādh. 348); JM. *junṇaga* (Āv. 41, 1). By the side of *tīṭha=tīrtha*, M. has *tūha=*tūrtha* (Hc. 1, 104; H.; Sarasvatik. 44, 12); *uttūha=*uttūrtha* (steep, fountain; Deśin. 1, 94); PG. *tūhike=*tūrthikān=tīrthikān* (5, 5); AMg. *aṇṇaūtthiya=*anyatūrthika*¹ (Vivāhāp. 129. 130. 137. 139. 142. 178. 323. 324 etc.; Nāyādh. 984 ff.; Thāṇ. 147; Ovav.), *paraūtthiya=*paretūrthika*². It is wrong³ to derive⁴ *tūha* directly from earlier **tīrtha*.

1. WEBER, IS. 16, 46. 299. Note 2; LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 95.—2. LEUMANN Lc.—3. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 680.—4. WACKERNAGEL, Alt. Gr. 24.

§ 59. Following a consonant *l* develops into *ilī*: *kilitta=klpta* (Vr. 1, 33; Hc., 145; Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11); *kilitti=klpti* (Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11). According to Kī. 5, 16, in A., it either remains or develops into *a*: *klita, katta=klpta*. Hc. (1, 145; 4, 329) accepts the presence of *l* in *klinna* "moistened" (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 145) also. The forms *klinṇa* and A. *kinṇa*, quoted by him, are explained as having originated from *klinna* (§ 136). Single *l* develops into *li* in *liāra* (Mk. fol. 11), *likāra* (Kalpal. p. 36)=*lkāra*.

2. VOWELS.

a) THE DIPHTHONGS *ai* AND *au*

§60. In Pkt., *ai* has been retained as an interjection only, and that also in poetry only (Hc. 1, 169); commonly, in lieu of it, is also used M. Ś. *ai*=Skt. *ayi* (Vr. 9, 12; Hc. 1, 169; 2, 205; H.; Mṛcch. 63,

13; 64, 25; 87, 21; Vikr. 28, 10; 42, 19; 45, 2; Mālatīm. 74, 5; 247, 1; 264, 3 etc). Some scholars, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛta-candrikā 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, even in Pkt., permit *ai* in words like *kaiava*=*kaitava*, *airāvana* (Bhaṭṭikāvya 13, 33). In fact, however, the places where *ai* is found to exist the text gives an incorrect reading (PISCHEL on Hc. 1. 1). Mk. fol. 12 rejects it outright. Generally *ai* develops into *e*, and before a doubled constant, into *ē*: PG. *viṇaya-veṇayike*=*viṇaya-vaiṇayikān* (6, 9).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. erāvaṇa*=*airāvaṇa* (Bh. 1, 35; Vr. 2, 11; Hc. 1, 148 203; Ki. 2, 31; Mk. fol. 15; R.; Sūyag. 317; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68, 14); A. *erāvai*=*airāvata* (Piṅgala 1, 24); cf. §246.—AMg. *esajja*=*aiśvarya* (Thāṇ. 450). JŚ. *ejagga*=*aikāgrya* (Pav. 388, 1).—Ś. *edihāsia*=*aitihāsika* (Lalitav. 555, 2).—M. *keḍhaba*=*kaiṣabha* (Vr. 2, 21, 29; Hc. 1, 148. 196. 240; Ki. 2, 11; Mk. fol. 16).—M. *geria*=*gairika* (Karp. 80, 10), AMg. *geruṇa*=**gairuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Dasav. 619, 41).—AMg. *neyāṇa*=**naiyāṇa*=*naiyāṇika* (Sūyag 11/. 361; 994 ff. [ne]); Nāyadh. §144; Uttar. 158. 180. 238. 324; Ovav.), *aneṇāṇa* (Sūyag 736).—AMg. *mehuṇa*=*maithuṇa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2, 9, 1; 2, 2, 1, 12, 2, 10; Sūyag. 409. 816. 822 f. 913. 994; Bhag; Uvās.; Ovav.), JM. *mehuṇa* (Erz.), JŚ. *medhuṇa* (Kattig. 399, 306; text °hu°).—M. *vehavva*=*vaidhavya* (G.H.R.).—AMg. JM. *vejaddha*=*vaitāḍhya* (C. 2, 6; Vivāhap. 479; Thāṇ. 73; Vivāgas. 91; Nirayāv. 79; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *sela*=*saila* (Bh. 1, 35; Pāiyāl. 50; G.R.; Mṛcch. 41, 16; Karp. 49, 6; Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8; 2, 6, 1, 2; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but CP *saila* (Hc. 4, 326).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. Mg. tella*=*taila* (§90).—M. JM. AMg. *cetta*=*caitra* (Karp. 12, 4, 9; Viddhaś. 25, 2; Ki. 19; Āyār. 2, 15, 6. Kappas.).—M. JM. *meṭti*=*mairi* (H. R.; Ki. 7; Erz.).—M. JM. *ś. veṇṇa*=*vaidya* (Hc. 1, 148; 2, 24; H.; Āv. 16, 8; Erz.; Vikr. 47, 2; Mālav. 26, 5; Karp. 104, 7).—M. *ś. senna*=*sainya* (§282).—On the development of *i* for *e* from *ai*, see §84.

§61. The grammarians permit the use of *ai* compulsorily in the case of some words and optionally in that of others in lieu of *e*. The words in which there must be *ai* have been grouped by them under the *daityādi* class (Vr. 1, 36; Hc. 1, 151; Ki. 1, 37; Mk. fol. 12; Pkl. p. 36). But common to all of them are the words M. *daucca*=*daitya* (Pāiyāl. 26, 99; G.); *vaidēha* (Ki. °hī)=*vaidēha*; AMg. *vaisāha*=*vaiśākha* (Āyār. 2, 15, 25 [beside *ve*!]; Vivāhap. 1426; Nirayāv. 10; Uttar. 768; Kappas.). Further Hc. and C. [2, 6], in addition, have *aisaria*=*aiśvarya*, wherefor AMg. has *esajja* (§60); Hc. alone has *dainna*=*dainya*, *vaijavana*=*vaijavana*; *daivaya*=*daivata*; *vaiāli*=*vaitāliya*; *vaidabha*=*vaidarbha*; *vaiśānara*=*vaiśvānara*; *vaiśāla*=*vaiśāla*. Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. add also *saira*=*svaira*, which Pāiyāl. 13, 15 also has; Bh. Hc. Mk. have *vaiesā*=*vaiśeśa*, Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. M. *kaiava* (G. H.), *kaiyava* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.). Ki. and Pkl. have in addition, AMg. *vaissa*=*vaiśya* (Vivāsagas. 152; Uttar. 754), by the side whereof AMg. has *ve'ssa* (Sūyag. 373), further *vaiśeśa*=*vaiśeśya* and *veśā*=*vaiśayika*; besides Ki. alone has *vaiśamma*=*vaiśamya*, Pkl. *khaitta*=*kṣaitra*. In the case of all other words the statements of the grammarians are at variance. Vr. 1, 37 and Ki. 1, 38 permit both *ai* and *e*, side by side, only in *daiva*. Hc. 1, 153 has a special rule with regard to this word, and he knows yet others with the similar phonetic variation; besides like Pkl. p. 37 and Triv. 1, 2, 102 he includes all such words in the *vairādi* group, wherein Triv. includes also *daiva*. Mk. fol. 12 has a *daivādi* class. According to Bh. on Vr. 1, 37 the word *daiva* is pronounced as *daiva*, but according to Vr. 3, 52 the word, on account of development of *e* along with reduplication of *v*, becomes *de'vva*. Both of them are found in Ki. as well, whereas Hc. has *de'vva*, *daiva* and *daivva*; Mk., as it seems, prescribes *de'vva* and *daivva*. But *de'vva* and *daivva* are=*dainya*; A. *daiva* (Hc. 4, 331; 340,

1; 389). According to Mk. fol. 66 and Rv. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 153) *ai* is not used in this word in Ś. that is mainly implied by the exclusion of *ai* from Ś. by Rv. And in fact, according to the best MSS. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 148) *ai* in Ś. and Mg. develops into *e* only, and never into *ai*, not even in the words in which the other dialects must have only *ai*. Thus: *kodava*=*kailava* (Śak. 106, 6), *vesāha* (Viddhaś. 77, 7), *sera*=*vairā* (Mṛcch. 143, 15; Mukund. 70, 18. 19). In the words, showing variation between *ai* and *e*, Ś. and Mg. always have *e*. So Ś. Mg. *dēva* (Mṛcch. 20, 24; Śak. 60, 17; 71, 4; 161, 12; Mālav. 57, 19; Ratn. 317, 32; Mṛcch. 140, 10).—According to Bh. 1, 35 *kailāsa* becomes *kelāsa*, but according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes *kailāsa* or *kelāsa*; Pāiyāl. 97 has *kailāsa*, M. (G.R. Bālar. 181, 14) and Ś. (Vikr. 41, 3; 52, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 9) has *kelāsa*. According to Bh. 1, 36, C. 2, 6 *vaira* becomes *vaira*, and according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes also *vera*. So JM. *vaira* (Erz.), *vairi*=*vairin* (Erz.; Kk.) by the side of M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vera* (R.; Sūyag. 16, 359. 375. 406. 872. 891; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5; Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 24, 4; 148, 1; Mahāv. 52, 18. 19; Prab. 9, 16); Mg. *vela* (Mṛcch. 21, 15. 19; 133, 8; 165, 2); M. JM. *veri*- (G.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *veriya*=*vairika* (Kk.), A. *veria* (Hc. 4, 439, 1), Mg. *velia* (Mṛcch. 126, 6).—According to Ki. *kairava* forms *kairava*, and according to Hc. Mk. Pkl. also *kerava*. For *cailra*, Ki. prescribes *caitta*, but Hc. Mk. Pkl. have also *cētta*, and it is found in M. AMg. JM. (§60); for *jaitra*, Mk. has *jaitta* and *je'tta*, and for *bhairava*, Bh. Hc. Ki. have *bhairava*, and Mk. Pkl. have *bherava* as well. In M. is found *bhairavi* (G.), in AMg., JM. *bherava* (Sūyag. 129. 130; Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 6, 5; 2, 15, 15; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), in Ś. *mahābheravi*. (Prab. 65, 4; 66, 10 [it is to be read as such]), Mg. *mahābhelava* (Prab. 58, 18 [so it is to be read]). In the proper noun *bhairavānanda* (Karp. 24, 2 ff.) mostly the MSS., as in the Bombay edition 25, 4 ff., have *bhaira*°, which was rightly corrected to *bhera*° by KONOW, as it is in Kāleyak. 16, 14. According to Bh. Ki. Mk. Pkl. *vaiśampāyana* forms *vaiśampāṇa*, according to Hc. *ve*° also; *vaiśravaṇa*, according to Hc., becomes *vaiśavaṇa* and *ve*°, and in AMg. JM. it is *vesamaṇa* (Nāyādh. 852. 853; Uttar. 677; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Hc. prescribes variation between *ai* and *e* also in the case of *vaitālika* and *vaiśika*, the words in which according to Bh. there is *ai*; AMg. has *vesiṇa* (Aṇuog.). All the gaṇas of the grammarians are ākṛtigaṇas, and they are to be augmented further from literature, like AMg. *vairojaṇa*=*vairocana* (Sūyag. 306; Bhag.); *vaikuṇṭha*=*vaikuṇṭha* (Pāiyāl. 21) etc.

§61^a. Like *ai*, there are some who, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā, 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, permit also *au*: *sauaria*=*saudarya*, *kaurava*, *kaulava* (C.)=*kaurava*. Such errors of transcription are numerous in MSS. Generally—*au* develops into *o* (Vr. 1, 41; C. 2, 8; Hc. 1, 159; Ki. 1, 39; Mk. fol. 13), and into *ō* before double consonants: PG. *kolikā*=*kaulikāḥ* (6, 39), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6, 16); M. *kosia* (Hc.; G. 306), Ś. *kosia* (Śak. 20, 12).—Ś. *orasa*=*aurasa* (Vikr. 80, 4).—AMg. *ovamma*=*aupamyā* (Ovav.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha*=*ausadha* (§223).—AMg. JM. *kouya*, *kouga*=*kautuka* (Pāiyāl. 156; Sūyag. 730; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *komuī*=*kaumudī* (Bh. 1, 41; Hc.; Ki.; H.; Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *komudī* (Vikr. 23, 20; Priyad. 19, 11; 40, 5).—Ś. *kosambī*=*kauśambī* (Bh.; Hc.; Ratn. 310, 21), Ś. *kosambīā*=*kauśambikā* Ratn. 308, 29).—M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*=*kautūhala* (G.; Uttar. 631; Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *kodūhala* (Mṛcch. 68, 14; Śak. 19, 3; 121, 10; 129, 1; Vikr. 19, 7; Mālatim. 257, 1; Mudrār. 43, 5; Viddhaś. 15, 2; Pras. 19, 4; Cait. 42, 1; 44, 12), *kodūhalilla* (Bālar. 168, 3); M. AMg. JM. *kouhalla*=*kautūhalya* (Hc. 1, 117. 171; 2, 99; Pāiyāl. 156; G. H.; Karp. 57, 3;

Vivāhap. 11. 12. 812), AMg. JM. also *kouhalla* (Ovav.; Kk.). On *kohala* see § 123.—M. AMg. JM. D. A. *do*=*dvau* (§ 436).—JM. *dovai*=*dyaus-pati* (Kk.).—AMg. *dovai*=*draupadi* (Nāyādh. 1228), Mg. *dovadi* (Mṛcch. 11, 7; 16, 23; 128, 14 [so it is to be read, as it is in most of the MSS.; *dōppadi* (129.6) is not=*draupadi*, but=*duṣpatiḥ*]).—JŚ. *dhoda*=*dhauta* (Pav. 379, 1).—M. AMg. *porāṇa*=*paurāṇa* (H.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 74, 139; Hc. 4, 287), JM. *porāṇaya* (Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sohagga*=*saubhāgya* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68, 17; Śak. 71, 8; Vikr. 32, 17; Mahāv. 34, 11; Prab. 17, 16; 38, 1, 39, 6).—M. JM. *kōttua*=*kaustubha* (Bh.; Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90).—M. *ḍocca*=*dautya* (H. 84).—M. Ś. *dōbballa*=*daurbalya* (G. H. R.; Śak. 63, 1).—JM. *pavōita*=*prapautra* (Āv. 8,31).—M. Ś. *mōttia*, JM. *mōttiya*=*mauklika* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 70,25; 71, 3; Karp. 73, 5; 82, 8; Viddhaś. 108, 2; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *sōkkha*=*saukha* (Mk.; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Ki. 9; Pav. 381, 19, 20; 383, 75; 385, 69; Kattig. 402, 361. 362. 369; Mālatim. 82, 3; Uttarak. 121, 4; Hc. 4, 332, 1), Mg. *sōkkha* (Prab. 28, 15; 56, 1; 58, 16). M. JM. Ś. *sōmma*=*saumya* (G. R.; KI. 7; Ratn. 317, 31; Mahāv. 6, 8; Uttarak. 31, 20; 62, 8; 71, 8; 92, 8; Anarghar. 149, 9; Kāṇsav. 9, 2), by the side of AMg. JM. *soma* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—Like the development of *ai* into *ai*, a number of words show a change of *au* into *ai*. The grammarians have collected them together in the *paurāḍi ākṛtiṅgaṇa* (Vr. 1, 42; Hc. 1, 162; Ki. 1, 41; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 38). But there is the difference that while the number of words that have *ai* beside *e* for *ai* is very large, the number of words that have *ai* along with *o* for *au* is very small. Bh. on Vr. 1, 42 permits *kosala* by the side of *kāṇsala*, which alone is found in Hc. Ki. Mk.; Hc. 1, 161. 162. has *ko'ccheaya* by the side of *kāṇccheaya*; Mk. fol. 13 permits *moṇa* by the side of *maṇa*, which Hc. has, and *moli* by the side of *maṇi*, which Hc. and Pkl. also have, even though he refers to Karp. 6, 9. According to Mk. *ai* does not occur in Ś. in *kaurava* and *gaurava*, according to Pkl., not in *paura* and *kaurava*. In lieu of *o* is prescribed *ai* in *paura* by Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl., in *kaurava* by Bh. C. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl., in *pauruṣa* by Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl., in *saura* and *kaula* by Hc. C., in *gauda* by Hc. Pkl., in *kṣaurita* by Mk. Pkl., in *saudha* by Hc., in *kṣaura* by Mk., and in *aucitya* by Pkl. The instances met with are : M. *kāṇla* (G.) and *kola* (Karp. 25, 2=Kāleyaka. 16, 21 [text *kau*]).—M. *gaṇḍa* (G.), but AMg. A. *goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41 [text *gau*], but cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 510;] Piṅgala 2, 112. 138).—M. JM. *paūra*=*paura* (G.; KI. 12; Erz.; Rṣabhāp.), but Ś. *pora* (Śak. 138, 11; Mudrār. 42, 10 [text *pau*]; 161, 1; Mālatim. 288, 3; Uttarak. 27, 3; Bālar. 149, 21; Kāleyak. 22, 5), Mg. *pola* (Mṛcch. 167, 1. 2 [edition *pau*]); therefore, in Mṛcch. 160, 11 *paṇḍā* is to be corrected as *polā*.—Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. have *paurisa*=*pauruṣa*, but JM. *porisa* (Erz.), AMg. *poriṣi* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 4; Samav. 74; Uvās.; Kappas.), *poriṣiya* (Sūyag. 281), *aporisiya* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 1113). Cf. § 124.—*maṇa*=*mauna* (Hc. Mk.), and so in Ś. (Viddhaś. 46, 11), is certainly an error for *moṇa*, as in M. AMg. JM. (Mk.; H.; Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; 1, 2, 6, 3; Sūyag. 120. 123. 495. 502; Paṇhāv. 403; Erz.; Rṣabhāp.).—M. AMg. JM. *maṇi*=*mauli* (G.; Karp. 2, 5; Sūyag. 730. 766; Thāp. 480; Ovav. § 33; Kk.) and M. *moli* (Karp. 6, 9). In Ś. there is *moli* (Karp. 112, 3; Mallikām. 183, 5; Pras. 33, 6 [text *mau*]), but *maṇi* (Vikr. 75, 11; Mālatim. 218, 1). But in the Bombay edition (1888) of Vikr. (122, 1) and as a v. l. in SHANKAR P. PANDIT (131, 4), in Mālatim., the MS. N. and the Madras edition, there is *moli*, which occurs in the Bombay 1892 edition as *mauli* (167,2). Presumably in both the places

the correct form would be *moli*. Hc. has *saūha*=*saudha*, but *Ś. sodha* (Mālatīm. 292, 4). The variation, therefore, is far more dialectical than estimated by the grammarians. For *Ś. Mg.* only *ho* should be correct. According to Vr. 1, 43; Hc. 1, 163; Kī. 1, 42 *gaurava* develops into both *gaurava* and *gārava*, and according to Mk. fol. 13, it develops also into *gorava*, which he alone assigns to *Ś. JM.* has *gaurāa* (Erz.), M. *Ś. gorava* (H.; Adbhutad. 54, 10), M. AMg. JM. *gārata* (G. H. R.; Dasav. 635, 38; Paṇḥāv. 307; Uttar. 902; Erz.); JM. *ya* (Kī. 6). To Pāli *garu* belongs *gārava*, Pkt. *garua*, *garuṇa*=*gunuka* (§ 123), Skt. *gariyas*, *gariṣṭha*. On *u* for *o* from *au* see § 84.

(b) LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 62. A short vowel, before *r* + consonant, especially sibilant, and sibilant+following *ya*, *ra*, *va* or sibilant, is very often lengthened and the consonant group is simplified. The cases of lengthening are more abundant in M. and, especially, in AMg. and JM. than in *Ś. Mg.* which often retain the short vowel and assimilate the consonants. Thus:—*r* + consonant: PG. *kātūnaṃ*, P. *kātūnaṃ*, AMg. JM. *kāūnaṃ*=**kartvānaṃ* (§ 585. 586); VG. *kātūna*, JŚ. *kādūna* (§ 21), M. JM. *kāūna*=**kartivāna* (§ 586); M. AMg. JM. *kāūn*, *Ś. Mg.* *kādūn*=*kartum* (§ 574); M. *kāava*, AMg. JM. *kāyava*, JŚ. *Ś. Mg.* *kādava*=*kartavya* (§ 570).—*gāyari*=**gāgarī*=*gaggari*=Skt. *gargari* (Deśin. 2, 89).—M. *dūhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1, 115. 192; Karp. 86,2), and on its analogy *Ś. sūhava*=*subhaga* Hc. 1, 113. 192; Mallikā. 126, 2).—AMg. JM. *nīnei*=*nirṇayati* (Nirayāv. § 17; Uttar. 578, Erz.); JM. *nīneha*=*nirṇayata* (Dvār. 496, 5); *nīnījanṭa*, *nīnījamāṇa*=*nirṇīyamāna* (Āv. 24, 4; 25, 34), *nīnehi*=*nirṇeyati*, *nīnīna*=*nirṇīya* (Erz.); AMg. JM. *nīniya*=*nirṇīta* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.).—A *sāva*=*sarva* (Hc. 4, 420, 5=Sarasvatik. 158, 22). In the case of *r*+stop or nasal generally the vowel remains short and the consonants are assimilated.—AMg. *parimāsi*=*parimarśin* (Thān. 313).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa*=*sparśa* (Hc. 2, 92; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 2; 1, 4, 2, 2, 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 5; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 170. 172. 257. 337; Paṇṇav. 8. 10. 380; Āṇuog. 268; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 384, 47).—M. AMg. JM. *vāsa*=*varṣa* (Hc. 1, 43; H.; Sūyag. 148; Vivāhap. 427. 479. 1243; Uttar. 673; Dasav. 632, 42; Samav. 166; Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *vāsai*=*varṣati* (Dasav. N. 648, 7. 13. 14), *vāsiukāma*=*varṣiukāma* Thān. 155), but *Ś. vassāridu*=*varṣartu* (Viddhaś. 99, 1; v. l. *vāsā°*); Mg. *vaśśadi* (Mr̥chh. 79, 9).—AMg. *sāsava*=*sāṣapa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3). In AMg. sometimes the vowel followed by *l* + consonant is also lengthened: AMg. *phāguṇa*=*phalguna* (Vivāhap. 1426) by the side of *phagguṇa*, *phaggumitta* (Kappas.), *phagguni* (Uvās.), M. *phaggu* (H.), *Ś. uttaraphagguni*, *phagguṇa* (Karp. 18, 6; 20, 6; Dhanamjayav. 11, 7); AMg. *vāgala*=*valkala* (Nāyādh. 1275; Nirayāv. 54), *vāga*=*valka* (Ovav. § 74; text *vāka*), but M. *Ś. vakkala* (G.; Śak. 10. 12; 27, 10; Vikr. 84, 20; Anarghar. 58, 11), M. *avavakkala*=*apavalkala* (G.), Mg. *niivakkala*=*nirvalkala* (Mr̥chh. 22, 7).

§ 63. A sibilant + *ya*: AMg. *nāsasi*=*naṣyasi* Uttar. 712); M. *nāsai*, *nāsanti*, *nāsasu* (H. R.); JM. *nāsai*, *nāsanti* (Erz.), by the side of AMg. *nassāmi* (Uttar. 713); AMg. *nassai* (Hc. 4, 178. 230; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5 [v. l. *nāsai*], *nassamāna* (Uvās.), *viṇassai* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5); JM. *nassāmo*, *nassa* (Erz.); *Ś. nassadi* (Śak. 95, 8); Mg. *vināśśadu* (Mr̥chh. 118, 19).—AMg. JM. *pāsai*=*paṣiyati* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; Sūyag. 91; Vivāhap. 156, 231. 274. 275. 284. 1325 ff.; Vivāgas. 139; Nandis. 363, 371; Rāyap. 21. 240; Jiv. 339 ff.; Dasav. 643, 13 etc.; Erz.); AMg. *pāsiyavam* na *pāsai* *pāsiukāme* na *pāsai* *pāsittā* vi na *pāsai* (Paṇṇav. 667), *aṇupassiyā* (absol., Sūyag. 122); *pāsa* (eye; Deśin. 6, 75; Triv. in BB. 6, 104).

AMg. *kisanti*=*kliśyante* (Uttar. 576), but JM. *kilissai* (Erz.), *Ś. adi kilissadi* (Mālav. 7, 17).—AMg. JM. *sisa*=*śiśya* (Hc. 1, 43; 4, 265; Pāīyal. 101; Dasav. N.645, 12. 13; Kappas.; Āv. 40, 8 ff; 41, 11; Dvār. 499, 13; Erz.); *śisaga*=*śiśyaka*. (Āv. 40, 22; Dvār. 498, 13), by the side of JM. *Ś. sissa* (Āv. 33, 21; Priyad. 35, 5; Hāsya. 25, 13; 27, 19; 34, 3. 6. 10; Mallikām. 156, 23; Kāleyaka. 18, 3. 9; 19, 13; 24, 14; incorrect *sisa* 16, 8; *Ś. susissa*=*suśiśya* (Śak. 77, 11), *sissā*=*śiśyā* (Mallikām. 219, 20); AMg. *sissanī* (girl disciple; Vivāhap. 342 [text °ssi°]; Nāyādh. 1498; Samav. 241).—M. *tūsai* (Vr. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Kī. 4, 68; H.), JŚ. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400, 335), but *Ś tussadi* (Mālav. 8, 3).—AMg. JM. *mañūsa*=*manuśya* (Hc. 1, 43; Sūyag. 180; Vivāhap. 79. 341. 361. 425; Uttar. 175; Paṇṇav. 706; Dasav. N.653, 11; Ovav.; Āv. 26, 34; Erz.), AMg. *mañūśī* (Paṇṇav. 706), but also *mañussa* (Vivāhap. 362. 717; Paṇṇav. 367; Uvās.), and so also JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 308) and always M. Ś. (2, 26^b p.42; Pāīyal. 60; H.; Mṛcch. 44, 2. 3; 71, 9; 117, 18; 136, 7), Mg. *mañūśsa* (Mṛcch. 11, 24; 13, 4; 17, 17; 30, 21; 125, 21; 164, 6), *mañūśśaa* (Mṛcch. 131, 10), *mañūśśaka* (Mṛcch. 113, 21).—The same lengthening takes place in Mg. in the genitive forms like *kāmāha* from **kāmāsa*=*kāmasya*, *cālītāha*=*cāritraśya*, *śālīlāha*=*śārīrasya*, which in A. *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍāśasya*, etc. show subsequently shortened *a* (§ 264. 315 366); further in the genitive like A. *kāsu*, *jāsu*, *tāsu*=*kasya*, *yasya*, *tasya* (§ 425) and the forms of the future like A. *karisu*=**karīśyam*=*karīśyāmi*, *pāvisu*=**prāpīśyam*=*prāpīśyāmi*, *peḥkhihimi*=**prekīśyāmi*=*prekīśyā*, *sahihimi*=*sahīśye*; *karīhīsi*=*karīśyasi* (§ 315. 520. 525. 531. 533).

§ 64. Sibilant + *ra* : M. *sāsū*=*śvaśrū* (H.), *Ś. sāsue*=**śvaśruke* (Bālar. 153, 20).—M. *mīsa*=*mīśra* (Hc. 1, 43; 2, 170; H); AMg. *mīśajāya*=*mīśrajāta* (Ovav.), *mīśaya*=*mīśraka* (Thāp. 129 f; Kappas.), *mīśijai* (Uvās.), *mīśiya* (Kappas.); *mīśālia* (Hc. 2, 170); but *missai* (Hc. 4, 28); *Ś. mīssa* (Mṛcch. 69, 12; Śak. 18, 3), *missiā*=*mīśrikā* (Śak. 142, 10), *missida* (Prab. 29. 8); Mg. *mīśsa* (Mṛcch. 11, 6; 117, 8).—AMg. *visa*=*visra* (Sūyag. 753).—M. JM. *visamai*=*viśrāmyati* by the side of *Ś. viśsamādu* (§ 489).—M. *visambha*=*viśrambha* (Hc. 1, 43; H.R.), but *Ś. viśsambha* (Mṛcch. 74, 8 [so it is to be read with v. l. and GODABOLE's edition 213, 1]; Śak. 19, 4; Mālatim. 105., [So AD.]; 210, 7 [So N.])—*Ś. ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555, 1).—AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrāpayata* (Vivāhap. 957, *ūsaviya*=**ucchrāpita* (Ovav.; Kappas.): AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta* (Sūyag. 771. 958 [text u°]; Paṇhāv. 287; Nāyādh. 481; Uttar. 664; Nandis. 63. 68; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but AMg. *ussiya* (Sūyag. 309), *samussiya* (Sūyag. 275) beside °*ūsi*° Sūyag. 281), *ussaviya* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1), *Ś. ussāvedī*=*ucchrāpayati* (Uttarar. 61, 2).—Sibilant + *va* : M. AMg. JM. *āsa*=*aśva* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 43; R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 503; Vivāśag. 61; Uttar. 195. 217. 336. 500. 501; Nāyādh. 731. 780. 1233. 1266. 1388. 1456; Paṇṇav. 367; Aṇuog. 507; Nirayāv.; Ovav., Āv. 35, 12. 13. 16. 21 24; Erz.; Kk.), beside *assa* (Bh. 1, 2; Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 11. 12; 2, 15, 20; Sūyag. 182; Uttar. 617; Āv. 11, 18 ff.), as *Ś. āsa* always has (Mṛcch. 69, 10; Bālar. 238, 8).—M. *nīsāsai*; AMg. *nīsasanti*; JM. *nīsasiūna*=*nīśśvasya* (Erz.); *Ś. nīsasadi*, Mg. *nīśśadu*; M. *ūsasai*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūsāśadu*; M. *visasai*; AMg. *visase*; *Ś. visasadi*; also AMg. *ussasai*, *nīsasai*, from *śvas*, preceded by *nīh*, *ud*, *vi* (§ 327^a. 496).—AMg. JM. *Ś. viśattha*=*viśvasta* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99, 24; 100, 4; 105, 1; Śak. 70, 9; Vikr. 8, 8; 23, 6; 47, 1). A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (Hc. 4, 366. 422, 22), equated to *sarva* by Hc.—Sibilant + sibilant, originating through the process of assimilation in Pkt., in Skt.=*h*+sibilant : M. AMg. JM.

Ś. *ūsava*, *ūsaa*=*utsava* from **ussava*, **ussaa* (§ 327^a).—M. *ūsua*=*utsuka*, by the side of AMg. JM. *ussujā*, Ś. *ussua* (§ 327^a).—M. *visaria*=**vismarita*=*vismrta*, JŚ. *visariya*, beside JM. *vissariya* (§ 478).—M. *nisanka*=*nihsanka* (G.H.), AMg. *nisanka* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 2), A., with metrical shortening, *nisanka* (Hc. 4, 396, 1; 401, 2) by the side of JM. *nissanka* (Erz.).—M.Ś. *nisaha*=*nihsaha* (Hc. 1, 4, 3; G. H. R.; Uttarar. 92, 10) by the side of *nissaha* (Hc. 1, 13).—M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha*=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1, 13, 115; Kī. 2, 113; Pāiyāl. 234; H. R.; Āv. 12, 31; Karp. 32, 7; Mālatim. 79, 2; Vikr. 69, 18), Ś. *dūsaḥattana*=*duhsahaṭva* (Mālatim. 81, 2) by the side of Ś. *dussaha* (Hc. 1, 13, 115; Kī. 2, 113; Prab. 44, 1) and poetical M. *dusaha* (Hc. 1, 115; G. H.).—AMg. *tejākamma*=**tejahkaman* (Ovav).—*maṇāsīlā*=*maṇaḥsīlā* (Hc. 1, 26, 43) by the side of *maṇosīlā*, *maṇasīlā* (§ 347) and *maṇamsīlā* (§ 74).

§ 65. In other cases the lengthening of vowels is exceptional, partly just dialectal. AMg. JM. *gāyā*=*ga'vyūta* (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *jāhā*=*jihvā* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 92; 2, 57; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 251; G. H. R.; Āyār. p. 137, 7, 9; Vivāhap. 943; Paṇṇav. 101; Jiv. 883; Uttar. 943 (by the side of *jibbhā* § 332); Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 403; Vikr. 15, 3; 16, 12; 18, 10; Karp. 66, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 9; Caṇḍak. 17, 3; Mallikām. 90, 23; Kamsav. 7, 17); Mg. *jihā* (Mṛcch. 167, 3).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dāhiṇa* from **dākhīna* (§ 323)=*dakṣiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Ratn. 293, 3; Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 2; 2, 1, 2, 6; Jiv. 345; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 97, 15; 117, 18; Venis. 61, 6; Bālar. 249, 7); AMg. *dāhiṇilla* (Thān. 264 ff.; 358; Vivāgas. 180; Paṇṇav. 102 ff; Vivāhap. 218. 880. 1288 ff. 1331 ff. 1874; Nāyādh. 333. 335. 867. 1349; Jiv. 227 ff. 345; Rāyap. 72. 73); AMg. *āyāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa*=*ādakṣiṇa*, *pradakṣiṇa* (Sūyag. 1017; Vivāhap. 161. 162; Nirayāv. §4; Uvās.; Ovav. (text *ādā*)), *pāyāhiṇa* (Uttar. 302); by the side of PG. *dakṣiṇa* (6, 28), M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Pratāpar. 215, 19; Sūyag. 574; Erz.; Mṛcch. 9, 9; 155, 4; Vikr. 20, 2; 31, 5; 45, 2; 76, 17; Bālar. 264, 4; 278, 19; Mṛcch. 99, 19), Mg. *dakkhiṇa* (Mṛcch. 130, 5; 164, 7; 168, 18; Caṇḍak. 64, 9; 66, 13; 71, 9), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* (Caṇḍak. 3, 16); AMg. *dakkhiṇilla* (Samav. 144; Nāyādh. 866. 921. 929. 930. 1350).—PG. *dūda*=*dugdha* (6, 31).—M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* (daughter)=**dhuktā*, **dhūtā*, with a march over to the *ā*-declension (§ 212. 392).—AMg. JM. *bhāsa*=*bhasman* (Thān. 589; Paṇṇav. 507; Antag. 68; Vivāhap. 171. 1033. 1232. 1247. 1254. 1281. 1282; Kappas.; Sagara 4, 9), but Ś. *bhassa* (Hāsy. 27, 19; 41, 4).—*rāyagaī* (leech; Deśin. 7, 5) from **rātāgati*=**raktāgati*.

§ 66. As described under § 119. 122. 125, *e*, *o*, that developed from *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*, whether original or going back to *r*, before consonant-groups are, in certain dialects, lengthened, and in such cases the consonant-groups are simplified. AMg. *koḍha* from **koṭṭha*=**kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha* (Nāyādh. 1046. 1047. 1177; Uvās. § 148; Vivāgas. 33, 34 [text *koḍḍha*]. 198), *koḍhi* (Paṇṇav. 523) from and by the side of *koṭṭhi* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3), *kuṭṭhi* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 1)=*kuṣṭhin*, *koḍhiyā*=**kuṣṭhika* (Vivāgas. 177).—AMg. *gahi* (greed) from **geddhi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*grddhi* (Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 2; Sūyag. 97. 321. 348; Paṇṇav. 147. 148. 323; Samav. 83. 113; Vivāhap. 1026; Uttar. 217).—*nelaccha* (eunuch; Pāiyāl. 235; Hc. 1, 174; Deśin. 4, 44) from **neḷlaccha*, **nilaccha*=*nirlakṣa* (BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v.), however, *lakṣa*=*lakṣaṇa* "sex mark".—AMg. *dehai* (Uttar. 571)=*deḷkai* from **dikkhai*=**drkṣai* (§ 554), *dehe*=**drkṣet* (Dasav. 631, 22), *dehae*=**drkṣate* (Sūyag. 52), *dehamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 794 f.); A. *drehi* (glance; Hc. 4, 422, 6).—AMg. JM. *seḍhi* (series), from **seṭṭhi* for

siṭṭhi*=*ṣiṭṭhi* (Thān. 464. 546. 588; Paṇhāv. 271. 272; Samav. 220; Vivāhap. 410. 481. 991. 1308. 1669. 1675 ff. 1870. 1875 ff. Rāyap. 49. 90. 258; Jiv. 351. 456. 707. 709; Aṇuog. 218. 221 ff. 245 ff. 381 etc; Paṇnav. 396. 398. 401 ff. 627. 847; Nandis. 165. 371; Uttar. 829. 882. 887; Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *sedhiya* (Paṇnav. 846; Ovav.), *anusedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f. 1877 ff.), *paredhi* (Rāyap. 49. 90), *visedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f.; 1877 ff.; Nandis. 373)¹.—M. *soṇāra* (H. 191) from **so ṇṇāra*=*suṇṇāra* (v. l. to H. 191)=*svaṇakāra*².—*oḥala* (mortar; Hc 1, 171; Mk. fol. 8) from *o'kkhala* (Vr. 1, 21; Hc. 1, 171; Ki. 1, 24)=AMg. *ukkhala* (Deśin. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 9; Paṇhāv. 34), AMg. *ukkhalaḡa* (Sūyag. 250)=*udūkhala*, which occurs also as *udūhala* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1) in AMg. and *uūhala* (Hc. 1, 171) in M³. The long vowel in M. AMg. JM. *chūḍha*=*kṣubdha* (Hc. 2, 19. 92. 127; H. R.; Paṇhāv. 201; Dasav. 641, 15; Uttar. 758; Āv. 14, 18; 18, 13; 25, 4; 41, 7; Erz.) and in the compound words M. AMg. *ucchūḍha* (Hc. 2, 127; H. v.l.; Paṇhāv. 268; Nāyādh. § 4. 46; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *paliucchūḍha*=*paryutkṣubdha* (Ovav. p. 30, 3 [so it is to be read]); AMg. JM. *nicchūḍha* (Vivāgas. 84. 143; Nāyādh. 825. 833. 1174. 1313. 1411; Paṇnav. 828. 835; Nandis. 380; Paṇhāv. 151; Āv. 16, 1; 21, 5 [so it is to be read in accordance with the MSS.]), M. *paricchūḍha* (Deśin. 6, 25; R.), M. *vicchūḍha* (Pāiyāl. 84; G. R.), M. *vicchūḍhāvā* (R.) are to be explained as having developed due to analogy with *ūḍha*, *gūḍha*, *mūḍha*, *rūḍha*. AMg., in fact, has *bha* in the root in words like *chubhanī* (Paṇhāv. 56; text **bhh*), *chubhejja* (Dasav. 652, 24), *chubhittā* (Uttar. 499), *ucchubhai* (Nāyādh. 325), *ucchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), *nicchubhai* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇnav. 827. 832. 834), *nicchubhanti* (Nāyādh. 516; Vivāgas. 84), *nicchubhāve* (Nāyādh. 823. 824. 1313; Vivāgas. 86. 143), *nicchubhāviya* (Nāyādh. 823; Vivāgas. 87), *vicchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), and it is occasionally found in JM. also, as in *chubhai* (Erz.) and in the passive *chubhāi* Āv. 2⁴, 3), *nicchubhāi* (Āv. 42, 35), but JM. has also *chuhāmi*, *chuhāi* (Erz.), M. has throughout *vicchuhāi* (H. R.), *vicchuhire*, (Hc. 3, 142), and wherefrom is deduced the root *chuh*, from which the participles are formed on analogy⁴. The normal development of Skt. *kṣubdha* is into *chuddha* (Bh. 3. 30). Cf. *jaḍha* § 67. 565.—*mūsala* (mallet; Hc. 1, 113), by the side of the normal *musala* (H. R.), is derived from the present stem *muṣya*, *musya*-(Dhātupāṭha, 26, 111, *musa*, *muṣa khaṇḍane*) and, therefore,=muṣyala*⁵.

1. *sedhi* is without exception, explained by the commentators as *śrepi* and has been taken also as *średhi* (Hc. Liṅgānuśāsana, 2, 25, Uṇādigāṇasūtra 631), *średhi* (B.R. s.v.) into Skt.—2. Thus more correctly than KZ. 34, 573; *u* is to be explained according to §152, and the contraction, according to §167-3. Mk. fol. 8f. has *uūkhala*; cf. §148.—4. S. GOLDSCHMIDT contests the association of *chuhai* and *kṣubh*, Prakritica p. 20 on insufficient grounds. Cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *uchūḍha*; PISCHEL, BB. 15, 123f. and §120-5 Cf. Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakośa 3 with v. l.

§ 67. In contrast to *e*, *o* before consonant-groups becomes sometimes *a* and is not lengthened even when the consonant-groups are simplified. In such cases the accent originally fell on the ending. M. *marāḍhi*=NIA. *marāṭhi*=*māhāraṣṭri* (Karp. 10, 5; cf. § 354).—*jaḍha* (forsaken), AMg. *viḡaḍha*, *viḡpaḡaḍha* from **jāḍha*, from the root *jah*, inferred from the present form *jahai*=*jahāti* of the root *hā* (§ 565).—AMg. *aḍha*=*aṣṭa*' (8), AMg. JM. *aḍhayālisam*, AMg. *aḍhayāla* (48', *aḍhasaṣṭim* (68), A *aḍhāisa* (28), *aḍhaḍlis* (48), AMg. *aḍhāresama* (18.) (§ 442. 449).—In compound words formed with *ṣṛṣṭa*, from *ṣṛj*: AMg. *ūsaḍha*=*utsṛṣṭa*, "separation", "selection", "expelled", "isolation", (Āyār. 2,

2, 1, 7), "exquisite", "preferable" (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 6. 16; Dasav. 623, 13); AMg. *ṇisaḍha=niṣṣṭa* (Nāyādh. 1276); M. *visaḍha=viṣṣṭa*, "released" (R. 6, 66), "given up" (R. 11, 89), "unequal", "uneven" (Hc. 1, 241; Pāṇīal. 207), "non-violent" or "healthy", (Deśin. 7, 62)¹; AMg. JM. *samosaḍha=samavasṣṭa* "what has occurred", "what has arrived" (e.g. Vivāhap. 211. 257. 622; Nāyādh. 558. 567. 619. 671. 874. 967. 1331. 1446. 1454 f. etc.; Vivāgas. 103; Nirāyāv. 41. 43. 74; Dasav. 624, 21; Uvās.; Āv. 16, 20; Dvār. 497, 27)².

1. Hc. traces the word in the sense of "uneven" to *viṣama*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT in R. assigns to it the meanings "self-released", "tried" and explains it as = **viṣṭha=viṣṭha*. 2. The Indian editions mostly write *samosaḍha* (e.g. Vivāhap. 511. 514. 788ff. 912. 934. 971. 978. 988. etc.; Vivāgas. 160. 200. 214. 248; Nāyādh. 973. 982. 1018. 1025 etc.), also *saḍha* (Rāyap. 12. 232) and *saḍda* (Rāyap. 233). Cf. 235.

§ 68. In AMg., before the enclitic *eva*, on account of which the preceding word becomes more prominent, the *a* of the syllable *am* of such a preceding word very often undergoes lengthening and thereby, against § 348, *m* gets retained: *evāmeva* (Vivāhap. 162; Uvās. § 219); *khippāmeva=ksiṇameva* (Āyār. 2, 6, 2, 3; p. 130, 1; Vivāhap. 106. 154. 241; Samav. 100; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *bhogāmeva* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 2); *puvāmeva=pūrvameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 4); *juttāmeva=yuktameva* (Vivāhap. 503. 790; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.); *saṃjāyāmeva=samjātameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2, 4, 4, 5, 2, 4. 6 etc.). This takes place also before pure Prākṛit *m*, that is changed into *m*, as in *tāmeva jāṇappavaram=tadeva yānapravaram* (Uvās. § 211), and also before the first secondary anusvāra, which also is changed into *m*, as in *jeṇāmeva cāugghaṇṭe āsarake teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi=yenava caturghanṭo 'svarathas tenaivopāgacchati* (Nāyādh. § 133); *jeṇāmeva rāyagihe nāyare jeṇāmeva guṇasilae ceie teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Nāyādh. 373); *jeṇāmeva sohamme kappe...teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Kappas. § 29). In this case the original *ā* remains, against § 83: *jāmeva disaṃ pāubbhūyā tāmeva disaṃ paḍigayā=yāmevadisaṃ prādurbhūtāstāmeva disaṃ pratigatāḥ* (Vivāhap. 190; Vivāgas. 38 [where there is *disiml*]), more often in the feminine = ^o*bhūtā*, ^o*gatā* (Vivāgas. 4; Uvās. § 61. 211. 249; Nirāyāv. § 5; Ovav. § 59; Nāyādh. § 5); cf. further Sūyag. 1012; Ovav. § 60. 61; Kappas. § 28; *tāmeva paṣṣejjam=tāmeva patissayyām* (Ovav. § 72). The same lengthening takes place also in AMg. before *avi*: *kisāmavi=kṛsāmapi* (Sūyag. 1); *taṇāmavi=tṭāmapi* (Uttar. 219); *annaṇārāmavi=anyataramapi*, *aṇudisāmavi=anudisāmapi* (Dasav. 625, 15. 37).

§ 69. A short vowel is lengthened in declensional forms before the ablative sing. forming suffixes Skt.—*tas*, Pkt.—*hi*, *-hiṃto*, and *i* as well as *u* is lengthened in such cases even before a plural ending beginning with a consonant (§ 365. 379. 381). In derivative words used adverbially original short *a* remains mostly before: *tas*: AMg. JM. *aggao* (Hc. 1, 37; Nāyādh. 1107; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), S. *aggad* (Mṛcch. 40, 14; 151. 18; 327, 1; Śak. 37, 7; 131, 10; Vikr. 25, 15; 33, 4; 41, 11; 42, 18; Ratn. 317, 12. 14), Mg. *aggado* (Mṛcch. 119, 3. 6; 121, 10; 126, 14; 132, 3; 136, 21).—S. Mg. D. *aṇṇado=anyataḥ* (Śak. 17, 4; Mṛcch. 29, 33; 96, 25; 102, 18).—Used as pure abl. AMg. *piṭṭhāo=prsthāt* (Nāyādh. 938. 964) and *piṭṭhāhi* (Nāyādh. 958. 959), but in an adverbial sense *piṭṭhāo* (Sūyag. 180. 186. 204. 213; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1107; Uttar. 29. 69; Uvās.; Ovav.); likewise JM. *piṭṭhāo* (Erz.), S.D. *piṭṭhādo* (Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 6; Mallikām 145, 21; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), S. *piṭṭhādo* (Ratn. 316, 22), Mg. *piṭṭhādo* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10).—AMg. *dappao khē tiao kālaḥ bhāvao guṇao=dravyataḥ kṣetrajāḥ kālato bhāvato guṇataḥ* (Vivāhap. 203, 204; and without *guṇao* 157; Uttar. 1014; Ovav. § 28; Kappas. 118),

davvao vaṇṇao gandhao rasao phāsao (Vivāhap. 29), *soyao ghāṇao phāsao* = *śrotato ghrāṇataḥ sparsataḥ* by the side of *cakkhūo, jibbhāo, jihāo* = *cakṣustah, jibhātah* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5, 1-5).—*Ś. jammado* = *janmataḥ* (Ratn. 298, 11).—But always *Ś. kāraṇādo*, *Mg. kālaṇādo* = *kāraṇataḥ* (Mṛcch. 39, 14, 22; 55, 16; 60, 25; 61, 23; 74, 14; 78, 3; 147, 17, 18 etc.; *Mg.* 133, 1; 140, 14; 158, 21; 165, 7); *JM. dūrāo* (Erz.), *Ś. dūrādo* (Hc. 4, 276), *P. tūrāto* (Hc. 4, 321), but *Mg. dūlado* (Mṛcch. 121, 11); *M. pacchao* (R.), commonly found *pacchā* (G. H. R.) = *paścāt*, but *Ś. pacchādo* (Mṛcch. 71, 22). In Mṛcch. 9, 9 occur *dakkhūṇādo, vāmādo* in connection with the abl. of the feminine *chāā* = *chāyā*; besides there occurs *Ś. Mg. vāmado* (Mṛcch. 14, 8; 13, 25; 14, 7). On the shortening of vowels in pure ablative see § 99.

§ 70. A final short vowel is sometimes lengthened in formation of a compound. It so happens in AMg. JM. before the suffixes—*maya*, *-mayika*. Thus: AMg. *rajaṇāmayā* = *rajaṇamaya* (Uvās.), *phaliḥarayaṇāmayā* = *sphaṭikaratnamaya* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. JM. *savvarāyaṇāmayā* (Vivāhap. 1322. 1323. 1448; Jiv. 483; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; and *maiya* (Thān. 266); AMg. *vairāmayā* = *vajramaya* (Vivāhap. 1441; Jiv. 494. 563. 883; Samav. 102. 132; Rāyap. 63. 69 105; Ovav.), *riṭṭhāmayā* = *ariṣṭamaya* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), *veruliyāmayā* = *vaidūryamaya* (Jiv. 494; Rāyap. 105), *savvaphāliyaṇāmayā* = *sarvasphaṭikamaya* (Paṇṇav. 115); *āgāsa-phāliyaṇāmayā* = *ākāśasphaṭikamaya* (Samav. 97; Ovav.). But JM. *rayaṇāmayā* (Erz.) by the side of *ṇā* (T. 5, 12); AMg. *nāṇāmaṇimāyā* (Jiv. 494), *āhāramāyā* (Dasav. 631, 24), *purāṇuvittimāyā* (Dasav. N. 661, 5); JŚ. *puggalamāyā*, *uvaogamāyā*, *poḷḷaladavvamāyā* = **puḍgalamayika, upayogamaya, puḍgaladravyamaya* (Pav. 384, 36. 49. 58), *asuimāyā* (Kattig. 400, 337); *vārimai* by the side of *vārimai* = *vārimayī* (Hc. 1, 4); *M. nehamaia* = **snehamayika* (H. 450). Lengthening takes place, further, in compounds with numerals for 5, 6, 7 and 8: *pañcā, chā, sattā, atṭhā* (§ 440ff.), likewise with *aṇṇā* = *agūṇā* and *addhā* = *ardhā* (§ 444. 450); similar is the case with the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of *pra*, in which already in Skt. the quantity of the vowel underwent variation, as in *pradeśa, prādeśa* (Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakośa 25). So *M. paada* (G.) and *M. Mg., pāda* = *prakaṭa* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 4; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4. 5; G. H. R.; Vajjāl. 325, 23; Mṛcch. 40, 6); JM. *payada* (Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *pāgaḍa* (Ovav.; Kappas.); *M. pādā* = *prakaṭita* (H.); AMg. *pāgaḍiya* (Ovav.).—*M. pāroha* = *praroḥa* (Hc. 1, 44; G. H. R.).—*M. pasutta* and *pāsutta* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; G. H. R.), However, *Ś. pasutta* (Mṛcch. 44, 18; 50, 23).—*M. pasiddhi* = *prasiddhi* (G.) and *pāsiddhi* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4. 5).—AMg. *pāvayaṇa* = *pravacana* (Hc. 1, 44; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.).—Also *M. pāsijjai* = *prasvidyate* (H. 771) and AMg. *pāsavaṇa* = *prastavaṇa* (Uvās.) may more appropriately be put here than under § 64—AMg. *abhūi* = *abhijit* (Kappas.), *vūvaitā* = **vyatirajitvā* (Ovav. § 63), *vūvayamāṇe* (Uvās. § 79; so it is to be read; see § 151). In many cases the lengthening is purely metrical, as in *M. diṭṭhipahammi* = *drṣṭipathe* (H. 456), *nāhikamala* = *nābhikamala*, *aravilāsa* = *aravilāsa* (G. 13. 111; AMg. *girivara* (Sūyag. 110); JM. *veruliyamaṇimōlla* = *vaidūryamaṇimauḷya* (Erz. 29, 28). So also *pañhara* = *paṭighara* (Hc. 1, 4) by the side of *pañhara*, *Ś. paḍighara* (Mālatim. 243, 4); *velūvaṇa* by the side of *veluvaṇa* = *veṇuvana* (Hc. 1, 4). In the dialect of Śākāra in Mṛcch. *a* appears to have sometimes been lengthened before the suffix—*ka*: *cāludattāke* (127, 23; 128, 6; 149, 25); *cāludattākam* (127, 25; 166, 18); *cāludattākēna* (133, 1; 137, 1; 151, 23); *vāsudevākam* (121, 16); *guḍāha* = *guḍaka* (116, 25; cf. § 206); *śaputtākam* = *śaputrakam* (166, 18). The same lengthening is found also in AMg. *muhuttāga* = *muhūrtaka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6), *piḷāga* = *piṭaka* (Sūyag. 208), *khuddāga, ya* =

ksudra (Vivāhap. 1851ff.; Ovav.; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; cf. § 294), and in the frequent AMg. *anādiya*, *anāiya*=*anādika* (Sūyag. 84. 867; Thān. 41, 129; Panhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Vivāhap. 39. 848. 1128) by the side of *aṇādiya*, *aṇāiya* (Sūyag. 787; Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 160), also JM. (Erz. 33, 17; cf. v. 1); JS. *ādiya* (Kattig. 401, 353); PG. *ādika* (5, 4; 6, 34). Cf. Vedic *jahāka* by the side of *jahaka* (Ved. Stud. 1, 63) and § 73. 97.

§ 71. Final vowels used in the voc. sing. and in the particles employed in calling somebody from a distance are lengthened (pluti): *re re capphalajā*, *re re nigghinajā*, *he harī*, *he gurū*, *he pahū* (Hc. 3, 38); AMg. *ānandā* Uvās. § 44. 84), *kālāsā* (Vivāhap. 132), *gojama* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 34ff 1311. 1315. 1416; Ovav. § 66ff.; Uvās. etc.), *kāsavā* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 1237f.), *camarā asurindā asurarāyā appatthiyāpatthiyā*=*camara asurendra asurarāja aprārthyaprārthika* (Vivāhap. 254), *hantā mandiyaputtā* (Vivāhap. 268), *puttā*=*putra* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *hantā*=*hanta* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), *subuddhī* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003), *maharisi* (Sūyag. 182), *mahāmuṇi*=*mahāmune* (Sūyag. 419), *jambū* (Uvās.); Ś. *dāsieuttā*=*dāyāh-putra* (Mṛcch. 4, 9; 80, 13. 23; 81, 12; 82, 4; 108, 16), *are re kaṇelisudā rāsālasaṁsthānā*=*ussaṁkhala*=*kaṇelisuta rājasālasaṁsthānaka ucchṛṇ-khalaka* (Mṛcch. 151, 16f.); Mg. *haṇḍe kumbhila*=*haṇḍe kumbhilaka* (Śak. 113. 2), *le gaṇḍhiśceda*=*re granthicchedaka* (Śak. 115, 4), *le calā*=*re cara* (spys. Lalitav. 566, 14. 18), *puttakā haḍakkā*=*putraka hṛdayaka* (Mṛcch. 114, 16); and so the *a*-stems always in Mg. according to Vr. 11, 13 to which, however, the texts do not conform; *vāsū* (girl? Mṛcch. 9, 24; 17, 1; 127, 7); Ā. *are re pavahanavāha* (Mṛcch. 100, 17); Dh. *vipṣa-lambha*=*vipralambhaka*, *palivevidaṅga*=*parivepitāṅga*, *khalanta*=*skhalan*, *kalēnta*=*kuroan* (Mṛcch. 30, 6ff.); A. *bhamarā*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 387, 2), *mittāḍā*=*mītra* (Hc. 4. 422, 1), *haṁsā* (Vikr. 61, 20), *hiḍḍā*=*hṛdaya* (Hc. 4, 357, 4. 422, 12. 23. 439, 1). In this place a mention should be made also of the lengthening of the final *a* in the imperative in cases like AMg. *kuvvaḥā*=**kurvata*=*kuruta* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1), *pāsahā*=*paśyata* (Āyār. 1, 6, 5, 5; Sūyag. 144. 148.), *sambujjhahā*=*sambudhyadhvam* (Sūyag. 335). After dropping of the final consonant the lengthening takes place in cases like JM. *dhī*=*dhik* (Dvār. 501, 33); S. *haddhī* *haddhī*=*hādhik* *hādhik* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12, 6; 16, 6; 50, 23; 170, 3; Śak. 27, 1; 62, 5; 72, 7; Vikr. 25, 14; 75, 10). See also § 75. Frequent is the lengthening of *u* of *hou*=*bhavatu* before the enclitic *nam* in AMg. *hou nam*=*bhavatu nanu* (Nāyādh. 1884. 1228. 1351; Ovav. § 105).

§ 72. After the dropping of *h*, *i* and *u* of the endings *-ih* and *-uh* of the nom. are always lengthened in the sing. of masculine and feminine words ending in *-i* and *-u*. M. *aggī*=*agnih* (H. 163), AMg. *agaṇī* (Sūyag. 273. 281. 291), Mg. *loṣaggī*=*roṣāgnih* (Mṛcch. 123, 2); M. AMg. *asī*=*asih* (G. 239; Sūyag. 593), Mg. *aśī* (Mṛcch. 12, 17); JM. *sahī*=**sakhih*=*sakhā* (KI. 14); Ś. *pidi*=*prūih* (Mṛcch. 24, 4); M. JS. Ś. *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭih* (H. 15; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 10); D. *seṇāvai*=*senāpatiḥ* (Mṛcch. 101, 21); M. JM. *tarū*=*taruḥ* (Hc. 3, 19; H. 913; Erz. 4, 29); AMg. Ś. *bhikkhū*=*bhikṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Mṛcch. 78, 13); JM. *gurū*=*guruḥ* (KI. 14), *bindū*=*binduḥ* (Āv. 15, 18); JM. D. *viṇhū*=*viṣṇuḥ* (Āv. 36, 41; Mṛcch. 105, 21). Some grammarians, according to Hc. 3, 19, permit even nasalization of the vowel instead of its lengthening (§ 178): *aggim*, *ṇihim* *vāum*, *viḥum*. In the instrumental plural in *-bhīḥ*, and, along with it, in all the dialects other than A., in the abl. plur. in *-bhyah*, which dropped with it, the lengthening never takes place after the elision of *h*, but there develops by the side of the short vowel

also a nasal vowel :—*hi*, *-hiṁ*, *-hĩ*, (§ 178), A. in the abl. *-hu*, *-hum*, *-hū* (§ 368. 369. 381. 387 etc.). In Ś. Mg. is used *-hiṁ* only.

§ 73. A short vowel is lengthened in a large number of cases exclusively on account of metrical consideration in medial and final syllables, especially in AMg. and in A. Thus: M. *aṁsū*=*aśru* (H. 153); AMg. *dhūmao*=*dhṛtimataḥ* (Āyār. 2, 16, 8), *maimam*=*matimān* (Sūyag. 397), *maimajā*=*matimatā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 16), Sūyag. 373), *amāimajā*=**amatimatāḥ* (Sūyag. 213), *pañjalio*=*prāñjalikāḥ* (Dasav. 634, 23), *jāi-jarāmaranehiṁ*=*jātijarāmaranaiḥ* (Sūyag. 156), *parvāie*=*pravrajitaḥ* (Sūyag. 495), *mahiddhiyā*=*maharddhikāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 18, 4); *soṇiām*=*soṇitam* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 9), *sāhiyā*=*sādhikā* (Ovav. § 174); Mg. *line*=*rnam* (Mṛcch. 21, 19). Particularly frequent are the cases of lengthening of the final *i* in verbal forms, especially at the end of a half verse or of a complete verse: AMg. *sahai*=*sahate* (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 3), *sarai*=*smarati* (Sūyag. 172; Uttar. 277), *kuvvai*=**kurvati*=*karoti* (Dasav. 623, 33), *bhāsai*=*bhāṣate* (Sūyag. 106), *marai*=**marati*=*mriyate* (Uttar. 207), *kiccai*=*kṛtyate* (Sūyag. 106), *bajjhai*=*badhyate* (Uttar. 245), *karissai*=*karisyati* (Dasav. 627, 24), *jānanti*, *aṇuhoṇti*=*jānanti*, *anubhavanti* (Ovav. § 179. 188), *acchehi*=*atyehi* (Sūyag. 148); AMg. JM. *bhuñjai*=*bhunakti* (Sūyag. 133; Āv. 8, 4, 24); Mg. *ovaggadi*=*apavalgati* (Mṛcch. 10, 5). Further, very often in AMg. and JM. the final *a* of the absolutive in *-ya* is lengthened in poetry. AMg. *paḍilehiyā*=*pratilekhyā*, *muñiyā*=*jñātvā*, *sāpehiyā*=*samprekṣya*, *viññiyā*=*vidhūya* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 7. 13. 23. 24); AMg. JM. *pāsiyā*=**paśya* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38, 35); AMg. *viyāñiyā*=*viññāya* (Dasav. 637, 5; 642, 12) etc. (§ 590. 591). Lengthening of final vowels occurs in many sporadic cases like AMg. *jagai*=*jagati* (Sūyag. 104), *kei*=*kecit* (Ovav. 63, 20); JM. *kajai*=*kācācit* (Āv. 8, 7; 37, 37).

§ 74. In lieu of a lengthened vowel there comes in a short nasal vowel before one of the simplified consonants of a consonant group. This prevails upon the rules § 62-65. The grammarians (Vr. 4, 15; Hc. 1, 26; Mk. fol. 34; Pkl. p. 10) enumerate together such words under the *vakrādi* or (Ki. 2, 122) *aśvādi* group. Thus: *kamkoda* (Hc.), M. *kamkoḷa* (Śukasaptati 123, 2; text °*la*) and M. AMg. *kakkoḷa* (G. 582; Paṇhāv. 527; text °*la*)=*karkoḷa* (cf. § 238).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. ŚA. *daṁsaṇa*=*darśana* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 312, 314; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 379, 2; 380, 6; 387, 13; 389, 9, 4; Kattig. 400, 328. 329; Lalitav. 554, 7. 8; Mṛcch. 23, 14. 21; 29, 11; 97, 15; 169, 14; Śak. 50, 1; 73, 9; 84, 13; Vikr. 16, 15; 19, 3 etc.; Hc. 4, 401, 1), Mg. *daṁsaṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 9; 37, 10; Prab. 52, 6; 58, 16); likewise in *daṁsi*=*darśin* (Vikr. 8, 11), *daṁsai*, *daṁsei* (§ 554) and in others.—M. Ś. *phaṁsa*=*sparśa* (Bh. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Vikr. 51, 2; Mālatīm. 217, 5; 262, 3; Uttarar. 92, 9; 93, 7; 125, 7; 163, 4; Viddhaś. 70, 10; Bālar. 202, 9), Ś. *pariḥphaṁsa* (Bālar. 202, 16), Mg. *sphaṁsa* (Prab. 58, 8); *phaṁsai* (Hc. 4, 182).—*paṁsu*=*parśu* (Hc.)—M. *ṇiḥaṁsa*=*nigharṣa* (G.), *ṇiḥaṁsaṇa*=*nigharṣaṇa* (G.R.).—A. *bariḥṇa*=*barhin* (Vikr. 58, 8).—*l*+consonant in *sumka*=*śulka* (Mk.), AMg. *usumka* (Kappas. § 102 [so it is to be read]. 209; Nāyādh. § 112; p. 1388 [so it is to be read]. Vivāgas. 230 has *sukka*.—Sibilant+*ya*: AMg. *namaṁsai*=*namasyati* (Āyār. 2, 15, 19; Nāyādh. § 7; p. 292; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; cf. Ovav. § 20. 38. 50 etc.), JŚ. *namaṁsittā*=**namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6.). JM. *niyaṁsaha*=*nivasata* (Erz. 59, 30) from **nivasata*, presupposes a similar in the present, wherefrom are derived the causative forms AMg. *niyaṁsei* (Jiv. 611), *niyaṁseha* (Vivāhap. 1262), *niyaṁsittā* (Jiv. 611), *niyaṁsāvei* (Āyār. 2, 15, 20), and

from such a form of the present are derived the substantives M. *niāmsaṇa* (Mk. H.), *viñiamsaṇa* (H.), AMg. *niyāmsaṇa* (Pannav. [so it is to be read with the commentary]; Rāyap. 81; Ovav. § 35); *vianhsaṇa* (Mk.); *paḍiñiamsaṇa* (night-dress; Deśin 6, 36).—M. *vaamsa*=*vayasya* (Hc. Mk. Pkl. *vaamsi*=**vayasyi* (Karp. 46, 8), JM. *vayaṃsa* (Erz.), A *vaamsiahu*=**vayasyikābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351), by the side of M. *vaassa* (H.), so always in Ś. (e.g. Mrcch. 7, 3. 14. 19; Śak. 29, 3; 30, 6; Vikr. 16, 11; 18, 8).—Sibilant+*ra*: M. JM. A. *aṃsu*=*aśru* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Kārṇas. 44, 20; Erz.; Dvār. 501, 32; Pīṅgala 1, 61^a), but Ś. *assu* (Venis. 66, 7; Subhadr. 17, 3; Mukund. 15, 1), and thus probably is to be read for *aṃsu* in Vikr. 83, 13 [see v. 1.; ed. Bomb. 133, 2; ed. PANDIT 150, 12., ed. PISCHEL 666, 3]; Mudrār. 260, 3 [see v. 1.]; Viddhās. (79, 6; 80, 2).—AMg. *maṃsu*=*śmaśru* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk.; Pāiyāl. 112; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11; 2, 8, 5; Paṇhāv. 351; Bhag.; Ovav.), *nimmāṃsu*=*niḥśmaśru* (Anut-tar. 12; text **sa*); JŚ. *maṃsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386, 4). Cf. § 312.—M. AMg. *tamsa*=*tryasra* (Bh.; Hc.; Mk.; Karp. 37, 7; 40, 3; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; Sūyag. 590; Thāṇ. 445. 493); AMg. *cauraṃsa*=*caturasra* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4, Sūyag. 590; Thāṇ. 20. 493; Uvās.; Ovav.), *chalaṃsa*=*śaḍasra* (Thāṇ. 493), *chalaṃsiya*, *aṭṭhaṃsa*=*śaḍasrika*, *aṣṭāśra* (Sūyag. 590).—Sibilant+*va*: *aṃsa*=*aśva* (Bh.) and so AMg. *aṃsu'tha*=*aśvattha* (Vivāhap. 1530), but *asso'tha* (Thāṇ. 555), *āso'ttha* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7; Paṇhāv. 31), *āsattha* (Samav. 233).—M. *maṇāmsi*=*manasvin* (Hc. Mk. H.), *maṇāmsiṇi*=*manasvinī* (Bh. Ki. Pkl.) and M. Ś. *māṇāmsiṇi* (Hc.; H.; Bālar. 142, 3; 242, 4). Likewise in other adjectives ending in *-vin* in AMg., as in *ojāmsi*=*ojasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), *jassāmsi*=*yaśasvin*, *tejaṃsi*, *tejaṃsi*=*tejasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.), *vaccāmsi*=*var-casvin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.).—*haṃsa*=*hrasva* (Bh.; see § 354).—Visarga+sibilant: *maṇāmsilā*=*maṇaḥsilā* (Hc.) by the side of *maṇāsīlā*, *maṇosīlā*, *maṇasīlā* (§ 64. 347). Besides in AMg. this phonetic law comes into force sometimes also when one of the conjunct consonants is a sibilant. Thus in the case of *s+k* in *saṃkuli*=*śaṃkuli* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Paṇhāv. 490), by the side of *sakkuli* (Thāṇ. 259 [commentary *saṃkuli*]; Dasav. 621, 2); in the case of *s+m* in *pāṇāmsi*=**pāṇiṣmin*=*pāṇau*, *leḥūmsi*=**leṣṭuṣmin*=*leṣṭau* (§ 312. 379) and that in *s+m* in *aṃsi*=*asmi* (§ 313. 498), and in the pronominal locative singular and in the nominal locative singular formed on the analogy thereof, like *kaṃsi*, *jaṃsi*, *taṃsi*=*kasmin*, *yasmin*, *tasmin*; *loḡaṃsi*=*loke*; *tārisagaṃsi* *vāsagharaṃsi*=*tādṛśake vāsaghare* (§313. 366^a. 425ff.); in the case of *k+ṣ* in *pilaṃkhu*=*plakṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7, for which is printed *pilakkhu* (Vivāhap. 609. 1530 ^{ka}), *pilukkha* (Pannav. 31), *pilumka* (Samav. 233), also the v. l. in Āyār. has *pilakkhu*; further in *paṃkha*=*pakṣa* (Uttar. 439), *paṃkhi*=*pakṣin* (Rāyap. 235), *paṃkhiṇi*=*pakṣiṇi* (Uttar. 445); in the case of *t+s* in *digimchā*=*jighatsā* (Uttar. 48. 50; commen-tary *dighaṇchā*), *vitigimchā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 1; 1, 5, 5, 2), *vitigimchāi* Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchāya* (Vivāhap. 150)=*vīcīkītsā*, *vīcīkītsati*, *vīcīkītsita* (§ 215. 555); in the case of *p+s* in *dugamchā*=*jugupsā* (Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 110; Uttar. 960), *dugamchā* (Paṇhāv. 537), *dugamchāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 1; Uttar. 628 [^{ga}]), *dogamchā*=*jugupsin* (Uttar. 51. 219 [^{gu}]), *dugamchāṇija* (Uttar. 410), also JM. *dugamchā* (Pāiyāl. 245; Erz.), AMg. *dugumchāi*, *duumchāi*, *dugumchamāṇa*, ^{gu} (§ 215. 555), *paḍidugamchā*=*pratijugupsin* (Sūyag. 133). So also in the case of *s+ṭ* in *gaṃṭhi* (Mk.), *giṃṭhi* (Hc.), *guṃṭhi* (Bh.)=*grṣṭi*, but Ś. *giṭṭhi* (Mrcch. 44, 3), that is reported by Hc. also. The cases in which a nasal vowel has developed without one of the consonants being *r* or a sibilant are: *guṃcha*=*guccha* (Hc.), but Ś. *guccha* (Ratn. 300, 18); M. *piṃcha*=*piccha* (G. R.), but also M. AMg. Ś. *piccha* (Karp. 46, 12, Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Anug. 507;

Uvās.; Vikr. 32.7); *puṁcha*=*puccha* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.), but AMg. *puccha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5), Mg. *puśca* (Mṛcch. 10, 4).—In AMg. JM. *sanam-kumāra*=*sanatukumāra* (Thān. 90. 200; Samav. 9. 16. 18; Paṇhāv. 314; Paṇṇav. 123. 124; Vivāhap. 241. 242; Ovav.; Erz.) the anusvāra is to be assumed according to § 75. In AMg. *mahamāsa*=*mahāśva* (Vivāhap. 830; Ovav.) *maham*, in unison with LEUMANN, is to be explained as having developed from the original stem *mahant*, which was pronounced as *mahanā* also. Cf. therewith § 182. AMg. JM. *minjā*=Pāli *minjā*=Skt. *majjā* with *i*, according to § 101 (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 771; Thān. 186. 431; Paṇhāv. 26; Paṇṇav. 40; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 280. 926; Jiv. 464; Uvās.; Ovav., Erz.), *minjyā* (Paṇṇav. 529; Vivāhap. 448) may be going back to the original form **majjā*, **majjikā*. In formation and in meaning *bumdha*=*budhna* corresponds to Latin *fundus* and is, therefore, correctly written as *bundha*. M. AMg. JM. A. *vaṅka*=*vakra* (Vr. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; H.; Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 3; Paṇṇav. 479 482; Nirāyāv.; Erz.; Kk., Piṅgala 1, 2; Hc. 4, 330. 3. 356. 412), along with M. *vaṅkia*=*vakṛita* (R.), M. A. *vaṅkima* (Viddhaś. 55, 7 [so it is to be read with v. 1.]; Hc. 4, 344), A. *vaṅkuḍaa* (Hc. 4, 418, 8) is connected to Vedic *vaṅku* and to the root *vaki* *kauṭilya*, (Dhātup. 4. 14) and, therefore, it is to be written as *vaṅka*. Ś. *vakka* (Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Vṛṣabh. 24, 7; 26, 9; Mallikām. 233, 12; Kāmsav. 7, 18), *vakkadara* (Pras. 140, 1), *vakkida* (Bālar. 246, 14), *anuvakka* (Mālav. 48, 19) are formed from *vakra*. AMg. *vakkaya*=*vakra* (Ovav.). The use of *vaṅka* in Ś. (Kārnas. 22, 19) is wrong. The feminine *vaṅkunī* from *vaṅkuṇa* has been used in Pras. 46, 5, and is found in the proper noun *ivaṅkunī* (Kāmsav. 55, 11)² as well. Cf. § 86. On *vimchua*, *vimchia*, *vimcua* see § 301.

1. Aup. S. s. v.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 26; GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2, 164. 258.

§ 75. In the final syllable, besides in the case of *pluti* (§ 71), after the dropping off of the final consonant, sometimes dialectically lengthening alternates with anusvāra (cf. § 181). AMg. JM. *visā* and *visam*=**vimśat*=*vimśati*, *tisā* and *tisam*=*triśat*, *cattālisā*, and *cattālisam*=*catvāriśat*, A., with shortening of the final vowel, *visa*, *caulisa*, *coḍlisa* by the side of *tisā* (§ 445); AMg. *tiriṇā*-*tiryak* (Hc. 2, 143) by the side of *tiriyaṁ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; 1, 5, 6, 2; 1, 7, 1, 5; 1, 8, 4, 14; Sūyag. 191. 273. 304. 397. 428. 914. 931; Uttar. 1031; Paṇṇav. 381; Kappas.), also in compounds like *tiriyaṁvāya*=*tiryagvāta*, *tiriyaṁbhāgi*=*tiryagbhāgin* (Sūyag. 829); AMg. *samiṇā*=*samyak* (Sūyag. 918; Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 6; 1, 5, 2, 2, 5, 3) by the side of AMg. *samiyaṁ* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 3; Sūyag. 304), and AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sammam*. (Hc. 1, 24; Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 1, 5, 5, 1, 6, 1; Sūyag. 844. 958. 994. 996; Thān. 243; Vivāhap. 163. 165. 238; Uttar. 450; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 389, 3; Kattig. 399, 308. 309; Kāleyak. 21, 15; 24, 18); AMg. also *samiṇā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3. 5). Cf. § 111. In poetry in AMg. is found *jamī* by the side of *jamsi*=*yasmīn* and *yasyām* (Sūyag. 137. 273. 297), in A., *jahi* by the side of *jahim*=*yasmīn* (Piṅgala 2, 135. 277) and *ki* by the side of *kim*, *kī* (Piṅgala 2, 18). Perhaps these forms go back directly to *jassim*, *jahim*, *kim*, but seemingly the lengthening is purely prosodical.

§ 76. A short nasal vowel is sometimes, before an immediately following *ra* or a sibilant or *ha*, lengthened, accompanied with elision of the nasal element. Thus: AMg. *visā*, *visam*=**vimśat*, *vimśati*, *tisā*, *tisam*=*triśat*, *cattālisā*, *cattālisam*=*catvāriśat*, and others; A. *visa*, *tisā*, *caulisa*, *coḍlisa* (§ 75. 445).—Pāli *dāḥā*, CP. *tāḥā* (Hc. 4, 325), M. AMg. Ś. *dāḥā*=*damṣṭrā* (Vr. 4, 33; C. 3, 11; Hc. 2, 139; Ki. 2, 117; Mk. fol. 39; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Jiv. 883; Anug. 507; Uvās.; Kappas., Mālatim. 251, 5; Candak. 17, 8; Bālar. 249, 8; 259, 17;

270, 6; AMg, *ś dādhi*—=*damṣṭrīn* (Aṇug. 349; Venis. 24, 7 [so it is to be read]).—M. AMg. JM. A *siha*=*simha* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 29, 92, 264; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 43; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Sūyag. 225, 414, 748; Paṇṇav. 367; Rāyap. 114; Uttar. 338; Dasav. N. 647, 36; Erz.; Kk., Hc. 4, 406, 1; 418, 3), AMg. *sihi*=*simhi* (Paṇṇav. 363), by the side of *siṅghr* (§ 267) and *simha*, as in *ś*. (Bilar. 209, 11 *simharāda*; 23†, 8 *narasimha*; Cīṇḍak. 17, 1 *vanasimha*), in compounds correspondingly Hc. 1, 92 has *simhadattā*, *simharā*; so also Mg. *simhaśāvar*=*simhasābika* (Śak. 15†, 6), but AMg. *sihaguḥā* (Nāyādh. 1427 ff.). In Bālar. 50, 11 in *ś*. there occurs *sihasimhā* [sic.; read **saṃghā*]; Mallikām. 143, 14 in *sihamuḥa* 144, 3 but *siṅghamuḥa* [sic]=*simhamukha*.—*kesu* from **keṃsu* (§ 119)=*kinsua* (G. H.; Karp. 10, 7)=*kinśuka* (Hc. 1, 29, 86), Sindhī *kesū*.—*pisai*, *ś. pisedi*=**pimsati*=*pinasti* (§ 506; Hc. 4, 185; Mrcch. 3, 1, 21); AMg. *piśana*=**pimsana* (Paṇḥāv. 77).—AMg. *vūhae* from **vumhae*=*vr̥mhayet* (Sūyag. 894), *anuvūhai* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *duppaḍivūhana*, *paḍivūhana* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4, 5). Specially frequent are the cases of lengthening of *a* in the prefix *sa* in AMg. in words like *sārakkana*=*amrakṣaṇa* (Thān. 556), *sārakkhaṇāyā*=*saṃrakṣaṇatā* (Thān. 333), *sārakkhi*=*saṃrakṣin* (Thān. 313), *sārakkhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 1; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.), also in JM. *sārakkhaṇijja*, *sārakkhantassa* (Āv. 28, 16, 17); AMg. *sārohi*=*saṃrohin* (Thān. 314); *sāharai*=*saṃharati* (Kappas.), *sāharejjā* (Vivāhap. 1152), *sāharanti* (Thān. 155) *sāhattu*=**saṃhartu* (§ 577), *paḍisāharai* (Paṇṇav. 841; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *sāhaninti*, *sāhanittā* (Vivāhap. 137, 138, 141). Thus is explained also M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaya*, *ś. sakkada*=*saṃskṛta* (C. 2, 15 p. 18; Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; Karp. 5, 3; Vajjāl. 325, 20; Mrcch. 44, 2; Karp. 5, 1), AMg. JM. *asakkaya* (Paṇḥāv. 137; Vajjāl. 325, 20); further *sakkāra*=*saṃskāra* (Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; R. 15, 91), JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṃskāriya* (Erz.) The route is *saṃskṛta*, **saṃskṛta*, **sākkāra*, *sakkaa*. Cf. § 306. Following Mk. fol. 35 and Vāmanācārya in Rishikesh p. 12 note, a mention should here be made also of *satthua*=*saṃstuta* and *satthava*, *satthāva*=*saṃstāva*, *saṃstava*. But AMg, *saṃthuḥa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1). Cf. *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* § 127.

c.) ELEVATION OF VOWELS.

§ 77. The first vowel of a prefix is sometimes elevated in synthetic formations in Skt. *abhiyāti* and *ābhiyāti*; *pāriplava* and *pāriplava*; *prativēśya* and *prātivēśya*. Pkt. exhibits the same phenomenon (Vr. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; Pkl. p. 19). *ahijāi* and M. *āhijāi* (H.), *āhiāi* (R.)=*abhiyāti*; M. *paḍivaā*=*pratiṣpad* (H.) and *pāḍivaā*; M. AMg. *pāḍieḥka*--*pratyeka* (§ 163); *pāḍipphaddhi* and *pāḍipphaddhi*=*pratisparādhin* (Hc.; Kī. 1, 1; 2, 101); *pāḍisiddhi* and *pāḍisiddhi*=**pratiṣiddhi* (competition; also 2, 174; Deśin. 6, 77; Ś. Karp. 18, 1; 21, 5; 44, 9); *pāḍisāra* and *pāḍisāra*=**pratismāra* (cunning; Deśin. 6, 16); M. JM. *saṃiddhi* (G. H.; Rṣabhap.) and M. *sāṃiddhi*=*saṃyiddhi* (H.); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*, **vaṇṇa*=*adhyupapanna* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 2; Sūyag. 185, 210, 751, 923; Nāyādh. 1069, 1387, 1461, 1469; Vivāgas. 87, 92; Uvās.; Āv. 26, 25; 30, 26; Erz.), *ajjhavavajjāi*, *ajjhovavajjāi* (Nāyādh. 841, 1390), *ajjhovavajjii* (Ovav.); AMg. *abbhova-gamiyā*=*ābhyupagamikā* (Bhag.; cf. Aup. S. s. v. *āhevacca*). The final vowel of a prefix appears to have been elevated in M. *veāriūm*, *veārijjasi*=*vitārayitum*, *vitārayase* (H. 286, 909); *veāria* (expanded; hair; Deśin. 7, 95); AMg. *āhevacca*=*ādhipatya* (Samav. 134; Nāyādh. 257, 310, 329, 481, 529, 1417, 1507; Vivāgas. 28, 57 [a°]; Paṇṇav. 98, 100, 103; Antag. 3 [a°]; Ovav.; Kappas.). In cases like AMg. *anovāhaṇḍa*, **ya*=**anupāhananaka* (Sūyag.

759; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.); AMg. JŚ. *aṇovama* = *anupama* (Paṇṇav. 136; Ovav.; Pav. 380, 13); AMg. *anouya* = *anṛtuka* (Thāṇ. 369), *aṇovanihiya* = *anupanihiṭa* (Aṇuog. 228. 241. 242), *aṇovasamkha* = *anupasamkhiya* (Sūyag. 454) elevation of the vowel has not to be assumed, but as firstly shown by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹ there is the negative *aṇa-* which is occurs also in AMg. *aṇāi* = *anili*,² *aṇāḍaya* (Kattig. 399, 309), M. *aṇahiaa* = *ahṛdaya* (H. R.), *aṇahōṇta* = *abhavad* (H.), *aṇarasia* (H.), *aṇadīhara* = *adīrgha* (R.); *aṇamīla* = *amīlita* (Deśin. 1, 44); *aṇarāmaa* = **arāmaka* = *arati* (Deśin. 1, 45) and others.³ Cf. § 70.

1. ZDMG. 32, 99ff.; KZ. 24, 426.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3, 243ff.; WEBER on H. 41. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, KZ. 23, 271ff.

§ 78. Prākṛit shows vocalic elevation that deviates from that of Skt. in many other cases as well. Thus : *parakera* = *parakiya* (Hc. 1, 44), but Ś. *parakera* (Mālav. 26, 5), *parakeraa* (Śak. 96, 10), Mg. *palakelaa* (Mṛcch 37, 13; Śak. 161, 7); M. *māṇamsi-*, *māṇamsiṇi* = *manasvin*, *manasvini* (§ 74); M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 5; Pkl p. 19; H.; Erz.; Kattig. 401, 338). = **sādrkṣa*,¹ corresponding to *tādrkṣa*, *yādrkṣa*; AMg. *cāuranā* = *caturanta* (Hc. 1, 44; Sūyag. 787. 789; Thāṇ. 41. 129. 512; Samav. 42; Paṇhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Uttar. 339. 842. 869; Vivāhap. 7. 39. 160. 848. 1049. 1128 etc.), *cāukkoṇa* = *catuṣkoṇa* (Nāyādh. 1054; Jiv. 289. 478), *cāugghaṇṭa* (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 731. 780. 784. 826. 1060. 1233. 1266. 1456; Vivāhap. 114. 801. 802. 830; Rāyap. 231. 237. 239; Nirayāv. § 21), *cāujjāma* = *caturyāma* (Vivāhap. 135), *cāuraṇiṇi* (Nāyādh. § 65. 100. 103; p. 538. 541; Ovav. Nirayāv.).—AMg. *teicchā* = *cikitsā* (§ 215). The secondary vowels originating from *ṛ*, either by contraction or by ablaut or by insertion, show the same elevation. Thus : AMg. *gāhāvai* = *grhapatī*, simultaneously accompanied with lengthening of the final *a* according to § 70 (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1, 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 2, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 846. 848. 850. 957 ff.; Vivāhap. 162. 227. 345. 346. 1207 ff.; Nirayāv. 41. 43; Uvās.; Kappas.), *gāhāvaiṇi* = *grhapatīni* (Vivāhap. 1266. 1270. 1271; Nāyādh. 530; Uvās.). By the side of AMg. *musam* = *mṛsā* (Sūyag. 74. 340. 489; Dasav. 614. 29; Uttar. 116), *musāvāda* (Sūyag. 207; Uvās. § 14 [text *mūsā*]. 46 [°vāya]), *musāvādi* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 8) there occurs the very frequently found *mosa* (Uttar. 373. 952. 957), *mosa*, *saccāmosa*, *asaccāmosa* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 4; Paṇṇav. 362; Thāṇ. 203; Ovav. § 148. 149), *taccāmosa* (Thāṇ. 152; Paṇṇav. 362), *māyāmosa* (Thāṇ. 21; Vivāhap. 126; Paṇhāv. 86; Paṇṇav. 638; Kappas. § 118; Ovav.).—*rovai*, *dhovai*, *sovai* from *ru*, *dhau*, *soap* (§ 473. 482. 497); *sovaṇa* (sleep; Deśin. 8, 58); AMg. *osovaiṇi* = *avasvāpani* (Kappas. § 28), *sovaiṇi* = *svāpani* (Nāyādh. 1288); AMg. *vesalaga* = *vṛsalaka* (Sūyag. 729), *sovāga* = *svapāka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Uttar. 349. 371. 402. 409. 410), *sovāgi* = *svapāki* (Sūyag. 709); AMg. *gelanna* = *glāna* (Thāṇ. 369) of *gilāṇa* = *glāna* (§ 136). On M. AMg. JM. *bāhūm* = *bahiḥ* see § 181. Elevation of the final vowel after elision of a consonant at the end of a word, takes place in AMg. *puḍho* for **puḍhu* = *prthak* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 1, 2; 3, 4ff, 1, 2, 6, 2 etc.; Sūyag. 81. 123; Thāṇ. 332), *puḍhochanda* (Āyār. 1, 5, 2, 2; cf. Sūyag. 412), *puḍhosiya* = *prthakśrita* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2; 6, 3; Sūyag. 332. 468), *puḍhosiya* = *prthagjiva* (Sūyag. 46), *puḍhosatta* = *prthak-sattva* (Sūyag. 425; cf. 401). In **puḍhu* for **puḍha* the second vowel is assimilated to the first one, as in *puḥutta* = *prthakiva* (Thāṇ. 212; Aṇuog. 45. 405 ff.; Nandis. 160. 163. 168 f.), for which is found also *puḥatta* (Paṇṇav. 602. 744; Vivāhap) 181. 182. 1057)², also *pohatta* (Samav. 71; Vivāhap. 178), *pohattiya* (Paṇṇav. 639. 640. 664) with elevation of the first *u*. Pāli *puṭhu*³ shows the course of development; there is corres.

pondence between Pāli *puṭhujja* and AMg. *puḍhojaga*=*prthagjaka* (Sūyag. 104. 34¹), as well as between *puṭthujjana* and AMg. *puḍhojana* (Sūyag. 166). According to Hc. 1, 24. 137. 188 *piham*, *puham*, *pidham* and *puḍham* are also used; so JM. *pihappiham* (Āv. 7, 8. 17), AMg. *pihajjana*=*prthagjana* (Thān. 132).

1. At the end of a compound *sāriccha* mostly=**sādḥkṣya* may be taken to be a substantive. That it was also an adjective is proved by instances like those found in Erz. 71, 33. Cf. § 245. 2.—That the MSS. have *puḥutta* also has been shown by WEBER, Bhag. 2, 200, Anm. 1.—3. ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 23; L. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 6.

d) SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 79. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., and more rarely in other dialects, long vowels were often shortened and *e* was changed into *i*, when the accent originally fell on the long vowel of the preceding or following syllable. Such words as have their *ā* shortened to *a* have been classed under *yathādi* ākṛtigāṇa group by Vr. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6; Pkl. p. 22; Hc. 1, 67 divides them into two groups: adverbs in general (*avyaya*) and the ākṛtigāṇa *utkhātādi*.; and in 1, 68 he further teaches that such words as are formed by the kṛta-suffix -*a'* (*ghaṇ*) and show vṛddhi have their *ā* shortened to *a*, as in *pravāha'*, *prahā'a'*, *prakāra'*, etc. He is followed by Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37. 38. The words with -*i* are grouped under *pāṇiyādi* gaṇa by Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Pkl. p. 28; and under the *grhītādi* class by Mk. fol. 8. Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 set up the *gabhīraga* gaṇa and group the words like *pāṇiya*, *alika*, *karīṣa*, *upanīta*, *jivati* that show *i* also under the *pāṇiyga* class (1, 11). Inversely Kī. groups under *pāṇiyādi* (1, 11) the words that require shortening of *i* compulsorily and under the *gabhīrādi* class those in which it is optional (1, 12). Hc. permits general exceptions to his rule. The grammarians have not set up a *gaṇā* for the words with *ū*.

§ 80. A vowel is shortened if the accent fell on the preceding syllable: M. *ukkhāa*, JM. *ukkhāya*=*ūtkhāta* (Grr.; G. R. Erz.), M. *samukkhāa* (H.) by the side of M. *ukkhāa* (H.); AMg. *kulala*=*kālāla* (an owl; Sūyag. 437; Uttar. 447; Dasav. 632, 37); M. *nisaha*=*ni'hsāka* (H.); M. *varai*=*va'rākī* (H.) by the side of the more frequent *varāa*, *varāi* (H.), *sāmaa* (Hc. 1, 71)=*śyā'māka* (Sāntanava, Phitsūtra 2, 23; 3, 18), according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 48 also in Skt. *śyāmaka*.—AMg. *aṇiya*=*a'nika* (Thān. 357; Ovav.), *aṇiyāhivai*=*anikādhipati* (Thān. 125. 357), *pāyattāṇiya*, *pidhāṇiya*, *kuṇḍarāṇiya*, *mahisāṇiya*, *rahāṇiya* (Thān. 357), by the side of *aṇiya* (Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.); M. *alīa*, AMg. JM. *alīya*=*a'lika* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Vivāhap. 352. 687; Paṇhāv. 134; Uttar. 19; Dvār. 497, 19; Erz.), also Ś. (Mṛcch. 24, 25; 57, 14. 15; 95, 17; 153, 18; Vikr. 30, 21; Mālav. 41, 18; Ratn. 324, 19; Candak. 9, 17; 52, 10; 86, 10; 87, 13. 16 etc.) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 165, 1). But for Ś. Mg., except in poetry (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 153, 18) often *alīa* also is good; this has been partly better accredited inasmuch as *alīa* is permitted by grammarians and occurs in Ś. (Prab. 37, 6 [against *aliattana* 38, 1]; Nāgān. 45, 11; 103, 3; Mudrār. 59, 1; Pras. 37, 17; 44, 11; 46, 14; 47, 11; 120, 1; Venīś 24, 4; 97, 9; 107, 4 etc.), and JM. *alīya* in Erz.; M. *osianta*=*a'vasidat* (R.), *pasā*=*pra'sida* (Hc.; H.), but Ś. *paśida* (Mṛcch. 4, 5; Prab. 44, 2; Nāgān. 46, 11; 47, 6), Mg. *paśida* (Mṛcch. 9, 24; 131, 18; 170, 18; 176, 9); AMg. *karīsa*=*ka'riṣa* (Grr.; Uvās.), but also M. *karīsa* (G.); AMg. *vammīya* (Hc.; Sūyag. 613; cf. Vivāhap. 1226ff. [mostly °i]) and M. *vammīa* (G.)=*va'lmika* (Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 4, 25); according to Puruṣottama=Dvirūpakośa 8 there occurs *vālmika* as well, and according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 51 *valmika* also is found in Skt.; *sirisa*=*śi'riṣa* (Hc.), but also M. *sirisa* (Śak. 2, 15).—M. *ulua*, AMg.

uluga=*dlūka* (Sarasvatik. 16, 10; Sūyag. 695); AMg. JM. *gāuja*=*ga'vyūta* (Thān. 83. 88. 89; Vivāhap. 425. 1529; Jiv. 276; Anuog. 381. 385. 397. 403; Paṇṇav. 52. 601. 602; Nandis. 160. 163. 168; Ovav.; Erz.); M. Ś. *verulā*, AMg. JM. *veruliya*=*va'ḍūya* (Hc. 2, 133; Kī. 2, 117; [text °ṇi°]; Mk. fol. 39; Pāiyāl. 119; G.; Mṛcch. 70, 25; 71, 3 [so it is to be read]; Karp. 33, 1; Sūyag. 834; Thān. 75. 86. 514. 568; Paṇḥāv. 440; Vivāhap. 1146. 1322. 1324; Paṇṇav. 26. 540; Nandis. 72; Rāyap. 29. 58. 69; Jiv. 217. 494. 549; Uttar. 629. 981. 1042; Erz.); cf. § 241.—*viruva*=*vr'ūpa* (Deśin. 7, 63).—*caviḍā*, *caviḷā*=*ca'peṭā* (Hc. 1, 146. 198) by the side of M. AMg. *caveḍā* (Hc.; H.; Uttar. 596.)

§ 81. A vowel becomes short if the accent fell on the following syllable : AMg. JM. *āyariya*=*ācāryā* (§ 134)¹; AMg. *amāvasā*=*amāvāsyā* (Kappas.); M. AMg. JM. *ṭhavi*=*sthāpa'yati* and other causatives (§ 551. 552); M. JM. *kumara*=*kumāra'* (Grr.; Erz.), M. *kumari*=*kumārī'* (G.; Karp. 80. 6), M. *kumaravāla*=*kumāravāla* (Deśin. 1, 104, 88), by the side of M. JM. A. *kumāra*, *kumārī* (G. H.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 362), as always in Ś. *kumāra* (Vikr. 52. 16; 72, 15. 21; 79, 15; Mudrār. 44, 3; Pras; 35, 2. 7), *kumāraa* (Śak. 41, 2; 155, 9 [so it is to be read]; 156, 6, 14. Mudrār. 43, 5; 44, 1), *kumārī* (Mālav. 68. 10), in Mg. *kumāla* (Nāgān. 67, 1. 14 [so it is to be read]); *khaia*, JM. *khaiya*=*khādita'* (Bh. Mk. Pkl; Erz.); *khaira*=*khādira'* (Grr.); A. *taisa*=*tādrśa*, *jaisa*=*yādrśa'* (Hc. 4, 403. 404); AMg. JM. *pajjaya*=*paryāya'* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 4; 2, 15, 23; Paṇṇav. 237 ff.); Jiv. 238. 262. 450. 451; Uttar. 797. 895; Anuog. 270; Vivāhap. 128; Ovav.; Āv. 43, 4. 9), JŚ. *pajjaya* (Pav. 388, 4; Kattig. 398, 302); M. *pavaha*=*pravāha'* (Grr.; G. H. R.), by the side of M. JM. *pavāha* (Grr.; G.; Erz.; Kk.), as in Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 20); M. *mañjara* (§ 86) *māñjāra'* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 2, 132; H. 286), *mañjara* (Mk. fol. 6), by the side of *mañjāra* (Hc. 1, 26) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *majjāra* (Paṇḥāv. 20. 64. 528; Nāyādh. 756; Kattig. 401, 347; Śak. 145, 9), M.Ś. *majjāri* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1, 98, 82; Viddhaś. 114, 6), *majjāriā* (Karp. -53, 5); A. *sahū*=*sāka'm* (§ 206); M. *halia*=*hālīka'* (Grr.; H.).—M. JM. *gahira*=*gabhira'* (Grr.; G. R.; Erz.) by the side of *gahīra* (G.); M. *nia*=*nita'* (R.), AMg. *niya* (Uttar. 617, and the words more frequently found in compounds like *āñia*=*atīnita* (Deśin. 1, 24), M. *āñia* (Grr.; G. H. R.), JM. *āñiya* (Dvār. 496, 30. 32; Erz.), M. *sañāñia* (H.) M. *upñia* (R.), *uvañia* (Hc.; Mk.; R.); AMg. JM. *nīñiya* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.), by the side of M. *nīa* (H.), JM. *niya* (Erz.); always with a long vowel in Ś. *nīda* (Mṛcch. 95, 7; Śak. 127, 9), *avañida* (Vikr. 87, 4), *paccāñida* (Vikr. 10, 4), *uvañida* (Mṛcch. 17, 14; 25, 14; 69, 7; Śak. 19, 7), *pariñida* (Śak. 76, 10), *duvviñida* (Śak. 17, 4), *aviñida* (Śak. 135, 2; 154, 7), and in Mg. *nīda* (Mṛcch. 162, 19), *avañida* (Mṛcch. 109, 16), *āñida* (Mṛcch. 99, 2; 124, 19; 175, 15). Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 restrict lengthening of the vowel, in the feminine, of *āñita*. The example quoted by Triv., viz. *āñidā bhuvanabbhude'kkajajanāni*=*āñitā bhuvanādbhutaikajananī* is set either in JŚ. or in Ś.—*tuñhia*=*tūñhika'* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 99), by the side of AMg. JM. *tusiñiya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16 ff.; Āv. 25, 20); M. *viñia*=*vriñita'* (Grr.; Deśin. 1, 20; 7, 65; R. 1, 6 v. 1.; Acyutaś. 82), *viñia* (R.), AMg. *saviñiya* (Nāyādh. 958); AMg. *sarisiya*=*sarīṇpa'* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2. 7 [so it is to be read; v. 1.]; Sūyag. 105. 747; Jiv. 263. 264 [here °ṇi°]; also *sarisa* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; Sūyag. 129. 944; Samav. 98) and *sirisiva* (Sūyag. 339; Rāyap. 228 [°sa°]. 235).—M. AMg. JM. *ina*=*ena'* (§ 431); M. *vianā*, JM. *viñāṇā*=*vedanā'* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kī. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; Pāiyāl. 161; G. H. R.; Erz.).

1. Wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 23, 598; 35, 569. The separation vowel *i* and the sonants have no influence on the working of the accent. Cf. § 131.

§ 82. Shortening of vowels takes place on account of the stress accent also in other cases in which we do not have the accent any more. Thus: M. *ahira*=*abhira* (H. 811); *kaḷaa* beside *kaḷāa*=*kaḷāda* (goldsmith: Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37 for *kālaa*=*kālaka* in Hc.); *marala* (Mk. fol. 6)=*marāla*; JM. *mahua* by the side of *mahūa*=*madhūka* (Vr. 1, 24; Hc. 1, 122; Ki. 1, 13; Mk. fol. 9; Ki. 18); AMg. *saraḍuḷa*=*śalātuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 6). The double forms in Pkt. have as their basis the multitude of forms with different accents in Skt. So *khāira*=*khā'dira*, but *khāira*=*khādīra*; *devara* is =*dēvara* (Phitsūtra 3, 18), but M. *diara* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Ki. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; H.), JM. *diḷara* (Pāiyāl. 252)=*devara* (Unādisūtra 3, 132); AMg. *pāyaya*, JM. *pāgaya*, *pāyaya*, M. *pāia*, JM. *pāiya*, M. *pāua*, Ś. *pāuda*, Mg. *pākida* (§ 53) are=*prā'kṛta*, but *pāaa* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv. 1, 2, 37), *pāua* (Bh. 1, 10; Ki. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6)=*prākṛta* (cf. *sa'mskṛta* and *saṃskṛta*). *balaā* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv.; Ad. 1, 2, 37) by the side of *balāa*=*bālā'kā* presupposes the accent as in **ba'lākā* or **balākā*, like AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 131), where the accent seems to be as in **sūkṣma*, whilst in the Unādis. 4, 176 it is transmitted as *sūkṣma*. The ordinals *duia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 94, 101; Ki. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8), JM. *duiya* (Erz.), Ś. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 51, 10; 69, 5, 6; 78, 8; Śak. 137, 2; Vikr. 5, 12; 10, 1; 19, 8; Mahāv. 52, 17 etc.)¹, Mg. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 81, 5; 134, 2); M. *biia* (Hc. 1, 94; G. 1081; R.), AMg. JM. *biūya* (Sūyag. 177; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. and very often in subscriptions as in Āyār. p. 3, 8, 15, 29, 34 etc.; Erz.), M. *taia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Ki. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; G.), AMg., JM. *taīya* (Ovav. § 105, 144; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. and often in subscriptions, as in Āyār. p. 4, 10, 16, 17, 20, 24 etc.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), Ś. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 69, 14, 15; Mudrār. 41, 7 [so it is to be read; see v. l.]), Mg. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 166, 24 [text *taia*]) do not go back to *dvitī'ya*, *trīti'ya*, but to **dvitīya*, **trītiya*². In cases like M. *jiāi*=*jīvatī*, M. AMg. JM. *āruhai*=*ārohati* there is transition over to the 6th class (§ 482)³. On *pāia* see § 91, on *gahia*=*grihta* § 564. Long contracted vowels, except before double consonants and in A., are never shortened: *kālāsa* from *kālāasa*=*kālāyasa* (§ 165); *kumbhāra* from *kumbhāara*=*kumbhakāra*, and other compound words formed with *kāra* added to them (§ 167); *cakkāa*=*cakkāa*=*cakkaāa*=*cakravāka* (§ 167); *pāikka* from *pādātika* (§ 194); *bia*, *tia* from *biia*, **tiia*=**dvitīya*, **trītiya* (§ 165): So probably also *nārāa* by the side of M. *nārāa* (R.), Mg. JM. *nārāya* (Uvās.; Ovav. Prabandhac. 100, 7; Erz.)=*nārāca* (Hc. 1, 67)⁴. On AMg. *paḍiṇa* see § 99.

1. The texts often have *dudia*, as in Mudrār. 41, 7; Mālatīm. 31, 6; 71, 3; 72, 4; 103, 8; Bālar. 174, 10; Anarghar. 61, 6; Vṛṣabh. 23, 9 etc. The v. l. in Mālatīm. has mostly the correct reading.—2. JACOBI on Kalpas. p. 103, note 28. Cf. PISCHEL KZ. 33, 144; JACOBI, KZ. 35, 570 f.—3. JACOBI objects to assumption of such a transition, KZ. 35, 569 f., of course on insufficient grounds.—4. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35, 565, note 1, the theory of contraction lacks proof as such. It is still to be proved. In F.W. the accent is shown as in *nārāca*, probably according to Vedic *nārāci*. In BW. the accent is rightly wanting. Perhaps there existed the double forms *nārāca* and *nārāca*. Cf. under § 79-82 in general, PISCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff; 35, 140 ff. Against this, wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35, 563 ff.

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened in close syllables (Hc. 1, 84). PG.: *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5, 4); *amacce*=*amātyān* (5, 5); *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6, 8); *bamhaṇāṇam* (6, 8, 27, 30, 38); *puva*=*pūva* (6, 12, 28) etc. Sanskritisms in PG. are: *kāncīpurā* for *kāncīpurā*=*kāncīpurāt* (5, 1) and *ātieya* for *ātieya*=*ātreya* (6, 13); faulty is also *cāitāri* for *cāitāri*=*catvāri* (6, 39).—PG. M. AMg. JM. Dh. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (PG. 6, 33; H.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30, 16)¹ M. JM. Ś. *kavva*=*kāvya*

(G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 31, 11; 35, 5).—M. JM. AMg. *gatta*=*gātra* (R.; Ovav.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. rajja*=*rājya* (H. R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 5).—JŚ. *uvasanta*=*upaśānta* (Kattig. 403, 377).—Mg. *śanta*=*śrānta* (Mṛcch. 13, 7).—A. *kanta*=*kānta* (Hc. 4, 345, 351, 357, 1; 358, 1; Vikr. 58, 9).—M. AMg. JM. A. *kitti*=*kirti* (Vr. 3, 24; Hc. 2, 30; Kt. 2, 34; Mk. fol. 22; G. R.; Uvās.; Ovav. Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 335; Ś. *kittiā*=*kirtikā* (Vikr. 12, 14).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. A. tittha*=*tīrtha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 379, 1; Śak. 79, 1; 105, 4; 118, 10; Hc. 4, 441, 2).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha*=*grīma* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 80, 23; Śak. 10, 1; Hc. 4, 357, 3).—M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha*=*ūrdhva* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 136, 16; Hc. 4, 444, 3), AMg. JM. *uddha* JM. *ubbha* (§ 300).—M. AMg. *kumma*=*kūrma* (G.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *cuṇṇa*=*cūrṇa* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3; 2, 2, 3, 9.; Kappas.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 68, 25; 117, 7; Hc. 4, 395, 2).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. *mulla*=*mūlya* (H.; Karp. 73, 10; Ovav.; Kattig. 400, 335; Mṛcch. 55, 15; 78, 3; 82, 15; 88, 21 ff.; Śak. 116, 12).—All the syllables that are accompanied with a nasal vowel or anusvāra are governed by the same law, whether they existed already in Skt. (Hc. 1, 72) or if this anusvāra is secondary in Pkt., having originated from *m* according to § 348 : M. Ś. *kamsatāla*=*kāmsyatāla* (G.; Mṛcch. 69, 24; Karp. 3, 3 v. 1.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paṃsu*=*pāmsu* (G. R.; Vivāgas. 155; Bhag.; Erz.; Mālatim. 142, 1; Mallikām. 253, 18; 336, 9).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *maṃsa*=*māmsa* (H.; Sūyag. 281; Dasav. 632, 24; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Āv. 27, 12; Kattig. 400, 328; Śak. 29, 6), Mg. *maṃsa* (Mṛcch. 10, 1; 21, 17; 117, 9; 123, 7; 126, 5; 163, 9; Venis. 33, 6; 34, 2; *maṃsae* 33, 12).—The rule frequently becomes operative in the final syllables ending in *-ām*, *-im*, *-ūm*, *-ān* of Skt. declensional forms, as in M. *puttāṇaṃ*=*putrāṇaṃ*, *agginaṃ*=*agnināṃ*, *vāṭṭaṃ*=*vāyūnāṃ*, *mālaṃ*=*mālāṃ*, *sahim*=*sakhim*, *vahum*=*vadhūm*; AMg. *mahaṃ*=*mahān*, *āyavaṃ*=*ātmavān*, etc. (§ 370 ff. 396); further in adverbs like *dāṇiṃ*=*idāṇim* (§ 144), AMg. JM. *saddhīm*=*saddhvim* (§ 103). In the case of interjections the rule does not hold good : Ś. Mg. *āṃ*=*ām* (Mṛcch. 27, 10; Śak. 71, 13; 134, 14; Vikr. 13, 2; 35, 9; 75, 5; Mālav. 6, 3; 80, 8; Bālar. 123, 17; Mṛcch. 136, 19). In A. *kaḥāṃ*, *jaḥāṃ*, *taḥāṃ*, in the sense of *kutaḥ*, *yataḥ*, *tataḥ* (Hc. 4, 355) the lengthening is to be explained according to § 68.

1. In connection with the rules of this type, that are to be covered times without number, the examples from M. AMg. JM. have been selected from texts that are provided with word indices, as far as possible, for the sake of brevity and the examples are confined chiefly to words that possibly occur uniformly in many dialects.

§ 84. Before a consonant group *e* becomes *ē* and *o* becomes *ō*. In M. AMg. JM. sometimes there enter *i* and *u* in lieu of *ē* and *ō*. Thus : M. AMg. JM. *pe'cchāi*=*prekṣate* (Hc. 4, 181; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *pe'cchaniṇṇi*=*prekṣaniṇṇa* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pe'cchaga*=*prekṣaka* (Vivāhap. 929) and AMg. JM. *picchāi* (Kappas.; Kk.), AMg. *picchane'jja* (Jiv. 353), JŚ. *pe'cchadi* (Pav. 284, 48), Ś. *pe'kkhadi* (Śak. 13, 6; Vikr. 84, 5), Mg. *pe'ṣkadi* (Hc. 4, 295, 297; Mṛcch. 80, 4; 112, 17); M. *ave'kkhi* = *apekṣin* (G.); M. *duppe'ccha*=*dusprekṣya* (R.), Ś. *duppe'kkha* (Prab. 45, 11), Mg. *duspe'ccha* (Mṛcch. 116, 7).—*dubbhe'jja*=*durbhedyā* (Mṛcch. 68, 19).—AMg. JM. Ś. A. *me'ccha*=*mleccha* (Ovav. § 183 [v. 1. *mī*]; Āv. 39, 2; Mudrār. 229, 9; Cait. 38, 6 [text *male'ccha*]; Piṅgala 1, 77^a. 117^a; 2, 272) and *mīliccha* (Hc. 1, 84), AMg. *miccha* (Paṇnav. 136).—M. *che'tta*=*ksetra* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; G. H.), AMg. *chitta* (Ovav. § 1), AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khē'tta* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 3; Sūyag. 628; Vivāhap. 97, 157. 203 f. 583 ff.; Uttar. 355 ff.; Dasav. N. 653, 14; Erz.; Pav. 379,

3: 387, 21; Kattig. 401, 352; Mṛcch. 120, 7; Anarghar. 261, 5), AMg. *khitta* (Uttar. 576. 1014).—M. AMg. JM. *oṭṭha*=*oṣṭha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 8, 3; 58, 5; Paṇhāv. 63; Āv. 41, 6; Erz.) and JM. *uṭṭha* (Erz.), AMg. *huṭṭha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. anṇoṇṇa*=*anyonya* (G. H. R.; Sūyag. 137; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 16; 71, 1. 13; Śak. 56, 15; Vikr. 51, 16) and M. *anṇuṇṇa* (Hc. 1, 156; G.), wrongly also in Ś. Bālar. 217, 8.—M. AMg. *Ś. paoṭṭha*=*prakoṣṭha* (Mk. fol. 13; Karp. 47, 6; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 23; 69, 5 ff.; 70, 5 ff. 71, 11. 12; 72, 1; Bālar. 80, 1; Viddhaś. 126, 3) and M. *paṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 156; G.).—AMg. *maṇunna*=*manoṇṇa* (§ 276).—The rule holds good also for the secondary *e*, *o* that originated from *ai*, *au* (§ 60 ff.), by samprasāraṇa (§ 153. 154), and those that originated from *ai* and *au* (§ 166). As *i*, from *e*, there occurs *ai* always in AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2; Thān. 414. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729. 1505; Paṇnav. 61.; Uttar. 532; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 19; Erz.) wrongly equated as *ikṣvāku* by LEUMANN and JACOBI: Ś. *mitteja*=*maitreya* (Mṛcch. 4, 22. 23; 6, 3; 17, 20; 22, 15; 53, 18; 74, 19; 150, 12), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 45, 1); *sindhava*=*saindhava* (Vr. 1, 38; Hc. 1, 149; Ki. 1, 36; Mk. fol. 12); M. AMg. *saniccara*=*śanaiścara* (Hc. 1, 149 with note; Paṇhāv. 312; Paṇnav. 116; Ovav.). AMg. *sanimcara* (Thān. 82, 399; Bhag. 2, 225), as in Triv. 1, 2, 94 in my MSS., against *sanicchara* of the printed edition, is explained either according to § 74 or from **saṇaiścara*, from M. Ś. *saṇaiṣam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiṣam*, Pāli *saṇikam*, *sanim* (Hc. 2, 168; Pāiyāl. 15; G. H.; Āyār. 2, 15. 19. 20. 22; Vivāhap. 172. 173; Uvās.; Erz.; Mālatīm. 239. 3; Uttarak. 32, 8; Paiyad. 17, 13; Pras. 45, 3; Mallikām. 242, 1). In Viddhaś. 120, 9 stands in Ś. *saniccara* except in the v. l.—Mk., fol. 12 teaches besides *saindhava* also *bhaikṣājīvika*, *naiyāyika* and *piṇḍavāika*. Consequently *bhikkhājīvika* can be traced back to *bhikṣājīvika*, *piṇḍavāika* goes back to *piṇḍapārika*: *naiyāyika* becomes *nejāyika* in AMg. (§ 60). The words which always show *u* from *o* for *au* have been grouped by grammarians (Vr. 1, 44; Hc. 1, 160; Ki. 1, 43; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 37) under the *saundaryādi* class, which, according to Mk. and Pkl., who almost always agree with one another, is an *ākṛtigāṇa*. Triv. 1, 2, 97, who is followed by Ad., has the *ākṛtigāṇa* *śaundaga*, and the examples are the same as those in Hc. To this *gāṇa* belong *sundera*=*saundarya* (M. Karp. 66, 7; Ś. Dhūrtas. 10, 9), for which Pratāp. 220, 9 has *soṇḍajja*, and Hc. teaches *sundaria*; also *uvaritṭhaa*=*upariṣṭhaka* (Mk. Pkl.); *kukkheaa*=*kaukṣeyaka* (Bh. Ki. Mk. Pkl.), for which Hc. 1, 161 and Triv. 1, 2, 96 teach *kuccheaa* and *koṭcheaa*; *duvāria*=*dauvārika* (Bh. [read so for *duvā*], Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.) is rather *dvārika*; *dussāhia*=*dauṣṣādhika* (Mk. Pkl.); *pulomī*=*paulomī* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.); *pussa*=*pausa* (Mk. [pauṣa]); Pkl. [pauruṣa]; *muñja*=*mauñja* (Mk. Pkl.); *muñjāṇa*=*mauñjāyana* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk.); *suṇḍa*=*śaundā* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.); *suṇḍia*=*śaundika* (Ki. Mk. Pkl.), and so Mg. *suṇḍikāgāla*=*śaundikāgāra* (Śak. 118, 7); *suddhoṇi*=*śauddhodani* (Hc.).—*suvaṇṇia*=*sauvarṇika* (Hc.) is rather=**suvarṇika*, *sugandhattaṇa*=*saugandhya* (Hc.)=**saugandhatvana*.

§ 85. The *e* occurring at the end of a word, and the original as well as secondary *o* (§ 342) before the enclitics, that begin with double consonants, except in A., become *ē* and *ō* and not *i* and *u*, : M. *tumhē* *ttha*=Ved. *yuṣme stha* (R. 3, 3), *sāreṭti*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4, 39), *anurāoṭti*=*anurāga iti* (G. 715), *piōṭti*=*priya iti* (H. 46); JM. *purisoṭti*=*puruṣa iti* (Āv. 13, 2), *gaōṭti*=*gaia iti* (Āv. 17, 6), *kālo vva*=*kāla iva* (Erz. 71, 27. 3.); JŚ. *samoṭti*=*sama iti* (Pav. 380, 7). Wrong readings are AMg. *muṭti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 4) for *mōṭti*, as it is correctly in the Calcutta edition,=*sma iti*, JŚ. *māyācāruvva* for *māyācāro vva* (Pav. 383, 44), AMg. *lohabhāruvva*,

gaṃgasouvva for °*bhāro*°*vva*, °*soo*°*vva* (Uttar. 583), and others. See § 346. *Ś. avahido*°*mhi*=*avahito*°*smi* (Vikr. 78, 14), *bamhaṇo*°*jje*°*vva*=*brāhmaṇa eva* (Mṛcch. 27, 14); Mg. *eṣa*°*kkhu*=*eṣa khalu* (Mṛcch. 40, 9), *puttake*°*tti*=*putraka*°*tti* (Śak. 161, 7). Against this, in M. *e* and *o* are always changed into *i* and *u* in the final syllable of the case endings after long vowels, when the metre requires a short vowel: *pucchi*°*āi*°*muddhāe*=*ḥṣṣāyā mugdhāyāḥ* (H. 15); *golāi*°*tūhāim*=*godāyāstīrthāni* (H. 58); *gāmataruṇu*°*hiam*=*grāmataruṇyo hydayam* (H. 546); *uahi*°*u niggaam*=*udadhernirgatam* (G. 56) Just apparently sometime in MSS. are written *e*° and *o*° that are permitted by grammarians in Pkt. and A. (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṃgītaratnākara 4,55. 56; Piṅgala 1, 4), thus :—*jaso*°*āe*°*cumbiam*=*yaśodāyāścumbitam* (G. 21), or *ko*°*tthuhakiraṇāntio*°*kanhassa*=*kaustubhakiraṇāyamānāḥ kṛṣṇasya* (G. 22). The MSS. mostly waver, thus even the best manuscript of G. 44, for *harāliṅgaṇalajji*°*āe*°*ajjāe*° of the text, has °*lajjiyāi*°*ajjāi* Examples of this sort are preponderant¹. For AMg. JM. JŚ. as well the same rule holds good: however, in AMg. and JM. the texts, sometimes even after long vowels, have *e*° and *o*°, probably wrongly. Thus: AMg. *savvakammāvahāo*=*sarvakarmāvahāḥ* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 16), but the Calc. edition gives the correct reading °*hāu*; *levamāyāe*° *saṃjāe*=*lepamātrāyām saṃyataḥ* (Dasav. 622, 13) *nigganthatāo*° *bhassāi*=*nirgranthatvād bhraṣyati* (Dasav. 624, 33); JM. *buddhi*° *caūvviḥāe*° *juo*=*buddhyā caturvidhaya yutāḥ* (Āv. 7, 23), *muddāe*° *aṅkio*=*mudrayaṅkitaḥ* (Āv. 8, 14), *jūhāo*° *paribhattho*=*yūhāt paribhraṣṭaḥ* (Erz. 69, 14). In AMg. JM., even before vowels and simple consonants, *e* and *o*, in many other cases in poetry, measure short: thus in AMg. *unnāe*° *vā pase*=*unnato vā payodaḥ*, *vuṭṭhe*° *balāhāe*° *tti*=*vr̥ṣṭo balāhaka iti* (Dasav. 629, 31. 32), *alolo*° *bhikkhū*=*alolo bhikkṣuḥ* (Dasav. 624, 3); JM. *mannē*° *esa*=*manya eṣa* (Āv. 7, 30), *nīo*° *ujjenim*=*nīta ujjayinim* (Āv. 8, 14). In poetry, for the enclitic *me*, in AMg., is used *mi*, for *se* in AMg. JM. is used *se*°, and in AMg., *si* (§ 418. 423), in Mg. Mṛcch. 43, 6 ff., in verse there occurs *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyaḥ* etc. (§ 64). In AMg. *utāho* becomes *udāhu* (Uvās.) or *uḍāhu* (Āyār. 1, 4, 2 6). Cf. also § 346. In A. *e* and *o*, in all cases, could become either short or *i* and *u* in the final position: *pie*° *diṭṭhāi*=*priye*° *dr̥ṣṭake* (Hc. 4, 365, 1); *hiāi*=*hr̥daye* (Hc. 4, 330, 3 395, 4. 420, 3); *pie*° *pavasani*°=*priye pravasaṇi* (Hc. 4, 422, 12); *kalijugi*° *dullahāi*=*kaliyuge durlabhasya* (Hc. 4, 338); *aṅgulio*° *jajjariāu*=*aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4, 333); *dīnaaru*° *khaagāli*=*dinakarāḥ kṣayakāle* (Hc. 4, 377); *kṛdantāho*=*kṛtāntaya* (Hc. 4, 370. 4). Cf. § 128. 130. 346. Sometimes wrongly is written *a* before double consonants in lieu of *e*° and *o*°. So M. *pamhattha*° *mhi* for *pamhattho*° *mhi*=*prasmṛtavānasmī* (R. 6, 12; already in Hc. 3, 105); *Ś. hadamhi* for *hadō*° *mhi*=*hato*° *smi* (Śak. 29, 9); Mg. *kadamhi* for *kade*° *mhi* (Mṛcch. 38, 15)². Cf. § 92 ff. 392 ff.

1. 365. 375. 385, LASSEN, Inst. p. 148, WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 352; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 29.—2. FISCHER, GGA. 1880, 342 ff. Wrongly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 17.

§ 86. A long vowel, before a group of several consonants, one of which is *r*, sometime become a short nasal vowel and the consonant-group is simplified: M. *maṃjara* (§ 81), *vaṃjara* (Hc. 2, 132), *maṃjāra* (Hc. 1, 26), by the side of *majjara*, AMg. JŚ. *Ś. majjāra*=*māṃjāra* (§ 81).—*mumḍha*=*mūrdhan* (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 41), a mention is to be made of only AMg. JM. *muddha*- (§ 402; Erz.) that does not appear to have been used in M. *Ś.* (FISCHER on Hc. 2, 41).—AMg. *me*° *mḍha* (back: Thān. 250), *miṃḍha* (Thān. 205; Sūyag. 708), *me*° *mḍhaga* (Thān. 260), *miṃḍhaga* (Ovav. § 107*), *miṃḍhaya* (Samav. 131)=*meḍhra*, *meḍh-raka*, that have as *meṇḍhaka*, *meṇḍha* and *meṇḍhara* crept into Skt. as well;

fem. *meṇḍhī* (Deśn. 6, 138), *miṇḍhiyā* (Pāiyāl. 219), and according to Deśn. 6, 138 also *meṇṭhī*.

§ 87. A long vowel, that occurs before an original consonant-group, from which develops a single consonant through assimilation, or rather its phonetic substitute through elision, remains long (Hc. 2, 92). Such cases mostly occur when one of the consonants is either *r* or a sibilant. Thus: *āsa=āsa* (Hc.).—AMg. JM. *isara=īśvara* (Hc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), Mg. *isala* (Mr̥cch. 17, 4; Śak. 116, 2), by the side of *issara* (Bh. 3, 58).—M. JM. *ś. īsā=īṣyā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 69, 25), but also *ś. issā* (Prab. 39, 2, 3), Mg. *issā* (Prab. 47, 1).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. diha=dirgha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 69, 8; 78, 25; Ratn. 307, 313, 26; Mālatīm. 76, 5; Mr̥cch. 116, 17; 168, 20; Hc. 4, 330, 2); *ś. dihiā=dirghikā* (Priyad. 11, 2, 5; 12, 12; Vṛṣabh. 39, 3), AMg. JM. *dihiyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2; Ovav.; Erz.), by the side of *diggha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91). *ś. Mg. digghā* (Ratn. 299, 12; Nāgān. 51, 6; Priyad. 8, 13; 12, 2; 19, 17; 23, 11; 24, 9, 15; Mg. Mr̥cch. 134, 7).—M. AMg. JM. *ś. pāsa=pārīva* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 17, 11; 24, 4, 5; 36, 12; 75, 15; Prab. 64, 2; Priyad. 8, 14).—AMg. JM. *pehaī=prekṣate* (§ 323).—M. JM. *ś. A. bāha* (tears), by the side of *bappha* (smoke). *ś. bappha* (tears)=*bāṣpa* (§ 305).—AMg. *lūha* by the side of *lukkha=rūkṣa, lūhei=rūkṣayati* (§ 257).—*leḍhukka=leṣṭuka* (§ 304).—AMg. JŚ. *lodha=loṣṭa* (§ 304).—M. *vedhai*, AMg. JM. *vedhei*, *ś. vedhida=Pāli veṭṭhā, veṭṭhita=Skt. veṣṭate, veṣṭita* (§ 304). M. AMg. JM. *ś. A. sīsa=śīṣa* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 6; Uvās.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 24, 14, 16, 17; 68, 14; 74, 5; 78, 10; Śak. 39, 4; Hc. 4, 389, 446), Mg. *śīsa* (Mr̥cch. 12, 18; 13, 9; 40, 6; 113, 1; 127, 12), *śīśaka* (Mr̥cch. 20, 17).—AMg. JM. *soma=saumya* by the side of M. *ś. soṃma* (§ 61^a).—Cf. § 284. In AMg., deviating from all other dialects, long vowels remain very frequently before the suffix *-tra*, that develops into *-ya* from *-ta*. So : *gāya=gātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 19; 2, 2, 3, 9; Thān. 289; Nāyādh. 267; Vivāhap. 822, 1257, 1261; Uttar. 61, 105, 109; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *goṣa=gotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 1; 2, 2, 3, 4; Pannav. 716; Uttar. 966; Ovav.; Kappas.), by the side of *gōṭa* (Dasav. 628, 3; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *dhāi=dhātṛi* (Hc. 2, 81; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1; 2, 15, 13; Sūyag. 255; Vivāgas. 81; Vivāhap. 959; Nāyādh. § 117; Rāyap. 288; Ovav. [§ 105]); *pāya=pātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 18; 2, 6, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 124; Uttar. 219; Ovav.), *pāi=pātrī* (Sūyag. 783), *kāmsapāt=kāmsapātrī* (Thān. 528; Kappas.); *lohijapūyapāi=lohita-pūyapātrī* (Sūyag. 281); *māyā=mātrā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Ovav.), *māyanna=mātrājña* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; 1, 7, 3, 2; 1, 8, 1, 19; Dasav. 623, 15; Uttar. 51), *taṇamāya=ṭṇamātra* (Sūyag. 608); *mūya=mūtra* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3); *soṣa=śrotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 2, 5; Sūyag. 639). Only in *rātrī* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 28) the rule is not restricted merely to AMg. as *rāi* (Vivāhap. 936, 938), *rāibhojāna=rātrībhōjana* (Thān. 180; Ovav.), *rāimḍiṣya rātrīṇḍiṣva* (Thān. 133; Nāyādh. 347; Vivāhap. 1293; Kappas.), *°rāya=°rātra* (Kappas.), *°rāiya=°rātrika* (Sūyag. 731; Ovav.; Kappas.); but there occurs also in M. *rāi* (H.), by the side of *ratti* (H. R.; Śak. 55, 15), JŚ. *rāibhojāna* (Kattig. 399, 306) by the side of *rattim* (Kattig. 103, 374, 375), *rattidivaham* (Kattig. 402, 364), *ś. rādī* (Nāyādh. 93, 12, 15) by the side of the usual *rattī* (Mr̥cch. 93, 6, 7; 147, 16; 148, 2; Śak. 29, 7), Mg. *latti* (Mr̥cch. 21, 18), *lattim*, *lattimḍivam* (Mr̥cch. 45, 21; 161, 4).

§ 88. The prefix *ā* remains often before the root *khyā*, and always before *jñā*, and the initial syllable of the roots is treated as if it were a medial one. AMg. *āgham=ākhyān* Sūyag. 397), *āghāya=ākhyāya* (Sūyag. 375), *āghāvei, āghavemāṇa, āghaviya, āghavittae, āghaviṇanti* (§ 551), *āghavaṇā=*

ākhyāpanā (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539; Uvās. § 222); Ś. *paccākkhādum*=*pratyākhyātum* (Vikr. 45, 5). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34, 24) is an incorrect reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 491. 499). But also AMg. *akkhāi*, *akkhanti*, *paccakkhāi* (§ 491). AMg. JM. *āṇavei*, Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 551); M. AMg. JM. *āṇā*=*ājñā* (Vr. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Ki. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.; Samav.; 134; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8, 17. 18; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); VG. M. AMg. Ā. Ś. Mg. *ānatti*=*ājñapti* (Bh. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Ki. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; VG. 102, 16; R.; Nirayāv.; Priyad. 11, 10; Mṛcch. 105, 1; 166, 21; 171, 17; Veṇis. 36, 6); AMg. *ānattijā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), *āṇavaṇa*=*ājñāpāna* (Hc. 2, 92; Uvās.), *āṇamaṇi*=**ājñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369). In other cases the usage wavers: thus: M. *āsasāi*=*āśvasiti*, but Ś. *samāsasadu*, Mg. *śamaśśasadu*=*samāśvasitu* (§ 496). In Ś. *akkandāmi*=*ākrandāmi* (Uttarar. 32, 1), *akkandasi* (Mudrār. 263, 4), Mg. *akkandāmi*=(Mṛcch. 162, 17) the printed editions (except that of STENZLER) with the majority of the manuscripts have *akka°*, so that it could be read as *āka°* also. But M. JM. *akkamāi*, *akkanta*, *samakkanta* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.) always have the shortened vowel, which also is explained better with the help of *krand*. Besides, a long vowel remains before a consonant-group formed without *r* or a sibilant only seldom, and it is so preserved dialectically: JŚ. *āda*=*ātman* (Pav. 380, 8. 12; 381, 15. 16; 382, 23. 24. 25; 383, 70. 24), AMg. *āya*-(Āyār. 1, 1, 1. 3. 4. 5; 1, 2, 2, 2. 5, 4; Sūyag. 28. 35. 81. 151. 231. 838; Vivāhap. 76.132.283.1059 ff. [the text mostly *āta*—]; Uttar. 251).—AMg. *sāmali*=*śālmali* (Sūyag. 315; Thān. 88.555; Paṇhāv. 274; Anuttar. 9; Ovav. § 16; *kūdasāmali* (Uttar. 626), dialectical *sāmari* (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 8,23.; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259; cf. § 109).—M. AMg. A. *thāha*, “ground; bottom” (Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5,30; R.; Paṇhāv. 380; Nāyādh. 904.1112.1341; Hc. 4,444,3), according to Hc. also “deep water” and “broad” by the side of *thaha* (residence; Deśin. 5,24) and *thaggha* (deep; Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5,24)¹; AMg. *atthāha* (groundless; deep; Deśin. 1,54; Nāyādh. 1112; Vivāhap. 104. 447) by the side of *atthaggha* (Deśin. 1,54)=**stāghya*, **astāghya*. Cf. § 333.

1. In Deśin. 5,24, the words are to be read as *thaggho* ‘gādhe and *thaggho* ‘gādhaḥ. The scholiasts connect it to *stāgha*. Improvement has been effected according to this GGA. 1880,334.

§ 89. Against § 83, sometimes a long nasal vowel is retained dialectically, and in such cases the nasal sound disappears: *kāsa*=*kāmsya*, *pāsu*=*pāmsu* (Hc. 1,29.70); M. *māsa*=*māmsa* (Vr. 4,16; Hc. 1,29.70; Mk. fol. 34; G. R.), *māsala*=*māmsala* (Hc. 1,29; G. R.), *māsalaanta*, *māsalia* (G.). The same thing takes place also in the case of secondary nasal vowels in Pāli *pekhūṇa*, *pe°kkhūṇa*, M. AMg. *pehuṇa*=**preṅkhūṇa*, **preṅkhūṇa*, **pre°khūṇa*=Skt. *preṅkhaṇa* (wandering=swing, wing; Pāiyāl. 126; Deśin. 6,58; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,5; Paṇhāv. 33.489.533; Paṇṇav. 529; Nāyādh. 500; Jiv. 464). The derivation from *pakṣman* (CHILDERS, s. v. *pekhūṇa*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,611) or from *pakṣa* (WEBER, IStr. 3,396) is linguistically impossible. So also the accusative plural forms in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, in M. AMg. A., such as M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, AMg. *rukkhā*=*rūḥṣān*, A. *kuñjarā*=*kuñjarān*, AMg. *mallāi*=*mallakīn*, *bahū*=*bahūn* (§ 367.381) can be traced back to the Skt. forms through **guṇām*, **guṇā*, **bahūm*, **bahū*, etc., as having developed due to gradual weakening of the nasals. Perhaps Mg. *dālaṃ*=*dārān* (§ 367^a developed in the same manner. Cf. also *kesua* from **keṃsua*=*kimśuka* and *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* from **koṃhaṇḍi*, *°ṇḍa*=*kūsmāṇḍi*, *°ṇḍa* (§ 76,127).

§ 90. When the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the

simple consonant is duplicated. Sometimes doubling of consonants takes place even after an originally short vowel (§ 194). The words in which the doubling is obligatory have been grouped under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa nīdādi* (Vr. 3,52; Kī. 2,111; Mk. fol. 27) and under *tailādi* (Hc. 2,98; Triv. 1,4,93; 4,93); the cases, in which lengthening is optional, are included under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa sevādi* by Vr. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kī. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27, and under the *daivaga* class by Triv. 1,4,92. Not too many examples of application of this rule, notably in Bh. and Mk., are to be found.—M. Ś. Mg. Dh. *ēvaṁ=eva'm* (H.; Mrcch. 4,20;9,1;12,25 etc.; Vikr. 6,15;13,18; 8 etc.; Mg. Mrcch. 31,17;39,20;80,18 etc.; Dh. Mrcch. 30,14.18;31,19.22;35,17) by the side of *evaṁ*.—Ś. *kacca=kāca'* (Karp. 19,8).—AMg. JM. *kiddā=kriḡā'* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 81; Jiv. 577; Jīyak. 45; Uttar. 483; Nāyādh.; Āv. 15,13), AMg. JM. *khēḡḡa* (n.; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,253; Ovav.; Erz.); A. *khēḡḡa* (Hc. 4,422,10), beside AMg. JM. *kiḡā* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *kiḡana* (Ovav.), *kiḡāvaṇa* (Rāyap. 288; Ovav.); M. Ś. *kiḡā* (G.; Cait. 69.9); Ś. *kiḡāpavada=kriḡāpavata* (Vikr. 31,17; Mallikām. 135,5; Adbhutad. 61,20 [text °ḡā°]), *kiḡanaa=kriḡanaka* (Śak. 155,1). Cf. § 206.240.—*khaṇṇu* by the side of *khāṇu* (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21.27)=**skhāṇu'*, an allied dialectical form of *sthāṇu'* (§ 120.309); M. *khaṇṇua* (H.).—AMg. JM. *khatta=khāḡa'*, *ukkhatta* by the side of M. *ukkhāa*, *ukkhāa* (§ 566).—Ś. *jēva*, P. Mg. *jēva=eva'*, by the side of *jeva*, *jeva* (§ 95.335).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvaṇa=yauvaṇa'* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 212; Thān. 369; Paṇhāv. 288; Paṇṇav. 100; Vivāhap. 825.827; Dasav. 641,16; Kī. 13; Erz.; Mrcch. 22,22;141,15;142,12;145,12; Śak. 11,4;13,2; Prab. 41,5; [so it is to be read]; Dhūrtas. 15,8; Mallikām. 221,2; Hc. 4,422,7; Vikr. 68,22), AMg. *jōvaṇaga* (Vivāhap. 946), but always *juva*—, *jua*—=*yu'van* (§ 402), and so also M. JM. *juvai*, *juvai*=*yuvai'*, *yuvai'* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,7; Ratn. 293,5; Pratāp. 218,11; Erz.), Ś. *juvadi* (Mrcch. 69,23;73,9), Mg. *yuvadi* (Mrcch. 136,13)¹.—*neḡḡa=nīḡa'* (Grr.), by the side of M. *niḡa* (G. H.)².—M. JM. *tuṇhikka=tuṇhika'* (H. R.; Āv. 38,2; Erz.), by the side of *tuṇhia*, AMg. JM. *tuṇhiya* (§ 81). M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *teḡḡa=taila'* (Grr.; H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,3;2,6,1,9,12; 2,7,1,11; 2,12,4,15,20; Sūyag. 248.935; Paṇhāv. 381; Vivāgas. 235; Vivāhap. 1288.1327.1329; Rāyap. 167.175; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcch. 69,7.12;72,10; Śak. 39,4; Mrcch. 25,19;117,8), also AMg. *tilla* (Paṇṇav. 63; Uttar. 432.806).—*thiṇṇa* by the side of *thīṇa*=*styāna'* (Hc. 1,74), M. *thiṇṇa=styānaka* (R.).—AMg. JM. *thulla* by the side of AMg. JS. Ś. *thūla=sthūla'* (§ 127).—*thoḡka=stoka'* (Hc. 2,125) beside the common *thova*, *thoa* (§ 230).—AMg. *dugulla=ḡukūla'* (Hc. 1,119; Pāiyāl. 266; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; Paṇhāv. 238; Vivāhap. 791.941.962; Jiv. 508.559; Ovav.; Kappas.), according to Vr. 1,25; Hc. 1,119; Kī. 1,25; Mk. fol. 9 also *duḡḡa* beside M. Ś. *duḡḡa* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Mallikām. 68,5;69,13).—AMg. *dhatta=dhātā'* (Nāyādh. § 61).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *pēmma=pema'n* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Ratn. 299,18; Viddhaś. 6,3; Bālar. 122,13,16; Sūyag. 771; Erz.; Mrcch. 72,25; Vikr. 45,2;51,16; Viddhaś. 59,1; Anarghar. 297,14; Vṣabh. 9,1;29,6;43,8; Mallikām. 225,1; Hc. 4,395.3.423,1; Vikr. 64,4), also AMg. JM. *pimma* (Rāyap. 252; Erz.) and AMg. *pema*—(Sūyag. 923.958; Dasav. 631,19; Uvās.; Ovav.).—*mukka* beside *mūa=mūka'* (Hc. 2,99).—M. *lajjā=lājā'h* (H. 814).—AMg. *viḡḡa=viḡā'* (Hc. 2,98; Deśin. 7,61; Nirayāv. § 13). Cf. § 240.—*seḡḡa=sevā'* (Grr.), beside M. JM. *sevā* (G. H.; Erz.). The same accent is seen in AMg. *pājatta=pādāta* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. According to Kī. 2,111 *va* in *yuvan* also doubled. The texts do not attest it, and it is against the rule. JACOB, KZ. 35,565 considers that it is strange that in *yauvana*, it is not *na*, but *va*, that is doubled. But this, however, takes place with the

consonant that occurs immediately after a long vowel! The entire polemic of JACOB, KZ. 35, 575 ff. against FISCHER, KZ. 35, 140 ff. does not alter in the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 106.

§ 91. The same rule holds good in the optative in—*jjā*,—*jjā*,—*ējjā*,—*ējjā*,—*ijjā*,—*ijjā* in AMg. JM., as in *kujjā*=*kuryā't*; *dējjā*=*deyā't*; *hōjjā*=*bhūyā't*; *bhuñjējjā*=**bhuñjiyā't*=*bhuñjiyā't*; *jāñijjā*, *jāñējjā*=*janīyā't*, a flexion that even the verbs of the first conjugations have (§ 459 ff.); and further in the passive in—*ijja*,—*jja* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A., in—*yja*,—*yja* in P., so in words like M. JM. A. *dijjā*, JŚ. *dijjā*, P. *tiyyā'te*=*diya'te*, AMg. *kahijjā*, D. *kahijjādī*=*kathya'te* (§ 535 ff.). While Ś. *karaṇia*, *ramaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia*, *lamaṇia* and the similarly formed participia nec. and adjectival words are traceable to Skt. *karaṇī'ya*, *ramaṇī'ya* and so forth, the exceptional forms like M. JM. AMg. *karaṇijja*, *ramaṇijja*, and other similar ones (§ 571) presuppose forms of the type **karaṇyā*, *ramaṇyā*, A. *raṇaṇa* (Hc. 4, 422, 11) etc., likewise the substantively used M. Ś. Mg. A. *pāṇia*, AMg. JM. *pāṇiya*=*pāṇiya* (Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Ki. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 28; H. R.; Nāyādh. 1009.1011.1013.1032.1053.1058.1375.1386; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 25, 3; 40, 6; 42, 7, 12; Mṛcch. 45, 9; 77, 11; Latakam. 4, 12; Mg. Mṛcch. 45, 7; 113, 21; 115, 1, 2; 136, 11; Hc. 4, 396, 4, 418, 7, 434, 1) assume **pāṇyā* or **pāṇya*². In Ś. occurs *pāṇia* (Hāsy. 37, 7), in AMg. *pāṇiya* for metrical reason (Uttar. 895).—M. *biijja* (Hc. 1, 248), *tiijja* (Ki. 2, 36), A. *taijjā* (Hc. 4, 339) are to be explained like M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biūya*, M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taūya*, Ś. Mg. *tadia* (§ 82). The words in—*eya*,—*ya* as well follow the analogy of those in—*iya*. Thus: AMg. JM. *nāmadhejja*=*nāmadhēya* (§ 252), AMg. *pe'jja*=*pe'ya* (§ 572); in such cases *e* was pronounced very weak because in a great measure the accent fell on the final syllable. (WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar § 1216.a): this is so also in the case of a few forms of the comparative degree like AMg. *pe'jjam*=*prēyas*, AMg. JM. *bhujjo*=*bhū'yah* (§ 414). Cf. § 252.—*tiṇṇi*=*triṇṇi* (§ 438) is formed on the basis of the genitive *tiṇṇam*=*triṇṇā'm*, and on the model of *tiṇṇi* have been regulated *do'ṇṇi*, *bē'ṇṇi*, *biṇṇi*=*dvaui*, *dve*; likewise *daṇṇam* is formed on the model of *tiṇṇam* (§ 436). In a number of isolated words, that appear to be exceptions to the rule, the duplication of consonants is clearly due to a different cause. So in A. *adhīṇṇa*=*adhī'na* (Hc. 4, 427); the common dialectical form *ē'kka*=*ēka* beside AMg. JM. *ega* (§ 435); AMg. *kavalla*, *kabhalla*=*kapā'la* or *ka'pāla*, Pāli *kapalla* (§ 208); Pāli, M. *che'ppa*=*śēpa* (§ 211); M. *so'tta*=*strōtas* (Bh. 3, 52; Hc. 2, 98; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.); AMg. *padiso'ttagāmi*=*pratisrotogāmin* (Uttar. 441), *viso'ttiyā*=**visrotaskā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 2), beside *so'ya* (Ovav.), *paḍiso'ya*, *vissoasiyā* (Hc. 2, 98). M. AMg. JM. *maṇḍukka* (Hc. 2, 98; Ki. 2, 112; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 131; Sarasvatik. 34, 17; Thāṇ. 311.312; Paṇhāv. 18; Vivāhap. 552.553. 1048; Āv. 7, 29), AMg. *maṇḍukkiyā* (Uvās. § 38) may be traced back to *maṇḍuka* (Śrīharsa, Dvirūpakośa 35), whereof the accent has not been transmitted, and not to *maṇḍi'ka*, that gives AMg. *maṇḍūya* (Paṇṇav. 480), Ś. A. *maṇḍūa* (Mṛcch. 9, 11; so more correctly GODABOLE 25, 6; Piṅgala 1, 67).

1. According to JACOB, KZ. 35, 575 the reduplication of *ya* in the passive goes against the rule, because except in the first person singular of the indicative present it is not the final syllable that is accented, but the *ya* that occurs before the personal ending. Evidently here the question can be only of (cf. § 90, note 1) the syllable immediately following a long vowel, therefore, of the last syllable of the stem.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 142.

§ 92. A long vowel, occurring in a closed syllable and followed by an enclitic, is often shortened; when this takes place the initial consonant of the enclitic is reduplicated: M. *appaṇa ccea*=*āmanā caiva* (G. 83), *taṇha ccia*=*tiṇṇā caiva* (H. 93), *gharasāmiṇi ccea*=*grhasāmiṇi caiva* (H. 735),

ummillanti cca=*unmīlantī caiva* (R. 12,24); AMg. *hiri cceva*=*hrīścaiva* (Tāṇp. 76); JM. *sa cceva sā* (Āv. 18, 9), *abhaṇanta cca*=*abhaṇantaścaiva* (Rṣabhap. 13), *sahasa cciya*=*sahasā caiva* (Erz. 83,37); M. *gaṇṇē cca*=*gagane caiva* (G. 319), *muo ccea*=*mṛtaścaiva* (H. 497), *āvā cca*=*āpāte caiva*, *tē ccea*=*te caiva*, *so ccea*=*sa caiva* (R. 1,58; 5,67; 6,67).—PG. *bē tti*=*dve iti* (6,39), *hoja tti*=*bhūyād iti* (7,48), *kaḍa tti*=*kr̥teti* (7,51); M. *sahasa tti*=*sahaseti*, *bhikkhatti*=*bhikkṣeti* (H. 459,554), *niatti*=*nīteti* (R. 5,6), *tumhārisa tti*=*tvadṛśā iti* (G. 706), *māṇiṇitti* (H. 807), *mahi tti* (R. 5,20), *sāre tti*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4,39), *anurāo tti*=*anurāga iti* (G. 715); AMg. *taha tti*=*tatheti* (Uvās. § 67.87.120 etc.), *cāi tti*=*tyāgīti* (Dasav. 613,18,20), *antakaḍe tti*=*antakīd iti* (Āyār. 2,16, 10,11), *tasakāo tti*=*trasakāya iti* (Dasav. 615,12); JM. *sā sā sa tti* (Āv. 16, 26), *kā eśā kamalāmela tti* (Āv. 30,5), *savannu tti*=*sarvajña iti* (Āv. (16,21), *silogo tti*=*śloka iti* (Āv. 8, 56).—M. *soṇārātula vva*=*suvarṇakāratuleva* (H. 191), *soha vva*, *vaṇamāla vva*, *kittivva*, *āṇavva*=*śobheva*, *vaṇamāleva*, *kirtiriva*, *ājheva* (R. 1,48), *vaṇahatthiṇivva*=*vaṇahastiniva* (R. 4,59), *āppahāe vva*, *antaviraśo vva*=*atiprabhāta iḥa*, *antavirasa iḥa* (H. 68); AMg. *giri vva*=*giriṇ iḥa* (Āyār. 2,16,3), *milakkhu vva*=*mleccha iḥa* (Sūyag. 57), *divē vva* [text *va*]=*dīpa iḥa* (Sūyag. 304), *ayaḥko tthao vva*=*ayaḥkoṣṭhaka iḥa* (Uvās. § 94); JM. *thambhiya vva* *lihiya vva* *kiliya vva* *taṇkukkariya vva*=*stambhiteva* *likhiteva* *kiliteva* *ṭaṇkotkirṇeva* (Erz. 17,8), *jaṇani vva*=*jananiva* (KI. 9), *taṇao vva*=*tanaya iḥa* (KI. 14), *cando vva*, *mahi vva*=*candra iḥa*, *māhiva* (Erz. 84,20); in A. *va* also occurs on account of metre in *piapabbhaṭṭha va*=*piyaprabhraṣṭeva* (Hc. 4,436). In AMg. JM. as a rule a long vowel is retained before *ceva*. In Ś. Mg. neither *ceva* nor *va* occurs. The cases where they are found are examples of error against the dialect: thus in Ś. *gosammi ccea*=*gose caiva*, *taṇ cca*=*tac caiva*, *paṭṭam cca*=*pravṛttam caiva* (Kāleyak. 2,5.17; 3,12); Ś. *nāmeṇa vva* (Lalitav. 560,22), *bhaṇidam vva* (Vikr. 26,13; ed. PANDIT 47,2 and ed. Bombay 46,2 also the incorrect *e vva*; it is rightly wanting in BP., ed. Calc. 1830, p. 35,1; ed. LENZ. 25,10; ed. PISCHEL 632, 18), *suttadhāli vva*, Mg. *suttadhāli vva* (Mṛcch. 21,9; 23,21), Mg. *calē vva*=*cara iḥa*, *amhadeṣiya vva*=*asmaddeṣiḥa iḥa*, *deṣiye vva*=*deṣiṇi iḥa* Lalitav. 565,8.12.14), *goṇa vva* (Mṛcch. 112,17) and so often in Indian editions.

§ 93. In AMg. a long vowel, if it is a pluti-vowel, before *iti*, and in enumeration before *iti vā*, is retained. In such cases *iti* becomes *i* through *ti*: *ājampulā i* (Vivāhap. 1260; text *ti*); *sihā i* (Vivāhap. 1268; text *di*); *goṇamā i* (Vivāhap. 1311.1315, text *di*; Uvās. § 86); *āṇandā i* (Uvās. § 44); *kāmadevā i* (Uvās. § 118); *kālī i* (Nirāyāv § 5, text *ti*); *ajjo i* (Uvās. § 119.174).—*māyā i vā piyā i bhāyā i vā bhayinī i vā bhajjā i vā puttā i vā dhūyā i vā suṇhā i vā*=*māteṭi vā piteti vā bhrāteṭi vā bhaginīti vā bhāryeti vā putrā iḥi vā duhiteṭi vā sṇuṣeti vā* (Jiv. 355; cf. Sūyag. 750; Nāyādh. 1110); *uṭṭhāṇe i vā kamme i vā bale i vā vīrie i vā purisakkāra parakkame i vā*=*uttānam iḥi vā karmeti vā balam iḥi vā vīryam iḥi vā puruṣakāraparākrama iḥi vā* (Vivāhap. 67.68; Uvās. § 166ff.). Cf. further Sūyag. 747.758.857; Vivāhap. 41.70; Ōvav. § 96.112.165; Kappas. § 109.210).

1. The MSS. and the printed editions very often wrongly have *ti* and also *di*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. I, 495, 2, 256 note, * 290, note 12.

§ 94. In Mg. and Ś., before the particle *khu*, which originates from *khalu* (§ 148) under the influence of the pretone, whereby *khu* becomes *kkhu*, *e* and *o* are shortened: Ś. *asamae kkhū*=*asamaye khalu* (Śak. 14,6), *ede kkhū* (Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; 79,6), *mae kkhū*=*mayā khalu* (Vikr. 26,15); Ś. *mahanto kkhū* (Vikr. 45,1; 73,11; 81,20; Mālatim. 22,2), Mg. *mahan-te kkhū* (Prab. 58,9)=*mahān khalu*; Ś. *kāmo kkhū* (Mṛcch. 28,1), *maṇḍo kkhū* (Vikr. 23,2); Mg. *hage kkhū* (Śak. 113,9), wrongly *hage khu* (Lalitav. 566,6)=*aham khalu*, *dukkale kkhū*=*duṣkaraḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 43,4). The

other long vowels remain in all the dialects (for P. and CP. material is not available), and in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., after any vowel *khu* mostly becomes *hu*. In Ś. Mg. after a long vowel, other than *e* or *o*, *khu* remains, and after a short vowel it becomes *kkhu*, and only seldom and that incorrectly it is written as *hu* in all the MSS., so Ś. *ṇa hu* (Mṛcch. 60, 1. 24; 61, 23; 117, 16. 17; 150, 18; 153, 2; 327, 4), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 59,22), Mg. *ṇa hu* (Mṛcch. 161,17, in the same line with *lāṇiṇo* [so it is to be read] *kkhu* !), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 133, 14. 15. 22; 169, 18). Besides, in the text or in the variants there occur everywhere *ṇa kkhu* and *ṇu kkhu*; as throughout in the text in Śak., where in 50,2 only for *ṇa hu* of the text, with the best MSS., we should read *ṇa kkhu*. It is only in poetry that even in Ś. (Mṛcch. 40,25) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 9,25;21,17.19;29,22;43,3;161,14; Śak. 114,6) *hu* is correct¹. Even after a short vowel, therefore, occurs in M. A. *ṇa hu* (G. 718.864.900.908.911.1004.1135; H.; R. 3,7;6,16;7,6; Hc. 4,390; Vikr. 72,11); so also Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,17;31,1); AMg. JM. *na hu* (Uttar. 583. 743; Äv. 11,2; Erz. 79,14;81,35), but Ś. Mg. *ṇa kkhu* (Śak. 13,7;60,14. 17;72,9;156,14; Prab. 14,17; Śak. 160,10); M. *ṇu hu* (G. 183.996), but Ś. Mg. *ṇu kkhu* (Śak. 18,10;19,1;39,12;77,1;86,8 etc.; Mg. 113,7); AMg. *mā ja hu* (Äyār. 1,2,5,5.); M. AMg. JM. *vi hu* (G. 865.885.886 etc.; H.; R. 1,15;5,70;7,63; Dasav. 634,2; Erz. 80,7; Kk. 272,1;277,23); AMg. *hoi hu*=*bhavati khalu* (Uttar. 628.629); JŚ. *havadi hu* (Pav. 380, 9); but Ś. *atthi kkhu*=*asti khalu* (Śak. 127,14), *arihadi kkhu*=*arhati khalu*, *tajjāmi kkhu* (Śak. 58,13;164,5), *sumaresu kkhu*=*smara khalu*, *bhāmi kkhu*=*bibhemi khalu* (Vikr. 13,4;24,13). In Rājasekhara occurs *ṇa hu* (e.g. Karp. 22, 7; 32, 10; 33, 1) against *ṇu kkhu* (Karp. 93,4)—an error against the dialect. After long vowels: M. AMg. *mā hu* (H. 521.607; R. 8,14; Uttar. 440 [hū]. 617), but Ś. *mā kku* (Mṛcch. 54,21; Śak. 153,13;159,7; Vikr. 48,3; 49,1); M. *ko kku* (Hc. 2,198), *ko hu* (H. 384; v. l. *kkhu*), but Ś. *ko kkhu* (Mṛcch. 64,18); M. *so kku* (H. 401; v. l. *kkhu*, *hu*), JŚ. *so hu* (Kattig. 399,317.318;400,323), but Ś. *so kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,20;142,10); AMg. *se hu* (Äyār. 1,1,1,7.2,6;1,2,6,2;1,6,5,6;2,16,9.10), but Mg. *se kkhu* (Mṛcch. 12, 20). Wrong is Ś. *so kku* (Lalitav. 560.19), as in the same place occurring *aniruddheṇa kku* (555,1). JM. *sā hū* (Erz. 77,23); AMg. *eso hu* (Uttar. 362), but Ś. *eso kkhu* (Mṛcch. 18,8;23,19); Mg. *ese kkhu* (Mṛcch. 40,9; Venis. 36,4); AMg. *vimukkā hu*=*vimuktāḥ khalu* (Äyār. 1,2,2,1), *siyā hu*=*syāt khalu* (Uttar. 297; Dasav. 634,5); JM. *viṣamā hu*=*viṣamā khalu* (Rṣabhap. 17); Ś. *abalā kku* (Mṛcch. 12,21) *akkhamā kku*=*akṣamā khalu*, *bahuvallahā kku*=*bahuvallabhāḥ khalu*, *esā kku*=*eṣā khalu*, *rakkhaṇiā kku*=*rakṣaṇiā khalu* (Śak. 53,2;58,1;67,1;74,8), *parihāsaṇilā kku*=*parihāsaṇilā khalu* (Karp. 40,9), *mandabhāṇi kku*=*mandabhāḡiṇi khalu* (Mṛcch. 22,25), *dūravatīṇi kku*=*dūravatīṇi khalu* (Śak. 85,7); Mg. *āda kku*=*āgatā khalu* (Mṛcch. 99,7), *avśalovaṣaṇṇāṇi kku* *lāṇo*=*avasaroṇasarpāṇiāḥ khalu* *rājānaḥ* (Śak. 115,10), *niadī kku*=*niyatīḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 161,5). Accordingly in Śak. 99,16 the reading has to be emended as *daṁsaṇiākiḍi kku*=*darśaṇiāḡkṛtiḥ khalu*. In PG. *asa kku* (7,41) and *sa ca kku* (7,47) *khu* may, according to the mode of orthography of the inscription, be allowed to remain in the place of *kkhu*. CAPELLER, in his editions, against the manuscripts, that mostly have *kkhu*, even after long vowels, has shortened all such vowels.² Thus for example he writes *esa kku* for *esā kku* (Ratn. 292,31;295,8;297,24;300,4 etc.), *sa kku* for *sā kku* (Ratn. 302,2;318,11; 320,1), *ma kku* for *mā kku* (Ratn. 301,17;325,13), *muhara kku* for *muharā kku*=*mukharā khalu* (Ratn. 305,19); *maṇaṇajjarāula kku*=*maṇaṇajvāraturā khalu* (Hāsy. 25,25), *mahadi kku*=*mahatī khalu*, *puḍhavi kku*=*pyṭhivī khalu* (Ratn. 299,5; 328,27) etc. It is equally wrong, as sometimes it is in some other good editions of dramas, to write *kkhu* for *khu*

after anusvāra, as in Ś. *kiṃ kṃhu* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *uakidaṃ kṃhu*=*upakṛtaṃ kṃhu*, *kahiṃ kṃhu*=*kuṭra kṃhu*, *amadaṃ kṃhu*=*amṛtaṃ kṃhu* (Vikr. 8,15;9,3. 11). After anusvāra *khu* only is correct, as Mk. fol. 72 for Ś. explicitly teaches, and as M. AMg. also have: e.g. M. *taṃ khu*=*tat kṃhu* (G. 860,879; H. 142); AMg. *evaṃ khu* (Sūyag. 95,176), *eyaṃ khu*=*etat kṃhu* (Uttar. 106).³ In M. AMg. and especially in JM., however, *khu* and *hu* are proportionately rarer. AMg. mostly employs *kṃhu* which is found also in JŚ. (Pav. 380,7;381,18,21; Kattig. 401,343), more rarely also in JM. in which occurs the combination *taṃ seyaṃ kṃhu*=*tac chreyaḥ kṃhu* (Erz. 33,18) that occurs frequently in AMg. (e.g. Nāyādh. 333. 482; Vivāgas. 218; Uvās. § 66.138.140.151; Nirayāv. § 12.14.18.20.23; Ovav. § 85,86; Kappas. § 21) and many other similar ones have been taken over into JM. Both the forms of the particle are found side by side in AMg. *appā hu kṃhu duddamo*=*ātmā kṃhu durdamaḥ* (Uttar. 19).

1. Not quite correctly LASSEN, Inst. p. 192,7; BOLLINSEN on Vikr. 11,2, p. 196.—
2. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125. Already correctly, LASSEN l. c. and STENZLER on Mṛcch. 2,19.—3. The hypothesis that *kṃhu* should be written everywhere (PISCHEL on Śak. p. 210) already goes back to Hc. 2,196.

§ 95. As for *khu* (§ 94), the same rules hold good for Ś. *jēva*, *jēvva*, P.Mg. *yēva*, *yēvva* (§ 336) also. After short vowels and after *e*, *o*, which may become short, the initial consonant is doubled: Ś. *ajjassa jje*=*āryasyaiva* (Mṛcch. 4,8,12), *aireṇa jjeva*=*acireṇaiva* (Lalitav. 562, 23); *idha jjeva* (*jjevva*)=*ihaiṇva* (Śak. 12,4; Ratn. 293, 25; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,21), *disadi jjevva*=*dṛṣyata eva* (Ratn. 295,10), *sampajjadi jjeva*=*sampadyata eva* (Śak. 120,2), *samtappadi jjevva*=*samtapyata eva* (Mṛcch. 63,24); Mg. *tava yjevva*=*tavaiva* (Mṛcch. 22,4), *tena yjevva*=*tenaiva* (Mṛcch. 133, 7); P. *savassa yjeva*=*sarvasyaiva* (Hc. 4,316), Ś. *bhūmie jjevva*=*bhūmyāmeva* (Mṛcch. 45,15), *muhē jjeva*=*mukha eva*, *sujjodae jjevva*=*sūryodaya eva* (Śak. 77, 11;79,9), *ido jjevva*=*ita eva* (Mṛcch. 4,22;6,13), *jo jjevva* *jaṇo*.....*so jjevva*=*ya eva* *janah...sa eva* (Mṛcch. 57,13), *so sacco jjeva* *sivinae diṭṭho'tti*=*sa satya eva* *svaṇe dṛṣṭa iti* (Lalitav. 555,1); Mg. *daṃśaante jjeva*=*darśayann eva* (Śak. 114,11), *aṇḍacaskide yjevva*=**anācaksita eva*, *piṣṭado yjevva*=*piṣṭhata eva*, *bhaṣṭālake yjevva*=*bhaṣṭāraka eva* (Mṛcch. 37,21;99,8;112,18); P. *tūrāto yjevva*=*dūradeva* (Hc. 4,323). Other long vowels remain before the particle: Ś. *amhasāmiṇā jjeva*=*asmatsvāmiṇaiva*, *tadhā jjev*=*atathaiṇva*, *nikkampa jjeva*=*niṣkampa eva* (Śak. 116,8;126,10,14;128,6); Mg. *diṣanti ye vva*=*dṛṣyamāṇaiva* (Mṛcch. 14,11). CAPPELLER wrongly writes a short vowel in such cases also (cf. § 94); e.g. Ratn. 291,1;295,23,296,24 etc., as also in Lalitav. 554,5,6,21, which wrongly has *jjeva* even after anusvāra (554,4;555,18), and at 567,1 even *eva*. Wrong is also Mg. *sahasā jjevva* (Mṛcch. 96,24) for *sahasā ye vva*.

§ 96. All the final long vowels are shortened before the enclitic forms of √as (to be) beginning with a conjunct consonant. M: *ṭhia mhi*=*sthitāsmi*, *dūmia mhi*=*dūnāsmi* (H. 239,423), *asaī mha*=*asatyah smaḥ*, *khavia mho*=*kṣapātāḥ smaḥ*, *roāvia mha*=*roditāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417,423.807), *tumhē ttha*=*yusme stha* (R. 3,3); JM. *parisaniō mhi*=*pariśrānto'smi* (Erz. 6,25); Ś. *uvavasiḍa mhi*=*upoṣitāsmi*, *alaṃkida mhi*=*alaṃkṛtāsmi* (Mṛcch. 4, 6;23,25), *āatta mhi*=*āyatāsmi*, *edāvatttha mhi*=*etadavasthāsmi*, *asahāṇi mhi*=*asahāyinyasmi* (Śak. 25,3;52,8;59,11), *virahukkaṇṭhida mhi*=*virahotkaṇṭhitāsmi*, *vimharida mhi*=*vismṛtāsmi* (Vikr. 82,16;83,20), *avaraddha mha*=*aparāddhāḥ smaḥ*, *niṇvuda mha*=*nirvṛtāḥ smaḥ* (Śak. 27,6;58,6), *alaṅghaṇiā kada mha*=*alaṅghaniyāḥ kṛtāḥ smaḥ*, *uagada mha*=*upagātāḥ smaḥ* (Vikr. 23,8,14). On *e*, *o* and the incorrect forms like M. *pamhuṭṭha mhi*, Ś. *hada mhi*, Mg. *kada mhi* see § 85. The forms like M. *ve'tti* for *va tti*, *sahasē'tti* for *sahasā tti* (H. 885. 936), *pie'tti* for *pia tti*, *nisanne'tti* for *nisanna tti*, *dhire'tti* for *dhira tti*, *pelave'tti*

for *pelava tti*, *tanue tti* for *tanua tti* (R. 5,5.6.8), *vihine vva* for *vihina vva* (R. 14,16); JŚ. *mame tti* for *mama tti* (Pav. 388,27); Ś. *piadare tti* for *piadara tti*, *ve tti* for *va tti*, *paḍivādanijje tti*, *nidde tti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTINGK, 9,8;37,13;43,14;83,6), and M. *galia vva* for *galie vva*=*galita iva*, *candaa vva* for *candae vva*, *seubandha vva* for *seubandho vva* (R. 1,2;3,48;15,19),¹ based on Sanskritisms and found in many texts based on the readings as found in the manuscripts, are also wrong.

I. FISCHER, De Kālidāsac Śākuntali recensionibus p. 53; GGA. 1880.325 f.; BURKHARD, Sacuntala, Glossarium p. 36, note*; BOLLESEN, Mālavikāgnimitra p. xiv; cf. WEBER, IS, 14,298. Wrong: HOFFER, De Prakṛita dialecto p. 44; LASSEN, Inst. p. 188; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 27 f.

§ 97. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. a final long vowel is frequently shortened in formation of a compound (Vr. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Kī. 2,143; Mk. fol. 31). This takes place more especially in the case of stems ending in-ī, which have wholly collapsed together with the stems in-i (§ 384) and more rarely in the case of those in-ā and -ū. Ś. Mg. always retain long vowels in prose. M. *gāmaṇiutta*=*grāmaṇiputra* (H. 31); M. *naḍipūra*=*nadipūra*, *naḍinuṇja*=*nadinikuṇja*, *naḍipheṇa* (H. 45.218.671) beside *naḍkakcha*=*nadikakṣa* H. 416; *naḍada*=*nadilaṭa* (G. 407), *naḍo tta*=*nadīrota* (R. 1,54); AMg. *naṭaḷāya*=*naditaḍāga* (Nāyādh. § 128) beside *naṭira* (Kappas. § 120); but Ś. only *naṭvea*=*nadivega* (Śak. 32,1), Mg. *ṣoṇanāidamsaṇa*=*ṣoṇanadidasana* (Venis. 35,7); AMg. *ithiveya*=*striveda* (Sūyag. 234; Vivāhap. 179.180; Uttar. 960) beside *ithiveya* (Sūyag. 237); *ithibhāva* (Uvās. § 246), *ithilakkhaṇa*=*strilakṣaṇa* (Nāyādh. § 119), *ithisaṃsagga*=*strisaṃsarga* (Dasav. 633,1), beside JŚ. *ithisaṃsagga* (Kattig. 402,358), AMg. *ithivayaṇa*=*strivacana* (Āyār. 2,4,1,3), *ithiviggaha*=*strivigraha* (Dasav. 632,38); *ithilola* (Āv. 16,30) beside *ithirayaṇa*=*striratna* (Erz. 3,33;13,5); but Ś. only *ithikallavatta*=*strikalyavarta* (Mṛcch. 60,19), *ithiradana*=*striratna* (Śak. 38,5;103,6), *ithijaya* (Ratn. 298,14); AMg. *puḍhavisattha*=*prthviśastra* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.3.6), *puḍhavigamma*=*prthvikarman* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.4.6), *puḍhaviṇṇa* (Dasav. 620,34), *puḍhavisilāpaṭṭaya*=*prthvisilāpaṭṭaka* (Ovav. § 10; Uvās. § 164.166 170); JM. *puhaviṇṇaḍala* (Erz. 41,24), *puhaviṇṇhāya* (Erz. 64,23), beside M. *pahaṭvā*=*prthvipaṭi* (G.); JŚ. *puḍhaviṇṇaḍa* (Kattig. 401,346); Ś. *puḍhaviṇṇa*=*prthvinātha* (Śak. 59,12).—AMg. *accharagaṇa*=*apsarāgaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 315; Paṇnav. 96.99; Nirāyāv. 78; Nāyādh. 526; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *accarākoḍi* (Vivāhap. 254); Ś. only *accharātittha*=*apsarātirtha*, *accharāsambandha* (Śak. 118,10;158,2), *accharākāma*=*apsarākāmuka*, *accharāvāvāra*=*apsarāvāyāpāra*, *accharāviraḥida* (Vikr. 31,14;51,13;75,10), *accharāṇa* (Pārvaṭip. 9, 9; 10, 2); AMg. *kiddakara*=*kridākara* (Ovav.); M. *jāunaḍa* beside *jāunaḍa* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 4,1; Mk. fol. 31), *jāmaṇasāṅga* (G. 1053); Ś. *jamaṇasāṅgama* (Vikr. 23,13); M. *bhicchara*=*bhikṣācara* (H. 162); AMg. *bhikkhakāla* (Dasav. 618,17); AMg. *muttaḷāla*, *muttaḍāma*—, beside *muttaḷāla* (Ovav.).—M. *vahumā*=*vadhūmā* (H. 508); *vahumuha* beside *vahūmuha*=*vadhūmukha* (Bh. 4,1, Hc. 1,4; Mk. fol. 31); but JM. *vahūahijja*=*vadhūśahāya* (Erz. 6,12); Ś. *ṇavavahūkesakalāva*=*navavadhūkesakalāpa* (Mṛcch. 410). Cf. § 70.

§ 98. The vowel of the word *śrī* is shortened in all the dialects, whether it is employed as a proper noun or is prefixed to another noun as an appellative or as an epitheton ornans; it so happens also in the case of *hrī* in AMg. (Kī. 2, 57). M. *siriṭhaṇa*=*śrīstana* (G. 28), *sirisevia*=*śrīsevita* (R. 1,21), *siridamsaṇa*=*śrīdarśana* (G. 514); AMg. *sirigutta*=*śrīgūpta*, *sirihara*=*śrīdhara* (Kappas.); JM. *sirikantā*=*śrīkāntā*, *sirimai*=*śrīmatī* (Erz.); Ś. *śrīpavada*=*śrīparvata* (Ratn. 297,31; Mālatim. 30,2.8 [so it is to be read with v. l. to 8 of ed. LASSEN 11,6;12,2; of ed. Calc. 1866, p. 12,3; of ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 18,11;19,6; of ed. Madras 21, 9; 22, 1]).—M. *mahusiri*—

pariṇāma=*madhuśrīpariṇāma* (G. 791), *nahasirikaṇṭha*=*nabhahśrikaṇṭha* (H. 75), *rāasiribhāṇa*=*rājaśrībhaṇa* (R. 4,62); AMg. JM. *sirivacca*=*śrīvatsa* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *sirighara*=*śrighra* (Vivāhap. 820.962), *hirisiriparivajjiya* (Vivāhap. 250), *hirisiridhiikittiparivajjiya*=*hriśridhiṭṭiparivajjita* (Ūvās. § 95), *sirisamudaya* (Kappas. § 42); JM. *sirisūyaga*=*śrīsūcaka* (Erz. 67,32), *sirikaṇṭha*=*śrikaca* (Kk. 276,13); A. *siriānanda* (Hc. 4,401,3).—M. *sirijasavamma*=*śriyaśovarman* (G. 99), *sirihāla* (H. 698), *śirikamalāuha* (G. 798), *sirirāsekhara* (Karp. 6,5); JM. *sirilakkhaṇa*=*śrilakṣmaṇa*, *siriharianda*=*śriharicandra*, *sirirajjila*, *sirināhada*, *siribhillua*, *sirikakka*, *sirikakkuja* (KI. 2.3.4.5.6.20.22); Ś. *sirikhandaśāsa* (Ratn. 297,31), *siricārudatta* (Mṛcch. 94,5; so with GODABOLE 267,5 it is to be read); Mg. *śilīsomeśalaeva*=*śrīsomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); JM. *sirisamanasāṅgha*=*śrīśramanasaṅgha* (Kk. 266,3; 270.5.38).—The long vowel is sometimes retained if required by metre: thus in M. *śirisamullāsa* (G. 856) and so it is also in AMg. in prose *sirisamāṇavesāo*=*śrisamāṇaveśyāḥ* (Nāyādh. § 65; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *sirisamāṇavesāo* (Vivāhap. 791). In Kappas. § 35, for *vayāṇasiripallava* we have to read °siri° with the v. l. In *śrika*, the vowel wavers: AMg. *siriya* (Kappas.), *siriya* (Nāyādh.), *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 96), but *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 116); the mostly found, and probably the only correct form in prose, *sassiriya* (Samav. 213.214; Paṇḥāv. 263; Vivāhap. 168.194 f.; Jiv. 502.504.506; Nāyādh. 369; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *sassiria* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 62,13; Vikr. 41,4; so it is to be read),¹ but *sassiriadā* (Mṛcch. 68,21; 73,11; 107,2), *sassiriattana* (Ratn. 292,12; text. *sasi*°; the ed. Calc. *sassiriadā*). AMg. *hripaḍicchāyāṇa*=*hripraticchādāna* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1); *sirihini*° (Nirayāv. 73); *hini*° (Thāp. 151). The word that, in AMg., is used as a proper noun as well, as in *hiri cceva*=*hrīreva*, (Thāp. 76), and in the plural *hirio* (acc. plur. beside *sirio*; Vivāhap. 962) is not traceable in the other dialects.² This word *hiri* occurs as an adjective by the side of *ahirimāṇe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2); the reading *harime* for *hrimān* (Uttar. 961) is to be corrected to *hirime*; likewise for Ś. *ohiriāmi* (Uttarar. 23,12) should be read *ohiriāmi*=*apahriye*; so stands Ś. *hiriāmi* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 108, 21). The Bengal recension (164,5) has the form *lajjāmi* which corresponds to the dialect; whereas the Kashmir recension wrongly has *arihāmi*=*arhāmi*. Cf. § 135.195.

1. Wrongly, BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 62,13; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 41,4.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,104.

§ 99. The original short of *i* and *u* is sometimes retained in poetry against § 69. M. *diabhūmisu*=*dujabbhūmiṣu* (Hc. 3,16=G. 727); *añjalihim*=*añjalibhiḥ* (H. 678), °*ppaṇāisu*=°*pranāṭiṣu*, *virahisu*=*virahiṣu*, *causaṭṭhiṣu* *suttisu*=*cauṣṭṭyāṇaṃ sūktiṣu* (Karp. 2,3; 38,5; 72,6); AMg. *pakkhihim*=*pakṣibhiḥ* (Uttar. 593), *vagguhim*=*vagnubhiḥ* (Samav. 83), *heuhim*=*hetubhiḥ* (Dasav. 635,34), *pāṇinam*=*prāṇinām* (Āyār. p. 15,33; Sūyag. 356; Uttar. 312.715.717 ff.), *kukamminam*=*kukarminām* (Sūyag. 341), *pakkhinam*=*pakṣinām* (Uttar. 601), *tāṇam*=*trāṇinām* (Uttar. 692), *girisu*=*giriṣu* (Sūyag. 310), *jāisu*=*jāṭiṣu*, *gārisu*=*agāṭiṣu*, *jantusu*=*jantūṣu*, *joṇisu*=*yoṇiṣu*, *guttisu*=*guṭṭiṣu* (Uttar. 155.207.446.574.992); JM. *vakkhāṇāisu*=*vyākhyāṇādisu* (Āv. 41,28 in a quotation from Viśeṣ. 1,1466). So throughout AMg. JM. in *caūhim*, *caūsu*=*caturbhiḥ*, *caturṣu* (§ 439). On the other hand in poetry long vowels of Skt. and Pkt. are not infrequently shortened in declension. So in the abl. sing. AMg. *thāṇao*=*sthānāt*, *saṅjamao*=*saṅyamāt* (Sūyag. 46), *kulāao*=*kuḷālāt*, *viggahao*=*vigrahāt* (Dasav. 632.37.38), *sirio*=*śriyāḥ* (Dasav. 641,28); JS. *uvasamado*=*upaśamāt* (Kattig. 399,308). Cf. § 69. In the nom. and acc. plural: M. *divvosahio*=*divyauśadhayaḥ* (Mudrār. 60,9); AMg. *osaḥio* (Dasav. N. 648,10), *ittio*=*striyaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 218.222.237.540.542; Uttar. 76,921, also

itthi (Uttar. 373), *nārio* (Uttar. 679 [text °i°]=Dasav. 613,35; Dasav. 635,14), *koḍio*=*koṭayaḥ* (Uttar. 502; text °i°), *rāio*=*rātrayaḥ* (Sūyag. 100; Uttar. 416,436); in the instr. plur.: AMg. *itthihim*=*stribhiḥ* (Uttar. 570); in the gen. plur.: AMg. *iṣṇam*=*ṛṣṇām*, *bhikkhuṇam*=*bhikkṣūṇām*, *muṇiṇam*=*muninām* (Uttar. 375,377,409,921); in the loc. sing. AMg. *rāyahāṇie*=*rājadhāṇyām* (Uttar. 86; text °i°, the correct form occurs in the commentary), *kāsiḥhūmie*=*kāsiḥhūmyām* (Uttar. 402); in the loc. plur. AMg. *itthisu*=*striṣu* (Sūyag. 185 [text °i°]; Uttar. 204). So also A. *radie*=*ratyā* (Hc. 4,446). In Mg. shortening in the stem has taken place in *ahiśālianti* for *ahiśālianti*=*abhisāryamāṇā* (Mṛcch. 11,19), even in AMg. *paḍiṇam* for *paḍiṇam*=*pratiṇam* (§ 165; Dasav. 625,37) against § 82. According to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa, 152: *prācinam* *prācinam* *ca* *syāt* the corresponding shortening occurs also in Skt.

§ 100. In A. in poetry long and short vowels interchange according to metre and rhyme. The rhyme often determines even the pitch of the vowel. The language of Piṅgala goes furthest in this respect. Hema-candra: *sāmalā dhaṇa suvaṇṇareha*=*śyāmalā dhanyā suvaṇṇarekhā* (4,330,1), *sakaṇṇi bhalli*=*sakaraṇā bhalliḥ* (4,330,3), *phala lihiā*=*phalāni likhitāni* (4,335); *paḍia sila*=*patitā silā* (4,337), *addhā valaā mahihī gaa addhā phuṭṭa*=*ardhāni valayāni mahyām gatāny ardhāni sphuṭitāni* [4,352]; *vihi viṇaḍaṭi pīḍanti gaha*=*vidhir vīṇaṭayatu pīḍanti grahāḥ* [4,385]; Kālidāsa, Vikr.: *parahua mahurapalāviṇi kanti*... *bhamanti*=*parabhyte madhuraḥpralāpini kante*... *..bhramanti* (59,11,12), *sā paḍiṭṭhi jahaṇabharālasa*=*sā tvaṇā dṛṣṭā jaghana-bharālasa* in rhyme with *gailālasa*=*gatilālasam* (62,12), *kilānti dhanīa ṇa diṭṭhi paḍi*=*kṛdānti dhanikā na dṛṣṭā tvaṇā* (63,5); Piṅgala: *sūi meru ṇisaniku*=*sūcyate meruṇiḥsaṅkam* (1,40), *mahihara taha a suraṇā*=*mahidharāstathā ca suraṇaḥ* (1,80), *jasu*.....*kaṇṭhaṭṭha viśa pindhana diśa saṁtāria saṁsārā*=*yasya kaṇṭhe sthitam viśam pindhānam diśaḥ saṁtāriṇaḥ saṁsāraḥ* (1,81), *varisae* for *varisai*=*varṣati* in rhyme with *disae*=*dṛṣyate* (1,142), *ṇaccanti saṁhāro dūritā hammāro*=*nṛtyanti saṁharatu dūritam asmaḍiyam* (2,43) etc. See also § 85,128.

(e) THE SEPARATE VOWELS.

§ 101. Skt. *a* can become *i* (Schwā) in syllables before the accent. Hc. 1,46 puts the words in which this phonetic alteration must take place in the *ākṛtigāṇa* *svapnādi* and in 1,48 adds also *madhyama* and *katama*; in 1,47 he allows option for *pakva*, *aṅgāra*, *lalāṭa*, in 1,49 for *saptaparna*. Vr. 1,3; Ki. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5 limit it to *iṣat*, *pakva*, *svapna*, *vetasa*, *vyajana*, *mydāṅga* and *aṅgāra*. It appears most frequently in M. AMg. JM.; Ś. and Mg. always retain *a* in certain cases, as Mk. lays this down expressly for *aṅgāra* and *vetasa*. So: AMg. *asiṇa*=*aśana*' (Āyār. 2,1,5,1); JM. *uttima*=*uttama*' (Hc. 1,46; KI. 9), AMg. JM. *uttimaṅga*=*uttamāṅga* (Paṇḥāv. 274,285; Ovav.; Erz.), beside JM. *uttamaṅga* (Pāiyāl. 111; Erz.), M. AMg. JM. *uttama* (G.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. *kāima*=*katama*' (Hc. 1,48; H. 119), but Ś. Mg. *kadama* (Mṛcch. 39,6; Śak. 132,7; Vikr. 35,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 130,3).—M. Mg. A. *kivina*=*kṛpaṇa*' (Hc. 1,46; G.H.; Mṛcch. 19,6; 136,18,19; Hc. 4,419,1 [so to be read], Ś. *akivina* (Mṛcch. 55,25).—AMg. *ghimsu*=*ghraṁsa*' (§105).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *carima*=*carama*' (Paṇṇav. 65 ff.; Vivāhap. 113,173,598f. 1254,1262; Erz.; Kattig. 401,348), *acarima* (Paṇṇav. 66ff.).—AMg. *nigina*=*nagna*' (§ 133).—M. AMg. Ś. *pikka*=*pakva*' (Grr.; H.; Karp. 67,8; Vivāhap. 1185; Bālar. 292,13), AMg. *vivikka*=*vīpakva* (Thān. 377,378), Ś. *paripikka* (Bālar. 142,2; 209,7); beside AMg. Ś. *pakka* (Hc. 1,47; Āyār. 2,4,2,14,15; Thān. 218; Paṇṇav. 483; Dasav. 628,29; 629,8; Dhūrtas. 12,9), Ś. *supakka* (Mṛcch. 79,25), *paripakka* (Ratn. 301,19).—M. *pusia*=*prṣṭa*'

(gazelle; H. 631), AMg. *phusiya* (§ 208; drop; Āyār. 1,5,1,1, Nāyādh.; Kappas.; gazelle; Āyār. 2,5,1,5).—M. AMg. JM. *majjhima*=*madhyama* (Hc. 1,48; H.; Thān. 128.141.152.175; Sūyag. 334; Paṇṇav. 76; Jiv. 175.408; Vivāhap. 1412; Aṇuog. 266; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), AMg. *majjhima*=*madhyamaka* (Uvās.; Kappas.), feminine *majjhimiya* (Jiv. 905 ff.), *majjhimilla* (Aṇuog. 383), but S only *majjhama* (Vikr. 6,19; Mahāv. 65,5; 133,9; Venis. 60,6; 63,4; 64,23; 99,12).—AMg. JM. *mimjā*=*majjā* (§ 74).—AMg. JM. *muṅga*=*mṛdaṅga* (Āyār. 2,11,1; Sūyag. 731; Paṇḥāv. 512; Paṇṇav. 99.101; Jiv. 251; Vivāhap. 797 [text *mujaṅga*, correctly in the commentary]; Kāyap. 20 [v. l.]. 231; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also *muṅga* (Hc. 1,137), but S. *mudāṅga* (Mālav. 19,1); Mg. *midāṅga* (Mṛcch. 122,8; Gopābolē, 337,7 more correctly *mudāṅga*). Cf. § 51.—M. *vedisa*=*vetasa* (Grr.; H.), but P. *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307), S. *vedasa* (Śak. 31,16; 105,9).—M. AMg. JM. *sejjā* from *sijjā* (T. 5,15 and often v. l.; § 107)=*śeṣyā* (Vr. 1,5; 3,17; Hc. 1,57; 2,24; Kī. 1,4; 2,70; Mk. fol. 5.21; G.; Karp. 25,1; 39,3; 70,6; Āyār. 2,2, 1,1,3,24 ff.; Sūyag. 97.771; Paṇḥāv. 372.398.410.424; Vivāhap. 135. 185.839.1310; Paṇṇav. 844; Uttar. 489.495; Dasav. 642,36; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *śeṣyā* (Cait. 149,19; text *sejjā*); AMg. *nisejjā* (Dasav. 642,36), *nisijjā* (Kappas. § 120), *padisejjā* (Vivāhap. 964); JM. *sejjāyara* (Kk.), *sijjāyari* (T. 4,17).¹

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34,570. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,572, *kaim* will have developed its *i* through its connection with *kati*; *antima* (as it is also in Sanskrit), *uttima*, *carima* and *majjhima* have developed their *i* through the influence of analogy with *paścima*, and *sijjā*, *nusijjā*, *śāhijjā*, *mimjā*, through the influence of *jja*.

§ 102. Exceptions to the rule are just apparent: M. *āṅāra* (Hc. 1, 47; Pāyāl. 158), *āṅāraa* (H. 261), *āṅārānta*=*āṅārāyamāṇa* (G. 136), S. Mg. *āṅāla* (Pras. 120,2,13; 121,8; Jivān. 43,9 [probably to be read as *°ra*]; Mṛcch. 10,1), S. *āṅāraka* (Mālav. 48,18), AMg. *āṅāra* (Paṇḥāv. 202.534), *āṅāraka*= (Paṇḥāv. 313; Ovav. § 36), *āṅārāga* (Paṇṇav. § 116), *āṅārāya* (Thān. 263)=Skt. *a'ṅāra*, *āṅāraka* (charcoal; the planet Mars), beside AMg. *īṅāla* (Grr., also C. 2,4; Pāyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,2,2,8; 2,10,17; Sūyag. 270,783; Thān. 230.391.478; Paṇṇav. 28; Vivāgas. 108,141; Nāyādh. 371; Vivāhap. 237.254.322f. 348.480.609.883. 1286. 1293; Jiv. 51. 257. 293; Nirāyāv. 47; Uttar. 1053 [text *°ra*]; Dasav. 616, 32; 618, 29; 630, 25; Uvās. § 51), *saṅgāla*, *vīṅgāla* (Vivāhap. 450.451), *īṅgāla* (Thān. 82), also taken into Sanskrit (ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1894,820), *āṅua* beside *īṅua*=*īṅuda* (Hc. 1,89), S. *īṅudā* (Śak. 39,4), *āṅālia* beside *īṅālī* (a piece of sugar-cane; Deśin. 1,28.79) are related to one another like *āṅati* and *īṅati*, *aṭati* and *īṭa'ni*, *addhā* and *iddhā*, that originally stood in an ablaut relation with one another probably. From *īṣa't* the Prākṛtamañjarī, in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 13, mentions *īsa*, *īsi*, *īst*. Of them we have S. *īsa* in Mālatīm. 239,3, in all the editions: *īsa maṇṇuṇ* (v. l. *maṇṇe*) *ujjhia*, and so we have to read also in Venis. 12, 10; 61, 15 *īsa vihasia* with the v. l. to 12, 10 and in M. *cirehi īsa tti* (Pratāp. 206, 11; text *īsi*), *pāvai īsisa* (H. 444; correctly in the v. l. and ed. Bomb.; or *īsaṃpi* with v. l.); correct is *īsisa*..... *maṇaṃ kuṇanti* (Karp. 8,9; cf. v. l.), because *īsa't* here stands by itself. Otherwise it occurs throughout in the beginning of compounds; thus in M. *īsijalapesiacca*=*īsaṅjalaprekṣitākṣa*, *īstraabhiṇṇa*=*īsadrajobhiṇṇa*, *īsiṇiha*=*īsannibha*, *īsiṇiatta*=*īsadavṛita* (R. 2, 39; 11,43; 12,48; 13,70), *īsiditṭha*=*īsaddṛṣṭa* (Bālar. 120,5), *īsaṃcaraṇa-caṇḍurā* (Karp. 86,1; the v. l. has *īsaṃ*, the ed. Bomb. 85,10 reads *īsa saṃcaraṇabandhurā*), *īsubbhijjanta* [text *īsubbhijjandam*]=*īsadudbhidyamāna* (Mallikāma. 239,5); JM. *īsiṇiṣaṇṇa*=*īsaduikāsaṃ* (Kī. 7); S. *īsiṇiṣaṇṇa*

=*īṣatparīśrāntā* (Śak. 133,1), *īṣiviasida*=*īṣadvikasita* (Mālatīm. 121,5), *īṣimāūlida*=*īṣanmukulita*, *īṣimasīṇa*=*īṣanmasīṇa* (Mahāv. 22,20;24,6), *īṣivirala* (Uttarar. 73,5), *īṣivalida* (Nāgān. 8,15), *īṣadāraḍasādāvida*=*īṣaddvāra-deśadāpila* (Mudrār. 43,8), *īṣiṇiddāmuddida*=*īṣannidrāmudrita* (Bālar. 220,6); *īṣitiricchi* (text °ra°)=*īṣattiryak*, *īṣisunijjanta*=*īṣacchrīyamāṇa*, *īṣicāūria*=*īṣaccaturita* (?), *īṣimāulanta* [text °mmu°]=*īṣanmukulāyamāna*, etc. (Mallikām. 74,2;123,5;141,8;225,8); also *īṣi* in M. *īṣivalanta*- (H. 370) and Ś. *īṣisijaradhāmāṇa* (Karp. 38, 1); falsely independent in Ś. *īṣi veaṇā samupphanna* (Karp. 73,6), which has been correctly emended as *īṣa* by KONOW. The *i* is, therefore, explained from the cases in which *īṣat*, as the first member of a compound, became toneless according to Pāṇini 6,2,54. Cf. Hc. 2,129. The Prākṛtamañjarī l. c. teaches also *īṣi*, which occurs often in the MSS. Bh. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5, and several times also in Indian editions: *īṣicumbia* occurs in Śak. 4,9 ed. BÖHTLINGK. Ś. *īṣa-samkamida* (Jivān. 43,8) for *īṣi°*, *īṣi samīve hohi*=*īṣat sāmīpe bhava*, *īṣi vilambia*=*īṣadvilambya*, *īṣi uttānaṁ kadua*=*īṣad uttānaṁ kṛtvā* (Mallikām. 87,18;124,5;222,8) for *īṣa°*, and JM. *īṣi hasiūṇa* (Erz. 57,17) for *īṣim hasiūṇa* are false readings, as AMg. JM. have the nasalized form *īṣim* always used in independent words and generally in compound words (Thān. 135. 297; Āyār 2,15,20 [*īṣi°*]. 21 [*īṣi°*]. 22 [*īṣi°*]; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1284; Vivāhap. 239. 248.920 [*īṣi°*], Jīv. 444.501.794.860; Ovav. § 33,49, VII [so read everywhere for *īṣi*]; Kappas. § 15; Āv. 48, 14; Erz.). AMg. has also an adjective *īṣiṇa*=**īṣatka* (Nāyādh. 990).

§ 103. Corresponding to the rule *i* occurs in forms like JŚ. A. *kiḍha* (Pav. 384,47;388,2,5; Hc. 4,401,1), AMg. JM. A. *kiha* (Āyār. 1,6, 1,6; Āv. 10,23;35,18;46,31; Erz.; Hc. 4,401,3)=Vedic *kāthā*. On its analogy are formed A. *jidha*, *tidha*, *jiha*, *tiha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (Hc. 4,401), as conversely the short of the final of *ā* has been brought in 'on the analogy of M. AMg. JM. A. *jaha*, *taha*, JŚ. *jadha*, *tadha* (§ 113). In a similar manner are to be explained also AMg. JM. *tise*, *jise*, M. *tissā*, *jissā*=*tasyāḥ*, *yasyāḥ* as formed on the analogy of *kise*, *kissā* (§ 425 ff.).¹—*ghisai* (Vr. 8,28 [read as such]; Hc. 4,204)=*gha'sti*=*gha'sti* has gone over to the sixth conjugation (§ 482).—M. A. *candimā* (brilliance of the moon; Vr. 2,6; Hc. 1,185; Ki. 2,25; Mk. fol. 14; Pāyāl. 244; G.H. 609 [read as such], R.; Hc. 4,349) is to be identified neither with the native grammarians with *candrikā*, nor with LASSEN², E. KUHN³, S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ and JACOBI⁵ with *candra'mas* against which are the accent, gender and meaning, but with **candriman*⁶, which according to Hc. 1,35, might become feminine, and has been taken over into Skt. as *candrimā* (B. -R. s. v.). Pāli *candimā* (nom. sing.), AMg. *candima*- (Nirayāv. 38; Ovav.; Kappas.), AMg. A. nom. *candimā* (Sūyag. 433 [text °da°]. 460; Dasav. 627, 11; Piṅgala 1, 30 [text °da°]) are masculine and mean "the moon", and are secondary derivatives from *candimā* (fem.) with a dependence upon *candramas*. *candrikā* becomes Ś. *candīā* (Gait. 40,15; Adbhutad. 71,9).—According to Hc. 1,49.265; Mk. fol. 18, besides *chattavaṇṇa* we may say *chattivaṇṇa* (Vr. 2,41; Ki. 2,46). The Indian grammarians equate the words as=*saptaparna*, which is to be accented as *sapta'parṇa*. But *sapta'n* nowhere shows *ch* initially and the *a* originating from an never becomes *i*, as we learn from *pañcama*, *sattama*, *aṭṭhama*, *navama*, *dasama*, etc. (§ 449).⁷ *chattavaṇṇa*, therefore, is not=*saptaparna*, but=*chattaparna*, and *chattivaṇṇa*=**chatriparna* from *chatrī* (Hc., Upādi-gaṇas. 446)=*chattra*. In AMg. the word occurs as *sattavaṇṇa* (Paṇṇav. 31; Nāyādh. 916; Vivāhap. 41.1530; Ovav. § 6) and *sattivaṇṇa* (Thān. 266 [commentary *satta°*]. 555; Vivāhap. 289), which, if the reading be correct, is formed on the analogy of *chattivaṇṇa*; Ś. has *chattavaṇṇa* (Śak.

18,5; cf. v. 1.) and *sattavaṇṇa* (Priyad. 10,13).—AMg. JM. *puvviṇ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 202.203 [text here °am³]; Dasav. 641,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.) is not=*pū'rvam*, but=**pūrvīm*; cf. AMg. *puvvaṇṇupuvviṇ* (Nirayāv. § 1), which has already been shown by WARREN as=*pūva+ānupūrvīm*.—AMg. JM. *saddhiṇ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav. § 15,16; Kappas. etc.; Erz.) is not=*sārdha'm*, but=*Vedic sadhri'm*.⁸ We cannot ascertain the accent in *avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka*, which, in AMg., become *vaḍiṃsa* (Rāyap. 102), *vaḍiṃsaga* (Samav. 10.12.16.23; Rāyap. 103.139; Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Ovav⁹; Kappas.), and *vaḍiṃsaja* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.). *i* and the dropping of the initial *a* point to an accent on the final syllable (§ 142). The exceptions to the rule are AMg. *kuṇima*=*ku'ṇapa* and *viḍima*=*viṭa'pa* (§ 248) only which presuppose accentuation on the final. On M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. nīḍāla*, M. AMg. *nīlāḍa*=*lalāṭa* see § 260; on AMg. *aiḥkhai*, § 492, on *diṇṇa* § 566, and on AMg. JM. *appinaḍi* § 557.

1. FRANKE opines differently with regard to the genitive forms like *tissā*, GN. 1895,529, note 1.—2. Inst. p. 203.—8. Beiträge p. 22.—4. Rāvaṇavaho p. 156, note 1.—5. Kalpasūtra. s. v., KZ. 35,573.—6. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,572.—7. JACOBI has not taken these into consideration, KZ. 35,572.—8. PISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,235.

§ 104. Before and after a labial sometimes *a* becomes *u*: *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, *puḍhuma*=*prathama* (C. 3,9 p. 48; Hc. 1,55). The common form found in all the dialects is *paḍhama*. So M. (G. H. R.); AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,3,18,2,5,1,6; Sūyag. 45; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.); JM. (Kl. 1; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. (Kattig. 398,304; 400,332,401,342,344); Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,23,94,3; 138,15; Śak. 43,6; 50,1; 67,11; Vikr. 22,20; 27,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 130,13,18; 139,10; 153,21); D. (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. (Piṅgala 1,1.10.23.40 etc.). *puḍhama* occurs in M. (H. 832), in Ś. (Mudrār. 182,3; 204,4,6), in Mg. (Mudrār. 185,4); but the most and the best of the MSS. of Mudrār. have *puḍhama*, as in 253,4 in the text (v. l. *pu*^o). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has *puḍhuma* several times in R.; likewise BOLLENSEN in Vikr. 23,19; 24,1; 83,19. In this respect as well the manuscripts waver, and so is the case with other texts, and it would, perhaps, be better to read *paḍhama*, everywhere in M.Ś. Mg.¹ P. has *puḍhuma* (Hc. 4,316). The South Indian manuscripts and the printed editions based on them generally write *puḍama*.²—M. *pulaaḥ*, *pulaaḥ*, *pulaaḥ* (Vr. 8,69; Hc. 4,181; Pāiyāl. 78; H. R.), M. *puloḥi*, *puloia* beside *paloei*, *paloia* (Hc. 4,181; H. R.; Pras. 113,19); Ś. *puloedi*, *puloanta*, *puloida*, and so on and so forth (Mahāv. 99,3; 100,10; Bālar. 76,1; Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 15,1; 17,1; 22,9; 24,2; 42,10; 48,10; 55,3; 57,1; 59,17; Pras. 11,14; 12,1; 13,14; 16,17; 35,7; 41,3; 115,17 [here they often write *pulovedi* and so forth])=*pralokayati*.—A. Mg. *pāuraṇa* (Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,5,1,5; Paṇhāv. 534; Uttar. 489)=*Pāli pāuraṇa*, *pāpuraṇa*=*prāvaraṇa*; AMg. *kaṇṇapāuraṇā*=*kaṇṇapāvaraṇāḥ* (Paṇnav. 56; Thān. 260; *pāuraṇi* (coat of mail; Deśin. 6,43)=**prāvarāṇi*.³—M. *uppei*, *uppia* (Hc. 1,269; G. s. v. *ṛ*; Karp. 48,4)=*arṇayati*, *arṇita* beside *appei*, *appia*, *o'ppei*, *o'ppia* (§ 125; Hc. 1,63).—AMg. *ummuggā*=**unmagnā* (rising above the surface; Āyār. p. 15,32; 27,9), beside *ummaggā* (Uttar. 235), *omugganiṃuggiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,2,5, read so with the v. l.)=**avamagnaniṃagnita*.—AMg. *kammunā*, *kammunāu*, *kammuno*, *kammunam*, *dhammunā*, JM. *kammunā*=*karmāṇā*, *karmāṇaḥ*, *karmāṇām*, *dharmaṇā* (§ 404).—AMg. JM. *paṇuvisari*, *paṇuvisā*=*pañcaviṃśati* (§ 273).—M. AMg. *vo'ccham* from **vuccham* (§ 125)=*vakṣyāmi*, M. AMg. JM. *vo'ttum* from **vuttum*=*vaktum* (§ 529.574).—A. *vuñai*=Mg. *vaññadi*=**vraññāti* from *vrañ* (§ 488).—*vo'jjhaa*, *vo'jjhaamalla* for *vu*^o (§ 125; burden; Deśin. 7,80) is traceable to AMg. *vo'jjha*=*vahya* (§ 572).—AMg. *susāṇa* from **smuśāna*=*śmaśāna* (Hc. 2,86; Āyār. 2,2,2,8; Paṇhāv. 177.419; Uttar. 1006; Ovav.;

Kappas.; Āv. 31,24); but M. Ś. *masāṇa* (Vr. 3,6; C.3,23; Hc. 2,86; Ki. 2,53; Mk. fol. 21; Pāyāl. 158; G. H.; Karp. 101, 7; Mrcch. 72,8; 155,4; Mālatim. 30,4; 224,3; Anarghar. 279,10; Caṇḍak. 86,7; 92,11); Mg. *maśāṇa* (Mrcch. 168,18; Mudrār. 267,2; Caṇḍak. 61,11; 63,11; 64,9; [ṇaa]; 66,13; 71,9.11). On M. JM. AMg. *muṇai*, JŚ. *muṇadi* see § 489, on A. *jhuṇi*, Ś. *dhuṇi*=*dhvani*, § 299. Cf. also § 337.

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,55.—2. PISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 13; c.g. Vikramorvaśīya, ed. PISCHEL 629,26; 630,18.20; 633,18; Pārvatīp. 28,22 ed. GLASER; Mallikā which, beside *puḍhama* (152,18), has also *paḍama* (56,11). On the variation between *pa* and *pu*, in the MSS. in Ś. cf. the v. l. e. g. also on Mālav. 39, 5.6.7.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 3,247.

§ 105. Dialectically several nouns in *-a* have become *-u* stems. This takes place especially in compounds with *-jña*, *-jñaka* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ when *jña* becomes *ṇña*, in AMg. also *nnā* (Hc. 1,56; Mk. fol. 20). Thus: M. *akaṇṇua*=*akṛtajñaka* (H. R.), *aṇṇua*=*ajñaka* (H.); *ahinṇu*=*abhijña* (Hc. 1,56), but Ś. *anahinṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1 [ḥhi]); *āgamaṇṇu*=*āgamañña* (Hc. 1,56); M. *guṇaṇṇua*=*guṇajñaka* (G.), *guṇaṇṇua* (H.), but Ś. *guṇaṇṇa* (Kāleyak. 25,22); AMg. *doṣaṇṇu*=*doṣajña* (Dasav. 627,36); AMg. *paḍirūvaṇṇu*=*pratiūpajña* (Uttar. 694), *parakkamaṇṇu*=*parākramajña* (Sūyag. 576.578); AMg. *vinṇu* (Āyār. 2,16,1.2; Sūyag. 26), M. *vinṇua* (Mk. fol. 20)=*viñña*, *viññaka*; AMg. *vihinṇu*=*vidhiñña* (Nāyādh. § 18); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *savaṇṇu*=*sarvajña* (Hc. 1,56; Vajjāl. 324,9; Āyār. 2,15,26; Vivāhap. 916; Anuog. 95.518; Uttar. 689; Dasav. N.655.8; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9; 497,38; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; Kattig. 398, 302.303 [text *savaṇṇu*]), but Mg. *savañña* (Hc. 4,293). P. *savañña* (Hc. 4, 303). Cf. § 276. The following also have become *u*-stems: AMg. *ghimṣu*=*ghraṃsa*' (§ 101; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58,109); AMg. *pāṇu*=*prāṇa*', when it is used as a unit of time¹ (Vivāhap. 423; Anuog. 431.432; Ovav.; Kappas.), *āṇāpāṇu* (Thān. 173; Anuog. 242; Dasav. N.654,2; Ovav.); AMg. *pilakkhu*, *pilakkhu*=*plakṣa*' (§ 74); AMg. *manthu*=*mantha*' (Āyār. 1,8, 4,4; 2,1,8,7; Uttar. 249; Dasav. 622,8; 623,10); AMg. *milakkhu*=*mlecca*' (Āyār. 2,3,1,8; Sūyag. 56.57.817 [cf. 816 *milukkhajya*]. 928; Pannav. 58; Paṇhāv. 41 [text *lu*]; cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,510)] = Pāli *milakkhu* (§ 233) beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *me'ccha*, AMg. *miccha* (§ 84). Cf. *pāvāsu*, *pāvāsu* § 118. All these words are accented at the end and undoubtedly the colouring of the vowel is associated therewith. The base *āryā'*, in the meaning "mother-in-law" also becomes an *u*-stem,=*ajjū* (Hc. 1,77), and *āryakā*, in the meaning "mistress", Ś. *ajjūā* (Mrcch. 27,2 ff.; 28,2 ff.; 29,1 ff.; 36,4; 37,3 ff. etc.), Mg. *ayyūā* (Mrcch. 10,2; 39,20.24.25; 40,2.4.10), *ayyukā* (Mrcch. 13,8). In Mg. *ayyūā* means "mother" also (Śak. 158,11, where Śaṅkara, following Candrasekhara, remarks: *ajjukāśabdo mātari deśiyah*). On AMg. *āhu*, *udāhu*, *addakkhu*, *miṇṇakkhu* etc. in the sense of the third person singular see § 516.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., *pāṇu*, and especially Anuog. 431.

§ 106. A final *a* becomes *u* in A. in the genitive singular of nouns in *-a*, of similarly formed pronominal forms and of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the second person singular of the imperative, the second person plural of the indicative and the imperative and in a number of adverbs: *suaṇassu*=*sujanasya*, *piassu*=*priyasya*, *khandhassu*=*skandhasya*, *kantassu*=*kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.354.445.3), *tassu*, *tāsu*, *tasu*, *jāsu*, *jasu*, *kassu*, *kāsu*, *kasu*=*tasya*, *yasya*, *kasya* (§ 425.427.428); *parassu*=*parasya* (Hc. 4,338.354); *mahu*, *majjhu* in the sense of *mama*; *itū* for **tavu*=*tava*, *tuḥu* [so it is to be read], *tujjhu* in the sense of *tava* (Hc. s.v. *ma*-, *tu*); *piu*=*piba* (Hc. 4,338,1), *piahu*=*pibata* (Hc. 4,422,20); *bhaṇu*=*bhaṇa* (Hc. 4,401,4; Pingala 1,120; and read so everywhere for *bhaṇa*); *sikkhu*=*śikṣa* (Hc. 4,404); *icchahu*=*icchatha*, *puccahu*=*puccatha* (Hc. 4,

384.422,9), *kuṇehu*=*kṛṇu*=*kuruta* (Piṅgala 1,89.118), *dehu*=*dayata* (Hc. 4,384; Piṅgala 1,10), *jāṇehu*=*jānita* (Piṅgala 1,5.14.38), *viāṇehu*=*vi jānita* (Piṅgala 1,25.50); *ṇamahu*=*namata* (Hc. 4,446); *ē'tthu*, *jē'tthu*, *tē'tthu* in the sense of *atra*, *yalra*, *tatra*, (§ 107; Hc. s.v.; Piṅgala 1,114); *jattu*, *tattu*=*yalra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404); *ajju*=*adya* (Hc. 4,343,2.418,7 and read so everywhere for *ajja*).

§ 107. Only seemingly has *e* sometimes taken the place of *a*. The extremely frequent *e'ttha* of M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. PG. (5,7), D. (Mṛcch. 102,18;103,16;105,15), Ā. (Mṛcch. 102,25;103,4), A. *e'tthu* (§ 106) does neither go back to *atra* (Hc. 1,57)¹ nor to **itra*² or **etra*³, but is related to *iha*, like *tattha* to *taha*, *jattha* to *jaha*, *kattha* to *kaha* : so stands for **ittha*=Vedic. *itihā*⁴. Cf. A. *ihi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *ethi*), *ihi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*=*atra* Piṅgala 1,5².86), and AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=*kathā*⁵ (§ 103). A. *ke'tthu*, beside *kidha*, *kiha*=*kathā*, has its consonant doubled according to § 194: for the rest, the pronouns have mutually influenced one another both in inlaut as well as in auslaut (cf. § 103).—M. *ukkerā* (gift, heap; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Ki. 1,4; Mk. fol. 5; Deśin. 1,96; Pāṇyā. 18; G.; Karp. 69,6; Viddhaś. 11,6), that occurs also in Ś. (Bālar. 129,6,7,167,10;210,2), against *ukka* (Caṇḍak. 16,17), and is found in M. and AMg. also (G.; Nāyādh., Kappas.) is not=*utkara*⁶, but must be equated, with LASSEN⁶, as=**utkarya*, or connected with *utkirati*. In Bālar. 234,9 the word *vaṭera*=*vyatikara* is wrongly printed: the correct form is *vadiara*, Śak. 13,2.—M. Ś. *ge'ndua* (Viddhaś. 56,2;58,6; Mallikām. 134,21.23 [text *ga*]), A. *gindu* (Piṅgala 1,125) cannot with Hc. 1,57.182 be traced back to *kanduka* that forms M. Ś. *kandua* (G. 752; Mālav. 68,10), but belongs with *ge'ndui* (game: Deśin. 2,94), Pāli *geṇḍuka*, as well as *genduka*, *ginduka*, *ge'ndu*, *ge'nduka* that have forced their way into Sanskrit, but to the now extinct root **gid*, **giḍ*; present **giṇḍai*, *ge'ndai* "to play". Cf. *jhe'ndua* "ball" (Deśin. 3,59).—*ghe'ppai* stands for **ghippai* and does not go back to *grabh*, but to **ghṛp* (§ 212.518). *dhe'mkuṇa* (bug: Deśin. 4,14; Triv. 1,3,105,60) beside *ḍhaṃkuṇa* (Deśin. 4,14) stands for AMg. *dhimkuṇa* (Jiv. 356; Uttar. 1064 [text *ka*]), as Skt. *diṅka* also makes probable, and is=**damkhuṇa*, and can be traced back to **damkha*⁷, connected to *damś* (§ 212.267).⁷—M. *ve'lli* (Creeper: Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Mk. fol. 5; G. H.) is not=*valli*, but stands for **villi*. With *ve'llā* (creeper), *ve'lla* (hair; a small lock, pleasure: Deśin. 7,94), *vili* (wave; Deśin. 7,73; Triv. 1,3,105,80), *ve'llari* (courtesan; Deśin. 7,96), M. Ś. *ve'llira*, (automatically moving: G. 137; Viddhaś. 55,8. [text *ce*]); Bālar. 203,13), A. *uvve'llira* (Vikr. 56,6), M. Ś. *uvve'lla*=**udvilna* (§ 566; G. R.; Karp. 37,5; Mālatim. 201,1;258,2; Mahāv. 29,19) go back to a root **vil* (to be moved), to which also *velu*=*veṇu* (§ 243) also will have to be referred⁸. M. A. *ve'llai* with its compounds *uvve'llai*, *ṇivve'llai*, *saṇve'llai* (G. H. R.; Pratāp. 119,11; Bālar. 180,7;182,2; Vikr. 67,19), Ś. *ve'llamāna* (Bālar. 168,3), *uvve'llida* (Ratn. 302,31), *uvve'llanta* (Mālatim. 76,3;125,4;129,2), which is frequent also in later. Sanskrit, is either a derivative from *ve'lla*=**vilna*, or from **vilyati*, **vilvati*.—*se'jjā*=*sāyyā* is regularly derived from *sijjā* (§ 101).—M. *suhē'lli* (Pāṇyā. 159; Deśin. 8,36;H.) is to be explained from **suhilli*=*sukha*+suffix *-illa*, while its synonym *suhalli* (Deśin. 8,36) goes back to *sukha*+suffix *alla* (§ 595).⁹—AMg. JM. *he'ttthā*=*adha'ttāt* (Samav. 101; Ovav. § 10.152; Erz.) presumes **adhe'stāt*, corresponding to *pure'kkhāda*=**pure'skṛta*, which has already been taken note of by WEBER¹⁰. It is only in this manner that we can explain the cerebralization. The word, which occurs in Pāli also, cannot be separated from *adhastāt*: therefore, the assumption of a from **adhe'stha* is wrong: On AMg. *ahe*=*adhah*, *pure*=*purah* see § 345. From *he'ttthā* we have in AMg. JM. an adjective *he'tttha*,

wherefrom we have AMg. *he'ttham* (Hc. 2,141; Thāp. 179.492; text *he'tthim*), JM. *he'tthēṇa* (Erz.), AMg. JM. *he'tthao* (Vivāgas. 143; Erz.) = Pāli *he'tthato*, M. *he'tthammi* (H. 363); JM. *he'tthajjammi* (Erz.), *he'tthattthia* (Hc. 4,448), also *hi'ttha* (Deśin. 8,67), *hi'ttham* (Thāp. 179; text *im*) written with *i*, according to § 84; and from it, as in Pāli, a superlative AMg. *he'tthima* (Thāp. 197; Samav. 66 68.72; Vivāhap. 524.529.1412; Aṇuog. 266), *he'tthimaya* (Vivāhap. 82), *hi'tthima* (Paṇṇav. 76; Thāp. 197 [6 > < beside 1 > < *he'o*]; Uttar. 1086), and a very frequent adjective AMg. *he'tthilla* (Thāp. 341.545; Samav. 136 ff.; Paṇṇav. 478; Nāyādh. 867; Vivāhap. 128.347.392ff. 437.1101.1240.1331ff. 1777; Aṇuog. 427ff.; Jiv. 240ff. 710; Ovav.). Cf. § 308.—A. *he'lli* (O female friend! Hc. 4,379, 1,422,13) beside JM. *hale*, A. *hali*, M. *Ś. halā* (§ 375) goes back to **hilli* = **hali'* with doubling of the *la* according to § 194.

1. So also CHILDERS s.v.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 6.—2. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 129; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 1,133ff.—3. FAUSBÖLL, *Dhammapada* p. 350.—4. FISCHEL, *Ved. Stud.* 2,88.—5. BÜHLER, *Pāiyal.* s.v.—6. *Inst.* p. 118.—7. FISCHEL, BB. 3,255f.—8. FISCHEL, BB. 3,203ff. Cf. JOHANSSON, IF. 3,240f.—9. Impossible is the derivation from *sukhakeli*, which according to the translation of the scholiasts is approved of by WEBER, *Hāla*¹ p. 40; 2 s.v.—10. Bhag. 1,404; Cf. E. KUHN, *Beitäge* p. 21.—11. JOHANSSON, IF. 3,218. As Pāli has also *pure pure'kkhāra*, *soe*, *suve* etc. (KUHN p. 58), it is unnecessary to hypothesize the existence of a "Proto-Pāli *e*".

§ 108. Sometimes *a* becomes *i* (Schwā) in the post-tonic syllable. This especially takes place in the plur. of pronouns and in the first person plur. of the pres. indic. of parasmaipada in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. Thus: AMg. JM. *tesim* = *tēsām*, *tāsim* = *tā'sām*, *eesim* = *etēsām*, *eyāsim* = *etā'sām*, *jesim* = *yēsām*, *jāsim* = *yā'sām*, *kesim* = *kēsām*, *imesim*, *imāsim* from the stem *ima'*, *aṇṇesim* = *anyēsām*, *aṇṇāsim* = *anyā'sām*. Their analogy is followed by the rest of pronouns, as the very rare M. *esim* = *eśā'm*, *paesim* = *pa'reśām*, *sauvesim* = *sa'reśām* (§ 425 ff.)¹.—M. *jampimo* = *ja'lpāmāḥ*; M. AMg. *namimo*, *na'māmāḥ*; M. JM. *bhaṇimo*, *bha'ṇāmāḥ*; M. JM. *vandimo* = *va'ndāmāḥ*; A. *lahimu* = *la'bhāmāḥ* etc. Their analogy is followed by *pucchimo* = *prcchā'māḥ*, *lihimo* = *likhā'māḥ*; *suṇimo* = **śrūnā'māḥ*, and so forth (§ 455).² This sort of transformation rarely occurs also in the first pers. sing. of the ind. pres. in M., and of the ind. pres. and fut. in A. (§ 454.520). The grammarians teach forms also in *-ami*, *-ama*, *-ima*, *-amo*, *-amu*, of which those in *-ami* are found in JM. A. (§ 454). M. JM. AMg. *sāhijja*, *sāhejja* = *sā'hāyya* (Pāiyal. 215; G. 1116; Vivāhap. 502; Erz.)³ correspond to the rule.

1. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,570 f.—JACOBI, KZ. 35,574, who wrongly states that I had given only three examples, whereas I gave there five, is of the opinion that the genit. plur. forms of the pronouns *ta—, eta—, ya—, ka—, ima—* only were frequently used, and those of the other pronouns, more rarely. He offers no explanation of his own of *i*.—2. JACOBI, KZ. 35,574 f. appears to have believed that the examples cited by me, KZ. 34,571, are all that are available. He arrives at a quite wrong decision with regard to *gamino*, *jāpimo*. Cf. § 455. According to him, *-ima* may have been borrowed from an Apabhraṃśa dialect, in which till now *-imo* has not been found at all.—3. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573.575, here it would be *jja* as in *sijjā*, *nisijjā*, *miñjā*, the origin of *i*. It is the old view that was expressed for example, by WEBER, *Hāla*¹ p. 38, that this took place due to the influence of *ya*. But *jja* has not influenced in the least the preceding vowel; cf. §§ 280.284.287.

§ 109. Even in the syllable preceding the accented one *ā*, like *a* (§ 101), sometimes becomes *i*: it takes place clearly after it is at first changed into *a*. So according to Hc. 1,81, **mātra'* may become **matta* or **mā'tta*, from **mitta*, thus for example AMg. *viḥatthimitta* = *vilastimātra* (Sūyag. 280), *itthāmitta* = *itthāmātra* (Sūyag. 339), *vinnāyaparīṇāyamitta* = *viññātaparīṇāyamātra* (Nāyādh. § 27 = Kappas. § 10.52.80), *sāyaṇamitta* = *soḍḍaṇamātra* (Kappas. S. § 26) almost always with the v. l. **mā'tta*, as the word occurs in M. (G. H. R.), AMg. (Vivāhap. 203.204.452 f. 1042), JM. (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. (Śak. 39,12;60,15;96,2; Vikr. 7,12;41,13;80,

13;84,6; Uttarar. 21,10;100,1 etc.), *me'ttaka* (Śak. 31,11 [read as such]; 76,7), *adime'ttam*=*atimātram* (Mṛcch. 89,4;90,13,21); Mg. *yādame'ttaka*=*jātamātraka* (Mṛcch. 114,8)¹. On *mahāme'ttha*=*mahāmātra*, and *me'tthapurisa*, see § 293.—*bhisai* is = **bhāsa'ti*, **bhāsa'ti* for *bhā'sati* with crossing over to the 6th class (§ 482). M. AMg. Ś *ge'jjha*, Mg. *dugge'jha*, A. *dugge'jjha*=*grā'hya*, *durggrāhya* is formed from the present stem, therefore, = **grhya*, **durggrhya*, and so stands for **gijjha*, **duggijjha* (§ 572).—*śālmali* forms in AMg. *sāmalī*, dialectically *sāmārī* (§ 88). The other form *simbali* that occurs beside it in AMg. (Pāīyal. 264; Deśin. 1,146; Vivāhap. 447 f; Uttar. 590 [so correctly given in the commentary]; Dasav. 621.5 (text *sa'*)), *e'kkasimbali*=*śālmaliṣuṣpair navaphalikā* (Deśin. 1.146) belongs to Vedic *śimbala'* (flower of the cotton tree.²). The form *kuppisa* beside *kuppāsa*=*kūrpāsa* (Hc. 1,72) points to the accent **kū'rpāsa*.

1. Cf. BRUGMANN, KZ. 27,198.—So correctly GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2,159 according to Sāyaṇa. BÜHLER has already criticised Vedic *śimbali* [sic], Pāīyal see under *simbalim*.

§ 110. In the ending—*māna* of the ātmanep. pres. participle *i* sometimes occurs for *ā*. So in M. *melīṇa* from *melai* from *mil*, and especially in the oldest AMg. such as in *āgamamīṇa*, *samaṇujāṇamīṇa*, *ādhāyamiṇa*, etc. (§ 562).—*khalīḍa*=*khalvāṭa* (Hc. 1,74), which, as *khalīṭa* and *khalīṭa* has gone over to Skt. also, presupposes an accent *khalvāṭa'* (Pāṇini, 5,2,125; Hc., Unādigaṇas. 148). In A. *khalīḍaḍā* (Hc. 4,389) *h* seems to go back to *ḍha* (§ 207) against § 242. Cf. § 138.

§ 111. For *ā* occurs *u* in *sunhā* for **sanhā*=*sāsnā* (Hc. 1,75).—*thu'aa* (Hc. 1,75) is not=*stāvaka*, but=**stuvaka*=**stuvā'n* from the pres. stem. *thuva-*, whence originated also the passive *thuvvāi* (§ 494).—M. AMg. Ś. *ulla* (Hc. 1,82; Pāīyal. 185; G. H.; Pracandap. 47,6; Āyār. 2,1,6,5. 6;2,1,7,9;2,3,2,6,11,12 [uda'ulla]; Uttar. 758; Kappas.; Mālatim. 107,6 [raso'lla'la]), M. *ullaa* [R.; Vikr. 53,6 [read *jalo'llaam* with ed. Bomb. 89,5]] with the denominative M. *ullei* (G. H.), JM. *ulle'ttā* (Erz.), AMg. *ullaṇa*, *ullaṇiyā* (Uvās.), and with *o'* according to § 125. M. AMg. *o'lla* (H. R.; Karp. 27,12;69,4;94,6;95,11; Dasav. 619,18;622,8), M. *o'llaa* (R.), M. *o'llei* (H.), *o'llaṇa* (R.), Ś. *o'llavida* (Mṛcch. 71,4) are not to be equated with Hc. to *ārdra*, but with WEBER,¹ to *ud*, *unda* (to moisten), *udan*, *udaka* (water), and consequently corresponds to one **udra* which occurs in *udra'* (otter), *anudra'* (waterless), and *udri'n* (watery)².—*ārdra* becomes M. AMg. JM. Ś. *adda* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 45,7; Ovav.; Erz.; Bālar. 125,13), M. AMg. also *alla* (Hc. 1,82; Mk fol. 22; H.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.).—AMg. JM. *devānuppiya* is not, with WEBER,³ LEUMANN,⁴ WARREN,⁵ STEINTHAL,⁶ JACOBI⁷ to be equated as=*devānānpriya*, but with HOERNLE⁸ as=*devānupriya*=*deva*+*anupriya*, which in Pāli becomes *anuppiya*.⁹—*āsāra* [rain; Hc. 1,76] is not=*āsāra*, that remains in M. Ś. A. as *āsāra* (G. R.; Caṇḍak. 16,18; Vikr. 55,17), but=**utsāra*. On *ajjū*=*āryā* see § 105.

1. ZDMG. 26,741; H. s. v., falsely H¹. p. 261, cf. Haripāla on G. 527 *ullim tti deśi dhātuv ādrībhāve*.—2. P. GOLDSCHMIDT on Specimen 2.8. p. 84.—3. Bhag. 1,405.—4. Aup. S. s. v.; WZKM. 3,344.—5. Nirayāv. s. v.—6. Specimen s. v. 7.—Kalpas. and Erz. s. v.; cf. also E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 15. 8.—Uvās., Appendix III, p. 31.—9. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1886, p. 117.

§ 112. AMg. *pārevaya* (Hc. 1,80; Pannav. 54,526; Jiv. 459; Rāyap. 52 [text *pāreva*]; Uttar. 981), *pārevayaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 24,57), fem. *pārevāi* (Vivāgas. 107)=Pāli *pārepata* is a dialectical form allied to M. *pārāvaa* (Hc. 1,80; Pāīyal. 124; G. H.; Karp. 87,10), Ś. *pārāvada* (Mṛcch. 71,14;79,24;80,4; Śak. 138,2; Viddhaś. 111,3)=Skt. Pāli *pārāpata*. *pāre* is locative as in *pāreṇaṅgam*, *pāretaraṅgiṇi*, etc. AMg. *pārevaya* "date-palm" (Pannav. 483,531) is=*pārepata*.—AMg. *pacchekamma*=

paścātkaṛman (Hc. 1,79) is technically formed on the analogy of *purekamma-* (§ 345). In *Pañhāv.* 492, occurs *pacchākammaṃ purekammaṃ*.—*dera* (door; Hc. 1,79) beside *dāra*, *bāra*, *duvāra*, *duāra* (§ 298.300.139)=Sinhalese *dera* is perhaps=**darya*; cf. *darī* (cave).—AMg. *ukkosa*, which the scholiasts translate by *utkarṣa*, whereafter WEBER¹ explains it as having developed from **ukkāsa*, and which WARREN² will like to consider as a writer's mistake, is=**utkoṣa* from *kuṣa niṣkarṣe* (Dhātup. 31,46), that in Skt. is casually not attested with *ud*. Generally its instrumental form *ukkoseṇaṃ* "at the highest", "at most" is used with its converse *jehanneṇaṃ* "at the lowest" (Aṇuttar. 3; Tṭhāp. 106.133; Samav. 8.9.11; Paṇṇav. 52,205 ff; Vivāhap. 26 ff. 59.60 143.182.272ff. 358.373 etc.; Jiv. 18.35, 39.49 etc.; Aṇuog 161 ff.; 398 ff.; Uttar. 201; Ovav.), more seldom there occurs its synonym, the accusative form *ukkosaṃ* (Vivāhap. 180.371. 390 f.; Uttar. 312 ff.). As an adjective (*Pañhāv.* 129), beside *majjhima jahanna* (Tṭhāp. 128.141.152.175), the grammarians (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1, 132) and the scholiasts equate it as=*utkrṣṭa*; *ukkosiya* (Tṭhāp. 505; Vivāhap. 83.93; Uttar. 976; Kappas) is neither with WEBER³=*utkarṣika*, nor with JACOBI⁴=*utkrṣṭa*, but is to be equated as=**utkoṣita*.—On *dhovati*=*dhāvati* see § 482.

1. Bhag. 1,443; cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—2. Over de goodsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 43, note 1.—3. Bhag. 1,443.—4. Kalpas. s. v.

§ 113. A final unaccented *ā* of adverbs, very often in M. and sometimes also in AMg. JŚ. JM. A. in verses, is shortened (Grr. see § 79): M. *aṇṇaha*=*anya'thā* (H.), beside M. JM. *aṇṇahā* (G.; Kk.), JŚ. *aṇṇadhā* (Pav. 385,63; text *ṇhā*); Ś. only *aṇṇadhā* (Mṛcch. 24,4;51,24; 52,13;64,25; Śak. 52,16;73,8;76,5; Vikr. 18,8;40,16), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 165,4); M. AMg. JM. *jaha*, *taha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. *jadhā*, (Pav. 386,4;387,24 [*ṇhā*]), *tadhā* (Pav. 379,4;381,16 [*ṇhā*]; Kattig. 398,304 [*ṇhā*]); A. *jiha*, *jidha*, *tiha*, *tidha* (Hc. 4,401) with *i* on the analogy of AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=Vedic *kathā'*, which owes the shortness of *a* in Pkt. to *jaha*, *taha* and M. *kaha* (G. H. R.) (§ 103). Ś. Mg. have, in prose only *tadhā*, *jadhā* (Mg. *yadhā*), *kadhā* (never *kadhā*). Ā. has in verse *jaha* (Mṛcch. 100,12). For Mg. *taha* (Mṛcch. 123,7), in verse, read *tadhā*, as in JŚ.—M. JM. AMg. *va*=*vā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dasav. 618,25;620,32.33); Ś. Mg. in prose only *vā*. The metre decides the quantity, and, therefore, both of the forms sometimes do occur in one and the same verse: thus M. *jaha...ṇa tahā* (H. 61); JM. *kiṃ calio'vva...kiṃ vā jalio* (Erz. 71,22); JŚ. *guṇe ja jadhā tadha bandho* (Pav. 384,48); AMg. *paḍisehie va dinnā vā* (Dasav. 622,37). In M. AMg. JM. *saī*=*sa'dā* (Vr. 1,11; Hc. 1,72; Kī 1,10; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiṇal. 87; G. R.; Pratāp. 225,14; Acyutaś. 1.20. 22.62.66.69.93; Dasav. 622,23; Kk. 259,24¹) *i* is regularly substituted according to § 108. Rare in M. is *saā* (H. 861). Bh. 1,11 teaches the same phonetic change also for *jāi*=*yadā'* and *tāi*=*tadā'*. This presupposes an accentuation **ya'dā*, **ta'dā*, as in the RV., after a negative the word *kadā* is accented as *ka'dā*, on which is based M. *kāi* (H.), that may have influenced *jāi*, *tāi*. *tāiām*, which according to JACOBI⁵ is a counter example demonstrating the rule of substitution of *i* for *ā* in a post-accentual syllable and is=*tadā'*, is not known to me at all. Even if it existed, in any case, it would be explained according to § 114, as a side-form of *tāiā*, that is like *kāiā*, *jāiā* found in M. (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; G. H. R.; *kāiā* also Acyutaś. 86,91), AMg. *taiyā* (Uttar. 279); *jaiā* has not been found. These words are=**kayidā*, **tayidā*, **yayidā* from *ka'yā*, *ta'yā*, *ya'yā*+*dā* (§ 121) and, therefore, strictly conform to the rule. Shortening

takes place also in Ś. M. Dh. *ka'dua*, *gadua* for **ka'duvā*, **gaduvā*=*kṛtvā*, *gātṛā* (§ 581).

1. Wrongly explained by JACOBI as=*svayam*. 2.—KZ. 35.575. The word has been probably quoted by JACOBI from the word-index to Hc., where *taram*=*ityāyam* and *taṭā*=*tadd* occur under one another.

§ 114. In an adverb there develops dialectically an anusvāra by the side of *ā* that is either final or has come into being due to elision of a consonant; in A. there develops also an anunāsika. M. AMg. JM. *jahā*, A. *jihā*=*yathā* (Hc. 4,337). Beside *mā*, that occurs in all the dialects, A. has *mā*, *maṁ* (read so everywhere for *ma* according to Hc. 4,418, *mā* when a short and *maṁ* when a long syllable is required; see the Wortzeichniss zu Hc.), beside *viṇā* of all the dialects A. *viṇu* (Hc. s.v.)=**viṇam* (§ 351).—*maṇā*=*manā* (Hc. 2,169), beside M. Ś. *maṇam* (Mk. fol. 39; H.; Śak. 146,8; Karpas. 31,9); JM. *maṇāgaṁ* (Erz.), A. *maṇāu* (§352), also JM. *maṇajam* (Hc. 2,169; Ki.10), and *maṇijam* (Hc. 2,169).—AMg. *musam* beside *musā*=*miṣā* (§ 78). AMg. *sakkham*=*sāksāt* (Hc. 1,24; Uttar. 116,370; Ovav.), beside Ś. *sakkhā* (Mallikām. 190,19). AMg. *heṭṭham* beside AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* (§ 107) is accusative beside ablative, as it may be the case in *sakkham* also. In AMg., beside *tahā* we have also *taham* before a vowel in the phrase *evam eyam taham eyam avitaham eyam*=*evam etat tathaitat avitatham etat* (Vivāhap. 946; Uvās. § 12; Ovav. § 54.; Kappas. § 13,83). This *taham* stands for *taham* (§ 349) and corresponds to a **tatham* beside *tathā*, like *katham* beside Vedic *kathā*. So too can A. *jihā* be referred to **yatham* beside *yathā*. Cf. §72.74.75.86. So also AMg. *sōccam*, *dissam* occurring before a vowel for *sōccam*, *dissam*, beside *sōccā*, *dissā*=*śrutvā dṛṣṭvā* (§334.349). Final *ā* in the inst. sing. and *ā* arising from -*āḥ* of the abl. and of the genit. as well as of the therewith connected locative of the feminines in *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* are often shortened in M.: *bandā*=*bandyā*; *koḍā*=*koṭeh*; *naarā*=*nagaryām*; *vahūā*=*vadhvā* (§ 385). The corresponding forms in -*a* of the feminine in -*ā*, which are mentioned by some grammarians, are not to be found. In places where they stood formerly in Karp. thence they have been eliminated in the critical edition of KONOW (§ 375).

§ 115. A transition from *i* to *a*, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1,13,14; Hc. 1,88—91; Ki.1. 18,19; Mk. fol. 7) has not really taken place. Thus for example *paḍamsuā* (Hc. 1,26.88.206), *paḍamsua* (Mk. fol. 34) is not=*pratiśrut*, *pratiśruta*, but=**pratyāśrut*, **pratyāśruta*, as is shown by *pratyāśrāva*, *pratiśrut* in AMg. forms *paḍimsuṇā* (Ovav. s. v.); for *pratiśruta* is found *paḍimsuda* (Bh. 4,15).—In M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *puhavi*, AMg. JS. JM. Ś. *puḍhavi* (§ 51) *a* is a separating vowel like *u* in *puhuvī* (§ 139), both, therefore,=*prihvī*.—*baheḍā* (Hc. 1,88) is not=*vibhītaka*, but=*baheṭaka* (Vaijayanti 59,351; cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *vahedaka*.—*sadhīla* (Hc. 1,89), AMg. *pasadhīla* (Hc. 1,89; Pannav. 118) go, like M. AMg. Ś. *sidhīla* (Vr. 2,28; Hc. 1,89.215.254; Ki. 2,17; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,5,3,4; Nāyādh. 949; Rāyap. 258 f.; Vivāhap. 39.136.382 f. 1308; Uttar. 196; Śak. 132,12; Vikr. 30,4), M. *sidhīlatana*=**siṭhīlatana* (G.), *sidhīladā* (Śak. 63,1), M. Ś. *sidhīlei*, °*dī* (R.; Śak. 11,1; Bālar. 36,5; Candak. 58,10), M. AMg. Ś. *pasidhīla* (G. H. R. Vivāhap. 806; Uttar 773; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Viddhaś. 64,5), back¹ to the original **śrithīla*, *a* and *i*, therefore, represent an original *r* (§52), as already noted above.—In *haladdā*, *haladdī* (Grr.) beside M. AMg. JM. *haliddā* (Hc. 1,88; G. H.; Uttar. 982.1050; Rāyap. 53; Erz.), M. *haliddī* (Hc. 1,88.254; G.; Karp. 69,3)=*haridrā*, AMg. *hālidā*=*hāridra* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4 [read thus]; Pannav. 525; Samav. 64; Jiva 224; Ovav.; Kappas.), *a* and *i* are presumably separation vowels. On *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* see §102.

I. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. *sidhila*; cf. B.-R. s. v. *sithira* and WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 16.

§ 116. For the second *i* of *iti*=Latin *ita*, there has been preserved in M. AMg. JM. an old *a*, when *iti* stands independently in the beginning of a sentence, in AMg. also in the beginning of a compound: M. *ia* (Vr. 1,14; Hc. 1,91; Ki. 1,19; Mk. fol. 7; G. H. R.; Bālar. 113,17; Karp. 6,4;48,14;57,7; Viddhaś. 64,7; Acyutaś. 22,45.82.93.103; AMg. JM. *iya* (C. 2,28; Pāiyāl. 224; Āyār. 1,2,1,1;1,2,3,1.5;1,4,3,2 [v.l. everywhere *iti*]; Ovav. § 184.186; KI. 14; Kk.); AMg. *iyaccheya*, *inyiuna*, *ijanayavādi*, *iyaiivaesaladdha*, *iyavinñānapatta*=*iticcheka*, *itimpuna* *itinaya-vādin*, *ityupadeśalabdha*, *iiivijñānaprāpta* (Uvās. § 219). Most of the texts have in AMg. *ii* for *iya* (Sūyag. 137.203 [*iti*]; Uttar. 63.99.116.311.508.512.513; Dasav. 626.11,630,14; Uvās. § 114). As *i* and *ya* always interchange in Jaina MSS. it is doubtful if here we have a case of error of MSS. or not. JŚ., however, has *idi* (Pav. 385,65;387,18.24; Kattig. 399, 314); it has it whether rightly or wrongly is yet to be decided. In Ś. there wrongly occurs *ia* (Kāleyak. 17,16). As an enclitic *iti* becomes *ti*, *tī* (§92), AMg. also *i* (§93).

§ 117. Sometimes *i* becomes *u* through assimilation to an *u* of the following syllable: M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣu* (Vr. 1,15; Bh. 3,30; Hc. 1,95;2, 17; Ki. 1,22; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 143; G. H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,9.12; 2,1,10,4; 2,7, 2,5; Paṇhāv. 127; Uttar. 590; Dasav. 614,13;621,5.41; Dasav. N.660,4; Ovav.; Āv. 23,24; Erz.). By the side thereof AMg. has also *ikkhu* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 554; Paṇnav. 33,40; Jiv. 356; Vivāhap. 1526), *ikkhūya* (Paṇnav. 33.40), and similarly in Ś. we must read *ikkhu* with the MSS., instead of *ucchu* in Śak. 144,12 against Candrasekhara 206,17, as in Rukmiṇīp. 42,14. In M. JM. occurs *icchu* in H. 740.775; KI. 18; but it is hardly correct. On AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka*, see § 84.—AMg. *usu*=*iṣu* (Sūyag. 270.286.293; Vivāhap. 121.122.348.505.506. 1388; Raṣap. 257; Nirayāv. § 5); AMg. *usugāra* (Thāp. 86), *usujāra* (Thāp. 383; Uttar. 421.422.449; Paṇhāv. 317 [text *ikkhu*°, but cf. the commentary])=*iṣukāra* (name of a hill). Yet AMg. JM. have also *isattha*=*iṣuśāstra* (Paṇhāv. 322; Ovav. § 107, p. 78,4; Erz. 67, 1,2); AMg. *iśasatthāna*=*iṣvāsasthāna* (Nirayāv. § 5 beside *usu*); M. *isu* (Pāiyāl. 36; G. 1145 [*kāmesu*]; Karp. 12,8;94,8; [*pañcesu*]).—AMg. *susu*=*śiśu* in *susumāra*=*śiśumāra* (Sūyag. 821; Paṇhāv. 19; Vivāgas. 50.186), oftener *sumumāra* (Paṇnav. 47.48; Jiv. 71; Nāyādh. 510; Uttar. 1072; Vivāhap. 1285 [text °sa°]), *sumumāri* (Jiv. 111); but AMg. *sisubāla* (Sūyag. 161), *sisunāga* (Uttar. 205); M. *sisu* (Pāiyāl. 58); Ś. *sisubhāva* (Viddhaś. 21,12), *sisuāla*=*śiśukāla* (Cait. 37,7).

So correctly Abhayadeva on Paṇhāv. 322. Wrongly equated as=*iṣvastra* by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and JACOB, Erz. s.v.

§ 118. The *i* of the prefix *ni* becomes *u* before *ma*, that has originated from *pa* according to § 248 and from *va* according to § 251: *numajjāi*=*nipadyate* (Hc. 1,94;4,123; Ki. 4,46), *numaṇṇa*=*nipanna* (Hc. 1,94.174). The forms referred by Grr. to *sad* cannot be separated from one another. The v. l. *nuvaṇṇa* (G. 1161) and its meaning "fallen asleep" (Deśin. 4,25) clearly points to the origin of *ma* from *pa*. Derivation from *majj* is factually and linguistically impossible. In H. 530.608.669 WEBER reads with the MSS. *numajjasu*, *numajjanta*, *numajjai*, *numajjihisi*. But in another place (under 669) he refers °to *ṇu*° that occurs in a stanza quoted in Hc., in Dhvanyāloka, p. 20 and in Kāvyaaprakāśa, p. 123 in the old Sāradā script¹, Sobhākara, Alankāraratnākara fol. 67^b (MS. BÜHLER, Det. Report, No. 227). Hemacandra, Alankāracūḍamaṇi fol. 4^b (MS. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, No. 265), Mammaṭa, Śabdavyā-

pāravacāra fol. 6^a, Jayanta, Kāvya prakāśadīpikā fol. 6^b.22^b, whereas Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 5 has *ni*^o. Everywhere *ṇu* should be read. *ṇumanā*, explained in Triv. 1,2,48 by *nimantra*, is a mistaken reading from *ṇumanna* in Hc.—*ṇumai* (Hc. 4,199) beside *ṇimāi*, M. *ṇimeī* (R.) “throw down” is=*vī* “to throw” (Dhātup. 24,39) with *ni*. Therefore, the v.l. *ṇivia* (R. 12, 30) beside *ṇimāi*²). Sometimes dialectically the suffix *-ka* steps in for the Skt. suffix *-ika*, so that apparently *u* stands for *i*. So M. *viṃchua*, *viṃcua*, *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuya*, beside M. *viṃchia*, AMg. *vicchiya* =*vr̥ścika* (§ 50); AMg. *geruya* beside M. *geria* = *gairika*; AMg. *neyāuya*=*naīyāyika* (§ 60); M. *jāṇua*=**jñānika*; (H. 286), *akajāṇua*=*akṛtajña*, *viḥṇua*=*viḥña*, *dēvaajāṇua*=*daivajña* etc. (Mk. fol. 20), probably also in the proper names Ś. *jāṇua*, Mg. *yāṇua* (Śak. 115,1.9.11); *pāvāsua*, A. *pavāsua*=*prāvāsika* (Hc. 1,95;4,395,4), also *pāvāsua*, *pavāsua*=*prāvāsīn* (Hc. 1,44), which probably goes back to **pavāsua*=*pravāsa*’ (§ 105), whence may have originated also *pāvāsua*.—AMg. JM. *duruhai* (§ 482) is not=*adhi-rohati*³, but=**udruha*’*ti*=*udrohati*⁴, however, not by metathesis, of *ud* to *du* as HOERNLE thinks, but with a separation-vowel and falling of the initial *u* from **uduruha*’ (§ 139.141).—*yudhiṣṭhira*, according to Hc. 1,96.107.234, can become *jahuṭṭhila*, *jahiṭṭhila* (also Bh. 2,30; Kī. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17). It is not clear what was the origin of *jahu* and *jahi*. In the text we find AMg. *juhiṭṭhila* (Antag. in ZDMG. 42,258; Nāyādh. 1287ff. [text oftener *’illa*]; Ś. A. *juhiṭṭhira* (Karp. 18,4; Venis. 102,4; Pracaṇḍap. 29,12; 31,13;34,8; Piṅgala 2,102).

1. For Hc. and Kāvya prakāśa the remark made already by WEBER on H. 530 is without any result. Wrong is the derivation from *nimi*, particularly from *ṇimā*=*nimita*, in GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s.v. *nima*.—3. WEBER, Bhag. 1,411; LEUMANN, Aup. s.s.v. STREINTHAL, Specimen s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation p. 38, note 103.

§ 119. Before a consonant-group *i* may become *ē* (Vr. 1,12; Hc. 1, 85; Kī. 1,16; Mk. fol. 7; Pkl. p. 25; Deśin. 1,74); PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. P. D. Ā. *ēṭṭha*, A. *ēṭṭhu*=*iṭṭhā*’ (§ 107); AMg. *āgame’ssa*=*āgamisyaṇ* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2); *ce’ndha*, beside *cinḍha*=*cinḥa* (§ 267; Bh. 1,12); *ṇēddā*, beside *ṇiddā*=*nidrā* (Bh. 1,12); *dhammēlla*, beside *dhammilla* (Grr.); *pe’ndā*, beside *piṇḍa* (Grr.); *pe’ṭṭha* beside *piṭṭha*=*piṣṭa* (Grr.); AMg. *lē’cchai*=*licchavi* (Sūyag. 495,585; Vivāhap. 800; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. AMg. *vē’ṭṭhi* (PG. 6,32; Uttar 792), beside *viṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (Kī.; Mk.); *vē’ṇhu*, beside *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (Grr.); AMg. *vē’bbhala*=*viḥvala* (Panḥāv. 165); *se’ndūra*, beside *sindūra* (Grr.). So also *kesua* from **ke’msua*=*kimśuka*’ (§ 76.) This rule is more frequently illustrated by cases having a secondary *i*, particularly that which has developed from *ṛ*: *’me’ṭṭa* from *’mitta*=*’mātra* (§ 109); *ge’ṇhai*, beside *giṇha*=*grhṇāti* (§ 512); *ge’jjha* from **gijjha*=**gr̥hya* for *grāhya* (§ 109.572); *vē’ṇṭa* beside *viṇṭa*=*vṇta* (§ 53); AMg. *ge’ddha* (Ovav. § 70), beside *giddha* (§ 50)=*gr̥dhra*; AMg. *gehi* (§ 60) from **ge’ddhi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*gr̥ddhi*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *e* never comes in Ś. in any of the words included in the ākṛtigāṇa *piṇḍasama* by Vr. Pkl. and under the *piṇḍādi* by Mk. Kī. in which Bh. Kī, Mk. like Hc. in his rule 1,85, include *piṇḍa*, *dhammilla*, *sindūra*, *viṣṇu*, *piṣṭa*, Hc. and Mk. also *bilva*, which forms *be’lla*, *billa* (§ 296), Bh. also *nidrā*, *cinḥa*, Mk. Kī. *viṣṭi*, Kī. *kimśuka* which Hc. has in a special rule, and for which Mk. likewise forbids *e* in Ś. This is attested by the texts in which there occur, par ex. Ś. *piṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 41,11; 69,12; Prab. 49,4), also Mg. (Mṛcch. 125,5; Prab. 46,14), Mg. *ciṇḥa* (Mṛcch. 159,23); Ś. *ṇiddā*=*nidrā* (Mṛcch. 43,24; Vikr. 24,17; Prab. 17,1; 38,2,6;39,8); Ś. *viṇhudāsa* (Mudrār. 243,2;247,1;248,7;249,5,6;259,7). In the optative in *-ē’jjā*, *-ijjā* in AMg. and JM. (§ 91.459 ff.) *ē* occurs for and beside *i*.—*te* in the

numerals, such as AMg. JM. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* (23), AMg. JM. *teṭṭisam* (33), JM. *tejālisam* (43), AMg. JM. *tesaṭṭhim*, *tevaṭṭhim* (63) etc. (§ 443 ff.), as well as AMg. *teindiya*, *tendiya* (§ 438) is perhaps not=*tri*, but=*traya*, *terasa*, therefore=**trayadaśan*.—AMg. *teicchā*=*cikitsā* beside *viṭigicchā* *viṭigimicchā* (§ 215) has the strengthened reduplication, like Skt. *cikite*, *cekitat*, *cekitāna*.

§ 120. In *haraḍai*=*haritakī*, *haritakī* (Hc. 1,99.206) *a* is probably a separation-vowel like *ī*, *i* in Skt. The *ḍa* of Pkt. points to an original **hartakī*.—*ā* for *i* is taught by Hc. 1.100;2,60;60.74 in *kamhāra*, *kambhāra*=*kaśmīra*, for which we should, with Triv. 1,2,50, read *kāśmīra*; cf. Skt. *kambhārī* beside *kāśmīrī* "gmelina arborea". Ś. has *kamhīra* (Mudrār. 204,2).—On *i* for *ī* see § 79ff.—AMg. *uṭṭhubhaha* "spit" (Vivāhap. 1263), *uṭṭhubhanti* "they spit"; (Vivāhap. 1264; text **bhahanti*), AMg. *anṭṭhubhaya* "not spitting"; (Panhāv. 350; Ovav. § 30,V), dialectical *niṭṭhubhi* (loudly spat out; Deśin. 4,41) as well as *ṣāli niṭṭhuhati*, *niṭṭhuhati*, *niṭṭhubhi*, *niṭṭhubhana* have nothing to do with *sthiw*, with which it had hitherto been associated, but all these belong to the root √ *stubbh* (to drive out; *stumbhu* *niṣkāśane*, Dhātup. 31,7), which in Skt. is used for voice only = "to emit a sound". The parallel root is *ksubbh* (*stubbh* : *ksubbh*=*stambh* : *skambh*=Skt. *sthānu* : Pkt. *khānu*=*duṭṭha* : *dukkha* [hinder portion; Deśin. 5,42]; § 90.308.309) which occurs in Pkt. AMg. JM. *chubhai*, M. JM. *chuhai* and in compounds (§ 66). Pāli *nicchubhati* "springs forth" (from the sea)¹, shows transfer of meaning, which we find also in Skt. *nirasana* (throwing outside, throw out, spit forth).—*hūṇa* (Hc. 1,103), M. AMg. JŚ. A. *viḥūṇa* (Hc. 1,103; Śukasaptati 15,3; Nāyādh. 950; Vivāhap. 202.1123.1816f. 1825; Nirayāv. 44; Uttar. 357.439.633.809; Pav. 380,7; 381,17;387,12; Piṅgala 1,7), AMg. *viṭṭpahūṇa* (Sūyag. 271.282; Nāyādh. 322; Panhāv. 56) are not to be equated with Hc. as=*hīna*, *viḥīna*, *viṭṭpahīṇa*, but they belong to *dhūṇa* (Kāśikā on Pāṇini. 8,2,44) from *dhu*, *dhū* "to shake off" which forms in AMg. *dhunāi* and in M. AMg. *dhunāi*, *viḥunāi* (§ 503). In all the dialects *hā* regularly forms *hīna*. So M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. *hīṇa* (G. H.; Uvās.; Pav. 382,24.25;388,2; Vikr. 24,20), JM. *aiḥīṇa* (Kk.); M. JM. JŚ. *parihīṇa* (H.; KI. 8; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 400, 329); AMg. *paḥīṇa* (Bhag.); Ś. *avahīṇa* (Śak. 30,2), M. *apohīṇa* (R.); JŚ. Ś. *viḥīṇa* (Kattig. 404,387.389; Mṛcch. 18,10).—On *juṇṇa*=*jūrṇa* and *tūha*=*tūrtha* see § 58.

1. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 18; FAUSEBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte vanskelige Pāli-Ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1888) p. 19. Not correctly TRECKNER, Milindapañño p. 423 f.

§ 121. Most of the dialects, beside *ī*, partly have *e* in *idṛśa*, *idṛkṣa*, *kidṛśa*, *kidṛkṣa* : Aśoka *edisa*, *hedisa* *heḍisa* (Khālsi) *edisa*, *hedisa*; Pāli *edisa*, *erisa*, *edikḥha*, *erikkha* beside *idisa* *irisa*, *idikkha*, but only *kidisa*, *kirisa*, *kidikkha*, *kirikkha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erisa* (Vr. 1,19.31; Hc. 1,105.142; KI. 1,15; Mk. fol. 8.11; H. 10; R. 11,104; Sūyag. 197; Dasav. 626,27; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Āv. 24,3ff.; 25,31.32;27,2.6.25; Dvār. 508,6; Erz.; Kk.; Lalitav. 555,6;562,22; Mṛcch. 151.20.155,5; Śak. 50,4; Prabh. 4,9); AMg. JM. *erisaṇa* (Nāyādh. 1284; Āv. 24,10); A. *erisiṇa* (Piṅgala 2,185); AMg. *elisa* (C. 2,5 p. 43), *anelisa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1;1,7,2,4; 1,7,8,1,17; 1,8,1,15; 2,16,2; Sūyag. 301.434 [text *ana*°]. 533.544.546.549.869); P. *etisa* (Hc. 4,317.323); Ś. mostly *idisa* (Mṛcch. 24,20;39,11;54,1;72,19; 80,9;82,12;88,16;151,16; Śak. 103,5;104,7;123,12; 127,7;130,1;135,15; Vikr. 20,6;44,13. Ratn. 317,33;318,16.22; Karp. 19,6;21,4 etc.), Mg. only *idisa* (Mṛcch. 38,7;129,7;131,7;158,24;165,13;166,21;177,10); AMg. *elikḥha* (Uttar. 237), *elikḥhaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kerisa*

(Grr.; H. 374 [read so with v.l.]; Niraṣāv.; Bhag.; Erz.; Mrcch. 141,7; Vikr. 50,6;52,3; Prab. 10,15;39,13), JM. *kerisaya* (Kk.), Mg. *kelisa* (Prab. 46,14.16;50,14;53,15.16;56,1; Venis. 35,3); Ś. also *kidisa* (Mrcch. 27,18; Śak. 39,6; Vikr. 28,19; Mudrār. 58,6;184,5). Doubtful forms are M. *irisaa* (H. 940), JM. *iisa* (Erz.), Ś. *irisa* (Uttarar. 26,6 beside *idisa* 26,8; Mālav. 6,1;44,18;47,3; Mahāv. 119,12.14.20; Mudrār. 233,1), *kirisa* (Mālav. 5,3.17)¹, Mg. *kiliśa* (Mrcch. 125,2,4;132,9; GODABOLE 344,7;345,1 has *kelisa*, only 363,2 also *kiliśa*). According to the testimony of the best manuscripts only *erisa*, *kerisa* and *idisa*, *kidisa* will be correct in Ś.; in Mg. the correct forms will be **eliśa*, *kelisa* and *idisa*, **kidiśa* (the v.l. often has *kelisa*). Cf. § 244-245. The hitherto unexplained² *e* goes back to -*ayi*, -*ai*. From Vedic *ka'yā+drś* has developed *kerisa*; *erisa* comes from Vedic *ayā-drś*, like *kāi tāiā*, *jaīā* from *kāyā+dā*, *tāyā+dā*, *ya'yā+dā* (§ 113). *ayā* has been influenced by *kāyā*. In A. *aisa=idrśa*, *kaisa=kidrśa* (Hc. 4,403) it is better to consider them as formations on the analogy of A. *tāisa=tādrśa* *jaīsa=yādrśa*, as the intermediate forms for the development of *erisa*, *kerisa*. Cf. Vedic *kayasya* and AMg. *ayamsi*, M. *aammi* and A. *āammi* (§ 429). On *e'ddaha*, *kēddaha*, *tēddaha*, *jēddaha* see § 122. Beside *piyūṣa*, Skt. has *peyūṣa*, so too Pkt. Ś. *pīṣa* (Bālar. 266,19) and M.Ś. *peṣa* (Hc. 1,105; H.; Ś. Karp. 82,5; Bālar. 150,19; 223,5;294,10; Mallikām. 245,6). On *bahedaa=vibhitakā* see § 115; in Pannav. 31, in AMg. we have *vibhelae=vibhedakah* (§ 244).

1. An uncritical collection in BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. 5,2-5, p. 122.—2. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,134.

§ 122. Like *i* (§ 119), *ī* also may become *ē* before consonant-groups: AMg. JM. *kiddā*, AMg. *kheḍḍā* dialectical *khēḍḍa*, A. *khēḍḍaa=kriḍā* (§ 90); *nēḍḍa* beside *nīḍa* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jāñijjā*, *jāñējjā=jāñiyāt* (§ 91); M. *e'ddaha=idrśa*¹ with reduplication according to § 90 and *ha* for *śa* according to 262 (on Vr. 4,25 and Appendix B. p. 101; Hc. 2,157; Mk. fol. 40; Deśin. 1,144; H.; also in Ś. Viddhaś. 71,1, everywhere *e'ddahame'tta=idrśamātra*); *kēddaha=kidrśa* and on its analogy *tēddaha=tādrśa*, *jēddaha=yādrśa* (Grr.). Similarly is explained also *e* in AMg. M. JM. *āmeḷa* (garland; braid; Vr. 2,16; Hc. 1.105.202,234; Ki. 1.15;2,9; Mk. fol. 8.16; Pāiyāl. 140; Deśin. 1,62; G. 112; Pannav. 111; Ovav.; JM. in *kamalāmeḷā*, Āv. 29, 18ff.), M. *āmeḷiaa* (R. 9,21), AMg. *āmeḷaga* (Rāyap. 111), *āmeḷaya* (Uvās. §206; read as such; Ovav.). *āmeḷa* is=**āpīḍya*, which passes through the stages **āpīḍḍa*, **āpēḍḍa*, **āpeḍa* with *ma* for *pa* according to §248, *e* for *ē* according to §66 and *la* for *ḍa* according to §240². Ś. *āpīḍa* (Mālatim. 207,4); according to Hc. 1,202 there occurs dialectically also as *āveda*. In the same way we must explain *ṇimeḷa* (gums; Deśin. 4,30) from **nīpīḍya*, and AMg. *veda* from **veḍḍa* for **vriḍya* of the present stem *vriḍya-*; cf. §240. Doubtful is the origin of *e* in *peḍha* (Hc. 1,106) beside the common *pīḍha=pīṭha*. M. *peḍhāla* (G. 731) has been falsely derived by Haripāla from *pīṭhayukta*. It means "broad" or "round" (Pāiyāl. 84; Deśin. 6,7) and perhaps is connected with *piṇḍa*. *e* never appears in the passive in -*ijja* and the participles nec. and adjectives in -*añijja* in M. AMg. JM. JS. (§91).

1. The grammarians explain it by *etāvat*, Hc. Deśin. 1,144 by *iyat*. 2.—WEBER has correctly connected it with *idrśa*, H1 p. 59. The grammarians equate *āmeḷa* as=*āpīḍa*; likewise LASSEN, Inst. p. 207; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakritica p.15; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v. Thereby it is only *e* that remains unexplained. In Triv. 1,2,56, the printed edition has *ṇa* and the MSS. have *ṇa*.

§ 123. In Pkt. there appears several times *a* in place of Skt. *u*, especially in the first syllable of a word whose second syllable likewise has *u*. In most of such cases *a* might have been the original vowel.

and the forms with *u* might have been formed analogically (Vr. 1,22; Hc. 1,107; Kī. 1,6; Mk. fol. 9): M. Ś.Ā.A. *garua*, AMg. JM; *garūya*=*guruka* (G.H.R.; Sūyag. 692.747.750; Paṇṇav. 8.10; Vivāhap. 126.436; Ānuog. 268; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Śak. 10,3; Mālav. 34,9;37,8; Priyad. 4,7; Ā. Mrcch. 148,1; A. Hc. 4,340,2), feminine AMg. *garūi* (Grr.; G.; Nāyādh.; cf. § 139), and in derivatives like M. *garuattaṇa*=**gurutvana* (G.H.R.), *garuia* (G.R.), *garuei* (G.), JM. *garukka*=*gurutva* (Kī. 13; cf. § 299); Ś. *garuadā* (Priyad. 31,12), *agaruadā* (Mahāv. 54,19). Cf. *gārava* and *gorava* § 61^a. As Hc. 1,109 explicitly teaches, *a* has come in only with the addition of the suffix *-ka*; in all the dialects *guru* retains its *u*¹.—A. AMg. JM. *agaru* (Grr.; G.; Sūyag. 248; Uvās.; Erz.), also in Skt. beside *aguru* (M. Karp. 87,9); AMg. also *agaluia* (Ovav.); M. *kālāru* (G.), AMg. *kālāgaru* (Ovav.; Kappas.).—*galoi*=*guḍūci* (§ 127).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūḍa*=*mukuta* (Grr.; G.; Āyār. 2,13,20; p. 128,3; Paṇhāv. 160.234.251.440; Paṇṇav. 100.101.117; Vivāgas. 161; Nāyādh. § 35,92; p. 269.1274; Jiv. 615; Rāyap. 21; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Venis. 59,22).—*maūra*=*mukura* (Grr.), but Ś. *radanamuura* (Mallikām. 194,4; text *raa*^o).—M. A Mg. JM. Ś. *maūla*=*mukula* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Anarghar. 20,3; Kāmsav. 9,3; Paṇhāv. 284; Paṇṇav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mudrār. 46,7 [to be read as such]; Mālav. 69,2), and in the derivatives like M. *maūlia* (G.H.R.), AMg. *maūliya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *maūlida* (Śak. 14,6; Mahāv. 22,20; Uttarar. 163,5)=*mukulita*; M. *maūliā* (Ratn. 293,2); Ś. *maūlānta* (Mālatim. 121,5;254,2); Ś. *maūlāvijjanti* (Priyad. 11,3; read ^o*viṇanti*); Mg. Ś. *maūlēnti* (Mrcch. 80,21;81,2); AMg. *maūli*=*mukulinaḥ* (Paṇhāv. 119)². In a similar manner is explained also *kohala*=*kuṭūhala* (Hc. 1,171) from **katūhala*, **kaūhala*, beside M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*, Ś. *kodūhala* (61^a), and M. *somāra* (H.R.), *somāla* (Bh. 2,30; Hc. 1,171.254; Pāiyāl. 88; Lalitav. 563,2) from **sakumāra*, **saūmāra* (§ 166)=*sukumāra*, while AMg. *sūmāia* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.) goes back to AMg. *sukumāla* (Vivāhap. 822.946; Antag. 7.16.21; Jiv. 350.549.938; Paṇhāv. 278.284; Ovav. § 48 etc.). M. has also *suumāra* (Śak. 2,14), Ś. only *suumāra* (Mrcch. 37,5; Śak. 19,6;54,4), *sukumāra* (Vikr. 5,9), JM. *sukumārajā*=^o*ratā* (Erz.). *somāla* has been taken over to Skt. as well³. *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (§ 285) presupposes a transition of the second *u* to *a*, as AMg. JM. too have *dugamchā*, beside *dugumchā*=*jugupsā* (§ 74). Assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable on account of accent takes place in M. *avarim*=*upa'ri* (Grr.; G.), beside M. AMg. JM. *uvarim* (Hc. 1,108; H.R.; Paṇṇav. 90ff.; Samav. 101; Rāyap. 62; Vivāhap. 198; Ovav.; Āv. 8,12; Erz.), M. JM. Ś. *uvari* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mrcch. 41,22; Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 66,2; Prab. 38,8), Ś. *uvaridana* (Mrcch. 42,13), Mg. *uvali* (Mrcch. 134,8), AMg. *uppiṃ*. (§ 148). To *avarim* belongs M. *avarilla* (upper garment; Hc. 2,166; Pāiyāl. 175) as well as *varilla* (Karp. 56,7;70,8;95,11). In the same way is explained *a* in M. *avahovāsa*, *avahoāsa* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2, 138; H.R.)⁴, beside AMg. *ubhaopāsam* (Samav. 151; Ovav.), *ubhayopāsam* (Paṇhāv. 258), *ubhaopāsim* (Samav. 98; Jiv. 496f.500.502.504; Nāyādh. 275; Vivāhap. 826.830), *ubhaopāse* (Kappas. p. 96,24), *ubhayokālam* (Hc. 2.138), *ubhaokūleṇam* (Ovav.) *ubhao* (Vivāhap. 941; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) is=**ubhatas* for *ubhayatas*⁵ from *ubha'*, *avaho*=**uba'thas* (§ 212) wherefrom, is derived *avaha*, and according to some (Hc. 2.138), is derived also *uvaha*. So also *bhamajā*=**bhruvakā* (§ 124) and *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (Deśin. 1.37; cf. § 28).—*tarakṣu*, in AMg. has become an *a*-stem: *taracca* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345), feminine *taraccā* (Paṇṇav. 368). On *kattha*=*kutra*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kaohimto*=*kutaḥ*, see § 293.428, on *jahiṭṭhila*, *jahuṭṭhila*=*yudhiṭṭhira*, § 118.

1. BOLLSENSEN wrongly states, on Mālav. p. 172, that when it is an adjective, it is

garu, and when, a substantive, it is *guru*. In Jiv. 224, *garu* is a false reading, likewise Śāk., ed. BÖHTLINGK 79,9;86,3.—2. On *maṇḍa* and *maṇḍa* cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 31, 324.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 10,135ff.—Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 81; WEBER, ZDMG. 28,390—LEUMANN, Aup. S.s.v.

§ 124. Beside *tumburu* (*Diospyros embryopteris*) there occur dialectically *ṭimbaru* (Deśin. 4,3) and *ṭimbaruṇya* (Pāṇyāl. 258). In lieu of *u* there appears *i* as a separation-vowel¹ in all the dialects in *purisa*, Mg. *puliśa*=*purusa* (Vr. 1,23; Hc. 1,111; Ki. 1.26; Mk. fol. 9; e.g. M.: G.H.R.; AMg.: Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203; Paṇhāv. 222; Ṭhān. 360 and very often; JM.: Erz.; JŚ.: Kattig. 401,345; Ś: Mr̥cch. 9,10; 17,19;24,25;29,3; Śāk. 126,14;141,10; Vikr. 35,12; Prab. 39,13; Mg.: Lalitav. 565,13; Mr̥cch. 113,21;116,17;157,14; Prab. 51,8;53,11;62,7; D.: Mr̥cch. 104,7); *pāurisa* (Grr.), JM. *porisa*, AMg. *porisī*, *porasiya*, *aporisiya* (§ 61^a). False is AMg. JM. *porusa* in Uttar. 17; Erz. 17,35. In Ś. *purusoṭtama* (Vikr. 35,15) the *u* has been purposely retained on account of similarity of sound with that of *purūṛava-*, therefore, it falsely occurs also in Mālatim. 73,6. Otherwise it is always *purisoṭtama* (Mālatim. 266,4. Venis. 97,9), in Ś. and *puliśoṭtama* in Mg. (Prab. 32,7,14). In M. AMg. JM.Ś. *bhiuḍi* (Hc. 1,110; G.H.R.; Vivāgas. 90.121.144.157; Nāyādh. 753.1310.1312; Vivāhap. 237.254; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Venis. 60,5;61,18; Bālar. 270,5;), AMg. also *bhiguḍi* (Paṇhāv. 162.285) the *i* is not=*u* in *bhrukuṭi*, but=*r* in *bhrkuṭi*. False is M. *bhuuḍi* (Pratāp. 220,20) as well as *huuḍi* (Acyutaś. 58). On the other hand *a* stands for *u* according to § 123 in *bhamajā* (Hc. 2,167), against AMg. *bhamuhā* (§ 206; Pāṇyāl. 251; Āyār. 1,1,2,5;2,13,17 [neuter]; Jiv. 563; Rāyap. 165; Ovav.; Kappas.), A. *bhōhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; § 166 251), and M. *bhumaā* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,121;2,167; Ki. 1,117; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.), AMg. *bhumajā* (Pāṇyāl. 251; Uvās.; Ovav.), *bhumagā* (Paṇhāv. 272.285 [text *bhū*]; Uvās.); *bhumā* (Ovav. s.v. *koṭṭkuiya*). Cf. § 206.254.261.—AMg. *chīya* (one who has enjoyed; Hc. 1,112;2,117; Nandis. 380) is not=*ṣṣula*, but onomatopoeically=**chīta*, corresponding to German *tsi* ! To this refer AMg. *chīyamāna* (convalescent; Āyār. 2,2,3,27). In the same way is to be explained *chikka* (Deśin. 3,36); cf. Skt. *chikkā*, *chikkana*.—On *sūhava*=*subhaga* see § 62, on *mūsala*=*musala*, § 66.

1. ZIMMER, KZ. 24,220 f.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,615; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §51.

§ 125. Like *i* becoming *ē*, (§ 119), before consonant-groups *u* may become *o* (Vr. 1,20; Hc. 1.116; Ki. 1,23; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 31). According to Mk. fol. 66, this change does not take place in Ś. except in *muktā* and *puṣkara*, and this is attested substantially by the texts. PG. *kham-dako mḍisa*=*skandakunḍinah* (6,19); M. *goṭcha*=*guccha* (H.R.), *goṭchaa* (H.), M. *toṇḍa* (Grr.; H. 402 [read as such]), but Mg. *tuṇḍa* (Mr̥cch. 112,8); *moṇḍa* (Grr.), but M.Ś.Mg. *muṇḍa* (G.; Mr̥cch. 80,20; Prab. 49,4; Mg. Mr̥cch. 122,7; Prab. 53,14); Ś. *poṭṭkhara*=*puṣkara* (Grr.; Mr̥cch. 2,16; 54,2;95,11), and AMg. JM. *pukkhara* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *pukkharaṅka*=*puṣkarāṅka* (Mudrār. 204,3); AMg. Ś. *poṭṭkhariṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2 [text *ra*]; Nāyādh. 1060; Dhūrtas. 5,10) and AMg. JM. *pukkhariṇi* (Sūyag. 565,613; T. 4,9); Mg. *poṭṭkalini* (Mr̥cch. 112,11) and *puskaliṇi* (Mr̥cch. 113,22); AMg. *poṇḍariya* (Sūyag. 813; Paṇnav. 34; Ovav.), and JM. *pundariya* (Erz.), Ś. *pundaria* (Mālatim. 122,2); JM. *koṭṭima* (Grr.; Erz.), beside M. *kuṭṭima* (R.); Ś. *poṭṭhaa*=*pustaka* (Grr.; Mr̥cch. 69,17; Karp. 12,11), AMg. *poṭṭhaja* (Ovav.); *loḍḍhaa*=*lubdhaka* (Grr.; Pāṇyāl. 248); M. *moṭṭhā*=*mustā* (Hc. 1,116; Sarasvatik. 16,9); M.Ś. *moḡgara*=*mudgara* (Grr.; R.; Bālar. 245,18;251,3) beside *muggara* (R.); AMg. JŚ. *poḡgala*=*pudgala* (Hc. 1,116; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 384,58),

beside JŚ.Mg. *puggala* (Pav. 384,36.47.59; Prab. 46,14); M.Ś. *moṭṭā* (Bh.; Ki.; Mk.; Pkl.; R.; Vikr. 40,18), beside M.Ś. *muttā* (G.R.; Mrcch. 69,1; Karp. 72,2), Ś. *muttāhala*=*muktāphala* (Karp. 72,3,8;73,9), M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5;100,5). On the lengthening of such a secondary *o*, see § 66 and cf. § 127.

§ 126. Beside *duḷla*, AMg. *dugulla*, according to grammarians, there occurs also *duḷla* (§ 90).—AMg. *uvvīdha*, which according to Hc. 1,120=*udvyūḍha*, belongs rather to *uvvīhā*=*udvidhyati* from *vidh* (*vyadh*) with *ud* (§ 489), as is clear from Vivāhap. 1388 : *se jahā nāmae ke i purise...usum...uvvīhā uvvīhītā...tassa usussa .uvvīdhassa samāṇassa*. It has, therefore, been formed on the analogy of *līdha*, from *lih*, *mīdha*, from *mih*, from the secondary root *vih*=*vidh*. *udvyūḍha* forms regularly *uvvūḍha* (Hc. 1,120; Śak. 88,2; Jiv. 826). On *u* for *ū* see § 80-82. For *nūpura*, all the dialects have *neura*, Mg. *neula*, that go back to the by-form preserved in modern Indian languages as *nepūra*, *neṇura*, which may be set side by side with Skt. *keyūra*, Pkt. *keūra* : cf. Ś. *neurakeṭṭura*, (Bālar. 248,17), A. *neurakeṭṭura* (Piṅgala 1,26). So M.Ś. *neura* (Vr. 1,26; Hc. 1,123; Ki. 1,5; Mk. fol. 9; G.H.R.; Mrcch. 41,2; Vikr. 31,7; Mālav. 40,7; Ratn. 294,32; Prab. 39,8 [read as such with PM]; Pras. 39,18;114,9; Karp. 21,1; Bālar. 248,17), M. *neurilla*=*nūpuravat* (G.); *saneura* (Mālav. 37,15;43 2); AMg. JM. *neura* (C. 2,4 [read as such with A]; 3,34 p. 35; Pāyāl. 118; Panhāv. 236.514; Nāyādh. § 65.102; p. 948; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.; Āv. 12,6); Mg. *neula* (Mrcch. 99,7.10); A. *neura* (Piṅgala 1,17.22.26). Hc. 1,123; Deśin. 4,28 knows also *niura* and 1,123 *nūura*; Piṭāp. 220,14 has certainly a false reading *nūvurāim*.

§ 127. Like *ū* (§ 125), before consonant-groups *ū* also may become *o* : AMg. *koṭṭpara*=*kūṭpara* (Hc. 1,24; Vivāgas. 90), beside M. *kuppara* (G.); AMg. JM. *moḷla*=*mūlya*¹ (Hc. 1,124; Āyār. 2,5,1,4;2,6,1,2; p. 128,6; Āv. 31,10; Erz.), M. *amoḷla* (G.), beside the more frequent *mulla* (§ 83). Like *o* from *u* (§ 66), the *o* from *ū* is also lengthened when an original consonant-group is simplified. Thus may be explained AMg. *tona*=*tūna* (Hc. 1,125; Paṇṇav. 72.79.81.83; Vivāgas. 112; Nāyādh. 1426), beside Ś. *tūni*- (Venis. 62,4; Mukund. 69,14); M. *tonira*=*tūnira* (Hc. 1,124; Karp. 47,8); *thonā* beside *thūnā*=*sthūnā* (Hc. 1,125). They go back to **toṇṇa*, **toṇṇūra*, **thoṇṇā* from **tulna*, **iulnira*, **sthulnā*². A similar explanation holds good for M. *thora* from **thoṛra*=*sthūra*³ (Hc. 1,124.255;2,99; G.H.R.; Sarasvatik. 171,22; Karp. 50,11;64,2; 74,7;81,4) beside AMg. JM. *thulla*=*sthūla*⁴ (Hc. 2,99; Āyār. 2,4,2,7; Āv. 22,15.42), *āthulla* (Āv. 22,35) and AMg.JŚ. Ś. *thūla* (Āyār. p. 133, 33;136,3; Sūyag. 286; Panhāv. 437; Kattig. 398,303.305; Karp. 72,1; Hāsy. 32,1 [read as such with v.l., while Āv. 22,34 *thulla*, 22,33 *āthulla* should be corrected]). Further for AMg. *ṇaṅgola*=*lāṅgūla* (Nāyādh. 502), *ṇaṅgoli*=*lāṅgūlin* (Jiv. 345), *ṇaṅgoliya*=*lāṅgūlika* (Jiv. 392), beside *ṇaṅgula* (Jiv. 883.886.887), *gaṇṅula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *ṇaṅgūli*- (Aṇuog. 349), and M.AMg. JM.JŚ.Ś. *tambola*=*tāmbūla* (Hc. 1,124; Mk. fol. 8;G.; Aṇuog. 61; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 401,350; Mrcch. 71,6; Mālatim. 201,2 [read as such]; Karp. 98,4; Viddhaś. 28,7; Kasīmsav. 55,13) [text *tamboḷla*], AMg. *tambolaja* (Sūyag. 250), *tambolī* (Jiv. 487; Rāyap. 137). The *o* presupposes final accentuation in *lāṅgūla* and *tāmbūla*, in which case *l* is doubled according to § 90, as in *thulla*, *dugulla*. The process of development was, therefore : *tāmbūla*⁵, **tambulla*, **tamboḷla*, *tambola*⁶. In *kohaṇḍi*=*kūsmāṇḍi*, (Hc. 1,124;2,73; Ki. 2,73; Pāyāl. 14 6), AMg. *kohaṇḍa*=*kūsmāṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 111), beside *kūhaṇḍa* (Panhāv. 172.230.312) and *kuhaṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 115; probably

falsely) *o* is secondary. For Ś. *kohaṇḍa* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 99,3) which is forbidden by Mk. for Ś. KONOW 103,1 reads *kumbhaṇḍa*, and we must read as such also in Viddhaś. 23,2. The series was ; **kumhaṇḍi*, **ko'mhaṇḍi*, **komhaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi* (§ 76.89.312) *kohaḷi* (Hc. 1,24; 2,73), *kohaḷiṇa* (Pāṇyā. 146) may in the same way be derived from *kohodī*. Cf. Marāṭhī. *kohaleṇ*. *gaḷoi*=*guḍūci* (Hc. 1,107.124; § 123) may be going back to **gaḍo'ccī*.

1. JACOB, Erz. s.v. *mo'lla*, falsely equates it as=*maulya* which is a back formation from Pkt.—2. WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 168; HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG. 39,92ff., FORTUNATOV. KZ. 36,18. Wrongly BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3,157ff.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. § 146 d note, 172 d note; JOH. SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie p.1, note.—3. Impossible is the derivation from *tamragula* in LEUMANN, Aup. S. p.165.

§ 128. In the syllable preceding and following the accented one *e* sometime becomes *i* (§ 79-82); before a consonant-group it becomes *ē*, *i* (§ 84), in the auslaut before an enclitic with a double consonant, in the anlaut it becomes *ē*, and dialectically, however, sometimes, after a long vowel it becomes *i* also (§ 85). A secondary *ē* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.122). In A. *e* is shortened also in the inst. sing. in *-ena* and in the inst. plur. in *-ehim*, occasionally (cf. Saṅgītaratnākara 4,56). So *bo'lliēna* (Hc. 4,383; read as such); *pāṇiēṇa* (Hc. 4,434); *khaṇēṇa* (Hc. 4,419,1; read as such); *amhe'hī*, *tumhe'hī*. (Hc. 4,371), *vanke'hī* *loane'hī* (Hc. 4,356; read as such); *atthe'hī*, *satthe'hī*, *hatthe'hī* (Hc. 4,358; read as such), *dente'hī* (Hc. 4,419,5; read as such). As the manuscripts vary so greatly it is doubtful whether one should or should not in such cases do as I have done in my edition of Hemacandra and write *bo'lliēm*, *pāṇiēm*, *vanke'hī* or with the v.l. *vanke'hī*, *loane'hī* etc. It is true that we often find without any variant the instrumental plural forms in *-ahim*, *-ahī*, that are formed from the stems in *a*- (§ 308). Beside the loc. plur. of the pronouns of the first and second persons in *-esu*, there are some grammarians who prescribe the loc. forms in *-asu*, and Śākalya teaches also *tujjhsuṃ* and *tumbhisuṃ* (§ 415.422). JM. *eiṇā*, Ś.Mg. *ediṇā*, JM.Ś. Mg. *imiṇā*, beside *eeṇa*, Ś. Mg. *edeṇa*, *imeṇa* (§ 426.430) are best explained with LASSEN (Inst. § 107) as formed from an *i*-stem, which is certainly the case for *kiṇā*=*keṇa*, on the analogy of which are formed *jiṇā* and *tiṇā* (§ 428).—AMg.JM. *aiṇa*², *aiṇa*² are not=*ekona*, but=*aguṇa* (§ 444). On JM. *āṇasu*, A. *āṇahi* see § 474, and on the causative in *-a* in stead of in *-e*, § 491.

§ 129. For *e* occurs *a* in *nāliara*=*nālikera* (Deśin. 2,10), beside M. *nālieri* (G.), Ś. *nāriela* (Śak. 78,12), and *pavaṭṭha*=*praveṣṭa*, equated by Grr. (Vr. 1,40; Hc. 1,156; Ki. 1,40; Mk. fol. 13) as=*prakoṣṭha*¹, which clearly forms M.Amg. *paōṭṭha* (Karp. 47,6; Ovav.) and *paūtṭha* (G.; Kappas.); in Ś., as Mk. expressly teaches, it forms only *paōṭṭha* (Bālar. 80,1; Viddhaś. 126,3; in the meaning "house", Mṛcch. 68,23ff).—*thūna* (Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29) beside *theṇa*, AMg. *tena* (§ 307)=*stena*, cannot be separated from *thūna* (horse; Deśin. 529) and is=*tūrṇa* for **stūrṇa* "quick", "fast"; cf. *theṇilla* "fearful" Deśin. 5,32) and *velu* "thief" § 243.—AMg.JM.JŚ. *dosa* (hate; Deśin. 5,56; Triv. 1,4,121; for example Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 198; Paṇṇav. 638; Dasav. N. 653,6; Uttar. 199.446.648.707.822.876.902.910 ff.; Vivāhap. 125.832.1026; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 384,54; 385,61; Kattig. 404,389), AMg.JM.JŚ. *padosa*, *paosa* (Sūyag. 81; Uttar. 368; Erz.; Pav. 385,69) are not=*dveṣa*, *pradveṣa*², but=*doṣa*, *pradoṣa* with a change of meaning.³ Add to it also *doṣākaraṇa* (anger; Deśin. 5,51). *dveṣa* becomes *bṣa* (§ 300).

1. So wrongly also LASSEN, Inst. p.136, note *. —2. CHILDERS, s.v.; WEBER, Bhag. s.v.; JACOB, Kalpasūtra s.v.; Erz. p.XV, note 1; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; KLATT, Rṣabhap. s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 23.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13,14ff.

§ 130. *o* becomes *ō*, *u* before consonant-groups (§ 84), in auslaut before enclitics with double consonants in anlaut *ō*, dialectically also otherwise *ō*, *u* (§ 85.346). The secondary *ō* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.127). In A. *o* becomes *u* not only in the auslaut (§ 85.346), but occasionally in the inlaut as well, as in *viuē* for *viōem*=*viyogena* (Hc. 4,419,5).—M.*annanna* (Hc. 1,156; G.H.), J.M. *annanna* (Erz.) is not=*anyonya*, which becomes *annoṇṇa*, *annunṇa* (§ 84), but=*Vedic anyānya*.—*āvajja* is not=*atodya* (Hc. 1,156), which becomes *āōjja*, *āujja*, *Ś. pakkhāujja*=*pakṣātodya* (Karp. 3,3), but=**āvādyā*.—*a* for *o* is seen in *pulaai*, *pulaai*, *pulaia* beside *puloei*, *paloiei*, *puloia*, *paloia*=*pralokayati*, *pralokita* (§ 104) and *pallaṭṭai* beside *palōṭṭai* upsets; Hc. 4,200), *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,47.68) beside *palōṭṭa* (Hc. 4,258). Probably these words are derived from different roots. On *pavaṭṭha*, probably=*prakosṭha*, see § 129.—AMg. J.M. *theva* (a drop, a little; Pāṇyā. 164; Hc. 2,125. Deśin. 5,29; Dasav. N.652,32; KI.7; Āv. 45,2; Erz.), has nothing to do with *thova*=*stoka* (§ 230), but it belongs with *thippai*. (Hc. 4,175) to roots *stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3.4), as has correctly been shown by CHILDERS for Pāli *theva*.

(f).—SEPARATION VOWELS.

§ 131. Consonant-groups are often separated in Pkt. by a separation or epenthetic vowel, and the different consonants are then treated according to the phonetic rules holding good for the different dialects. Vocalic development takes place only when one of the consonants is *y*, *r*, *l* or a nasal. The exact quality and quantity of the separation vowels remain undetermined so that they appear as *a*, *i* and *u*. Metrically they are sometimes without any value. Thus in AMg. *a* in *agani*: *nivāṇao agani* *nivāṇaejja*, *ṇa paṇḍie agani samārabhejjā* (Sūyag. 330); in *garahio*: *musāṇao ja lagammi savvasāhūhi garahio* (Dasav. 625.3); cf. Sūyag. 912.914; *i* in *kiriyaṅkiriyaṃ venaiyāṇuāyaṃ* (Sūyag. 322); in *kimpurisa*: *asogo kimpurāṇaṃ ca kimpurisaṇaṃ ca campao* (Thāp. 505; Abhayadeva on Samav. 21); in *arihai*: *bhikkhū akkhāum arihai* (Dasav. 631,8), so *bhāsiu arihai kiriyaṇāḍam* (Sūyag. 476; also in *kiriya*¹); in *āyariya*: *āyariyassa mahappāṇo* (Dasav. 631,33)¹. It does not even hinder the shortening of a long vowel under the influence of the accent, as AMg. J.M. *āyariya*=*ācārya* (§ 81.134), M.Ś. *veruliya*, AMg. J.M. *veruliya*=*vaidūrya* (§ 80), *Ś. murukha*=*mūrkhā*¹ (§ 139), AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 82; C.3.30; Hc. 1,118; 2,113; Āyār. 2,4,1,7; 2,15,3; p. 131.132; Sūyag. 128.217.493; Paṇnav. 72.81.83; Panhāv. 274; Jiv. 39.41.313; Aṇuog. 260.391.392; Vivāhap. 105.943. 1385.1438; Uttar. 1040; Ovav.; Kappas.)², nor the doubling of the consonant according to § 195, nor the change of *a* into *i* according to § 101, as in AMg. *nigina*=*nagna*¹ (§ 133), nor the transition of *tya* to *cca* and *dhyā* to *jja* (§ 280.)

1. More examples in JACOBI, KZ. 23,594ff.—In Sūyag. 174 (=3,2,1) the printed edition reads *ah' ime suhamā saṅgā*, in the beginning certainly correctly so that with JACOBI, KZ. 23,595, *suhmā* is not to be accepted. Cf. § 323.

§ 132. Only in AMg. and A. *a* is more frequently a separation-vowel: it so occurs very rarely in other dialects. AMg. *agani*=*agni* (Hc. 2,102; par ex. Āyār. 1,1,4,6; Sūyag. 273; Vivāgas. 224; Vivāhap. 120; Dasav. 616,32 and very often); AMg. *abhikkhaṇaṃ*=*abhikṣaṇaṃ* (Kappas.); AMg. *garahā*=*garhā* (Vivāhap. 132), *garahaṇā*=*garhaṇā* (Ovav.), *garahāmo*, *garahai* (Sūyag. 912.914), *garahaha* (Vivāhap. 132.332), J.M. *garahasi* (Erz. 55,29), AMg. J.M. *garahiya* (Sūyag. 504; Dasav. 625,3; Erz. 35,15); AMg. *vigarahamāna* (Sūyag. 912), J.Ś. *garahaṇa* (Kattig. 400, 331), beside *gariha* (Vr. 3,62; Ki. 2,59), AMg. *garihā* (Hc. 2,104; Mk.

fol. 29; Pāiṣal. 245; Thān. 40), *garihāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *garihasi* (Sūyag. 912; read *ṛa°*), J.M. *garihasu* (Erz. 42,18); AMg. *raṇi*=*araiṇi* (§ 141)¹; AMg. *raḥassa*=*hrasva*, M.AMg. Ś.A. *dihara*=*dirgha* (§ 354); AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthini* (§ 358); AMg. *harāya*=*hrada* (Hc. 2,120; Āyār. 1,5,5,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 123; Uttar. 376f.; Vivāhap. 105.194.270). A. *garāsa*=*grāsa* (Piṅgala 2,140), *tarāsa*=*trasyati* (P.2,96), *paramāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (P. 1,28), *parasanna*=*prasanna* (P. 2,49), *parāvahi*=*prāpnuvanti* (Hc. 4,442,1). From other dialects some examples are: M. *raṇa*=*raiṇa* (Vr. 3,60; Ki. 2,55; Mk fol. 29; G.H.R.), AMg. J.M. JŚ. *raṇa* (§ 70; C. 3,30; Hc. 2,101; Kattig. 400,325); Ś. *radana* (Mṛcch. 52,9; 68,25; 70, 24; 71,1; Śak. 38, 5; 103, 6; 117, 7; Vikr. 77, 15 etc.² D. *radana* (Mṛcch. 101, 12; 159, 12; 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117, 5); Mg. *ladana*, 146,4; 159, 12; 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117,5), Ś. *sattuḥana*=*satruḥana* (Bālar. 310,15; Anarghar. 317,17), beside *sattuggha* (Bālar. 151,1); M.Ś. *śalāhā*=*ślāghā* (Vr. 3,63. Hc. 2, 101; Ki. 2, 57; Mk. fol. 30; G.; Caṇḍak. 95,8), M. *śalāhāna*=*ślāghana* (H.); *śalahai* (Hc. 4,88), M. *śalāhamāna* (H.), *ahīśalāhamāna* (G.), *śalāharīja* (H.), Ś. *śalāhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 128,4; Prab. 4,8 [read as such]); Ratn. 304.18; 319, 15; Mālatim. 82,8 [so to be read], Mg. *śalāhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 38,1 [read as such]); Ś. *śalāhīadi* (Ratn. 309,5; Prab. 12,11 [read as such]); A. *śalahijjasu*, *śalahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,95.117); J.M. *bhasama*=*bhasman* (Erz.); P. *dharamapātni*=*dharmapātni* (Mk. fol. 87). The dialect remains undetermined in the case of *gāhara* from **grdhara*=*grdhra* (Pāiṣal. 126; Deśin. 2,84); *palakkha*=*plakṣa* (C. 3,30; Hc. 2,103), for which AMg. has *pilamkhu*, *pilakkhu* (§ 74.105); *sāraṅga*=*śārṅga* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,100; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29). According to Hc. 4,270 in Ś., and according to 4,323 in P. *purava*, and according to 4,302, in Mg. *pulava*=*pūrva* are used.³ Against the principal rule is P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (Vr. 10,6; Hc. 4.314; Ki. 5,109; ed. *kaṣṭam*; cf. LASSEN, Inst. p.441). False is Ś. *parāṇa*=*prāṇa* (Cait. 54,10) for which read *pāṇa*, for example Mṛcch. 155,18; 166,9.14.15. Cf. also § 140.

1. For AMg. *ahārāṇiṇi*=*yathārāṇiṇi* (Thān. 355.356) is to be read as *ahārāṇiṇi*.—2. The printed editions write without exception *raṇa* in Ś. *laṇa* in Mg., which is a blunder committed against the dialects concerned.—3. For in Ś. and in Mg.; these are not attested by the texts (PSCHER on Hc. 4,270). Probably by Ś. here they mean also JŚ.

§ 133. Most frequently there appears as a separation vowel *i*. In AMg. it is so found in many cases where the remaining dialects show assimilation of consonants. One of the consonants is a nasal: AMg. *usiṇa*=*uṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,6,4; 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 132.590; Thān. 131.135; Paṇṇav. 8.10.786ff.; Jiv. 224.295; Vivāhap. 194.195.250.436.465.147off.; Ānuog. 268; Uttar. 48.57), *accusiṇa*=*atyuṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), *siyosiṇa*=*śitoṣṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Vivāhap. 862.863), beside *siuṇha* (Sūyag. 134); Mg. *koṣiṇa*=*koṣṇa* (Venīś. 34,4). Cf. § 312. AMg. *kaṣiṇa*=*krīṣṇa* (Hc. 2,75.104; Sūyag. 26.28.172.292.416.439.460; Vivāhap. 205; Ānuog. 104; Uttar. 251; Ovav.; Kappas.) and=*krīṣṇa*, beside *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṇha*, *kiṇha* (§ 52); AMg. J.M. *tusiṇiṇa*=*tūsṇika*, beside *tunha*, *tunhikka* (§ 81.90); AMg. *doṣiṇa*=*jyotsnā*, Ś. *doṣiṇi*=*jyautsnī* (§ 215); AMg. *nigiṇa*=*nagna* (Āyār. 2,2,3,11; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 108 [text *nigana*]) with *i* in the first syllable according to § 101, beside *nagiṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3; Sūyag. 169; Dasav. 627,1), *nagiṇiṇa* (sic; Uttar. 208), *nāgaṇiṇa*=Sūyag. 344)=*nagnatva*; AMg. *paṣiṇa*=*praśna* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Sūyag. 383.918; Nāyādh. 301.577.578; Vivāhap. 151.973.978.1251.1261.1408; Nandis. 471; Uttar. 513; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *snāṇa*=*snāna* (Mk. fol. 29; Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,2,1,8; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 344.382; Dasav. 626,40; probably incorrectly also in Ś. Cait. 44,4; 92,14; 134,9; 150,7; 260,4); AMg. *asiṇāṇa* (Dasav. 626,39), *pāosiṇāṇa*=

prātaḥsnāna (Sūyag. 337), *siṇāi*=*snāti* (Mk. fol. 29; Sūyag. 340); *asiṇāittā* (Sūyag. 994), *siṇāyanti*, *siṇāyanti* (Dasav. 626,37,38), probably incorrectly also *Ś. siṇāvēnī* (Cait. 44,13), *siṇāyaga*=*snātaka* (Sūyag. 929.933.940), *siṇāyaya* (Uttar. 755; text *siṇāio*); P. *sināta*=*spāta* (Hc. 4, 314), *katasinānena*=*kṛtasnānena* (Hc. 4,322; read as such); *siṇa*, *siṇa*, *suṇa*, *sumiṇa*=*svapna* (§ 177). *i* is a separation vowel also in the declension of *rājan*, as in inst. sing. JM. *rāñā*, P. *rāciñā* (§ 399).

§ 134. 2) One of the consonants is *ya*, which except in AMg. JM. JS. drops after the separation vowel *i*: AMg. JM. *ceiya*=Pāli *cetiya*=*caiti* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7;2,3,3,1,2,10,17;2,15,25; Sūyag. 1014; Thān. 266; Samav. 101.233; Pañhāv. 521; Vivāhap. 5.164.934; Rāyap. 154; Jīyak. 6; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; T.6,24; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *ciyatta*=**tiyakta*=*tyakta*, *jhiyāi*=*dhyāyati* (§ 280); AMg. *teniya*=*stainya* (§ 307); AMg. *bāliya*=*bālya* (Vivāhap. 132); AMg. JM. *bahiya*=*bāhyāt* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1; Sūyag. 954; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 14,10); AMg. *viyaggha*=*vyāghra* (Pañhāv. 20); Ś. *diṭṭhiā*=*diṭṭyā* (Hc. 2,104; Mrcch. 68,2;74,11; Śak. 52,10;167,7; Vikr. 10,20;26,15;49,4;75,2 etc); *hijjo*=*hyas* (Deśin. 8,67; Pāyāl. 211; Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251). Ś. *hio* (Mālav. 51,7; Priyad. 19,12); in words of all the classes, as in the absolute in *-ya*, for example AMg. *pāsija*, JM. *pēcchiya*, Ś. *pēkkhia*, Mg. *pēskia*, Dh. *paḍissudia* (§ 590.591), the optative in *-yā*, as AMg. *siyā*=*syāt*, *hanyā*=*hanyāt* (§ 465), *bhuñjējjā*=*bhuñjāt*, *karējjā*=**karyāt* (§ 459), the participia nec. and adjectives in *-ijja*, as *karāñijja*, *ramañijja* (§ 91. 571), the numeral, as M. *biia*, *biiija*, AMg. JM. *biija*; M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taija*, Ś.Mg. *tadia*, A. *taijji* (§ 82.91.449). The separation-vowel *i* is especially frequent in the consonant-group *rya*. The words of the type are classed by Vr. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Kī. 2,81 under the ākṛtigāṇa *cauryasama*. Common to most of the cases is the long vowel before *rya*. Thus AMg. *āriya*=*ārya* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3;1,2,5,2,3;1,4,2,5; Sūyag. 54.204.363.914; Pañnav. 59ff.; Samav. 98; Vivāhap. 1246; Uttar. 109.509; Ovav.); *aṇāriya* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 56.68.208.210. 437.439.923.931.935; Samav. 98; Uttar. 511.990); AMg. JM. *āyāriya*=*ācārya* (Hc. 1,73; Āyār. 2,1,10,1,2,3,3,3ff.; Samav. 85; Thān. 157.268; Nandis. 512ff.; Dasav. 633,41;634,19ff.; Uttar. 43; Nāyadh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 33,17;38,13,18;40,9ff.; Erz.; Kk.), also *āriya* (C. 1,5 p.40; Hc. 1,73,2,107), Ś. *ācāria* (Cait. 45,5;89,12;127,13), Mg. *ācālia* (Prab. 28,14;29,7;58,17;61,5;62,1,2,6; Cait. 149,17,19;150,2,3,3); M.Ś. *coria*=*caurya* (Grr.; H.; Cait. 81,1), AMg. JM. *bhāriya*=*bhāryā* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 176; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *vīriya*=*vīrya* (Sūyag. 351.360.365.442; Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Uvās.; Ovav., Kappas.; Pav. 379,2;381,19;386,1); M.Ś. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya*=*vaiddūrya* (§ 80); AMg. *siriya* (Hc. 2,107; Sūyag. 306.310.312; Vivāhap. 452.1040. 1273.1282; Ovav. § 163; Kappas.), *asūriya* (Sūyag. 273); *soria*=*saurya* (Bh. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Kī. 2,81). Hc. 2,87 has also the examples *theria*=*sthairya*, *gambhīria*, *gahūria*=*gāmbhīrya*, and after a short vowel *sundaria*=*saundarya*, *varia*=*varya*, *bamhacaria*=*brahmācarya*. Corresponding to AMg. *moriya*putta=*maurya*putra (Samav. 123.151; Bhag.), JM. *moriya*vaṃsa=*maurya*vaṃśa (Āv. 8,17) Mg. has *molīa*=*maurya* (Mudrār. 268,1). After a short vowel *i* has entered into the group *rya* in AMg. *tiriya*=*tiryak* (Āyār. 1, 1,5,2,3;1,2,5,4; Sūyag. 191.273.304.397.428.914.931; Kappas.), *tiriya* (Hc. 2,143), AMg. JM. JS. *tiriya* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380.12;383,70,27); AMg. *pariyāga*=*paryāya* (Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 235.796.845; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), often beside *pariyāya*; AMg. *vipariyāsa*=*viparyāsa* (Sūyag. 468.497.498).

§ 135. 3) Consonant-groups with *r* besides *rya* (§ 134): PG. *pari-haritavam*=*parihartavyam* (6,36); M. *kiriā*, AMg. JŚ. *kiriṃā*=*kriyā* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,104; G.: Sūyag. 322.412.445.460; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Pav. 381.21; 386.6.10; Kattig. 403,373.374); AMg. *darisaṇa*=*darśana* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29; Sūyag. 43; Bhag.; Ovav.), *darisi*=*darśin* (Nandīs. 388; Bhag.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *darisaṇija*=*darśaniya* (Paṇṇav. 96.118.127; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.); *darisai*, JM. *darisei*, Ā.D. *darisedi*=*darśayati* (§ 554); *āarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29), AMg. *ādarisa* (Ovav.)=*ādarśa*; M.AMg. *pharisa*=*sparsa* (Vr. 3,62; Mk. fol. 29; Pāṭyāl. 240; H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,7,4; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); AMg. *pharisaga*=*sparsaka* (Kappas.), *duḥpharisa*=*duḥsparsa* (Paṇhāv. 508); *pharisai*=*sparsayati* (Hc. 4,182); *marisai*=*marśayati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); M. *amarisa*=*amarśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.R.); M.Ś. *āmarisa*=*āmarśa* (Acyutaś. 53; Uttarar. 20,11), Mg. *āmaliśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); Ś. *parāmarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mṛcch. 15,6; 70,1), *marisedu* (Mṛcch. 3,19; Mālav. 86,8), *marisehi* (Mālav. 38,4; 55,12); cf. Śak. 27,6; 58,9.11; 73,6; 115,2; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *varisa*=*varśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.H.; Ovav.; K.I. 19; Āv. 13.25; 14,12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Bālar. 276,3; Venīs. 65,3; Mallikām. 225,2; 259,6); AMg. *varisā*=*varśāḥ* (Hc. 2,105; Nirayāv. 81); *varisaṇa*=*varśaṇa* (Mk. fol. 29); Ś. *varisi*=*varśin* (Venīs. 60,6; Karp. 71,6); AMg. A. *varisai* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Dasav. N.648,10; Piṅgala 1,62); A. *varisei* (Vikr. 55,2); JM. *varisum*=*varśayitum* (Āv. 40,4); Ś. *varisidum* (Mālav. 66,20), *varisanta* (Prab. 44,3; Caṇḍak. 16,18); Mg. *valiśa* (Venīs. 33,4); AMg. *sarisava*=*sarsaḥpa* (Paṇṇav. 34.35; Nāyādh. § 61; Vivāhap. 1424f. 1526; Ovav. § 73); M.AMg.JM.Ś. *harisa*=*harśa* (Vr. 3,62; Hc. 2,105; K.I. 2,59; G.H.R.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ratn. 300,21; Mudrār. 263,6; Venīs. 62,12; 65,7); AMg. *lomaharisa* (Paṇṇav. 90); Ś. *saḥarisa* (Mṛcch. 71,19; Venīs. 65,7); *harisai*=*harśati* (Hc. 4,235), AMg. *harise*=*harṣet* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), Ś. *harisāvida* (Bālar. 242,6); AMg. *vairā*=*vajra* (Sūyag. 834; Thān. 265; Vivāhap. 499.1326; Uttar. 589.1041; Kappas.), *vāitrāmāya*=*vajramāya* (§ 70). On *siri*=*śri* and *hiri*=*hri* (Vr. 362; C.3.30; p. 50; Hc. 2,104; K.I. 2,57; Mk. fol. 29) see § 98.195.

§ 136. One of the consonants is *l* (Vr. 3,60.62; Hc. 2,106; K.I. 2,59.104; Mk. fol. 29): M. *kilammai*=*klāmyati* (Hc. 2,106; G. R.), AMg. *kilamejja*=*klāmyet* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1), Ś. *kilammadi* (Śak. 123,8; Mālatim. 135,5; Mallikām. 69,7; 133,14; 159,8; [text °ai]), M. A. *kilāmia*=**klāmita* (G.R.; Vikr. 60,16), M.AMg.JM.Ś.Mg. *kilanta*=*klānta* (Grr.; G.R.; Vivāhap. 1308; Rāyap. 258; Kappas.; Erz.; Uttarar. 18,12 [text *kilinta*]; Mṛcch. 13,7.10 [text *kilinte*]; see v.l. in GODABOLE); JM.Ś. *kilammanta* (Erz.; Mālatim. 81,1); Ś. *kilammida*=**klāmita* (Karpas. 47,12; text °li°), *adikilammida* (Mālatim. 206,4); JM. *kilissai*=*klīsyati* (Erz.), AMg. *samkilissai*=*samklīsyati* (Ovav.; Ś. *adikilissadi* (Mālav. 7,17), *kilissanta* (Ratn. 304,30); JM. *kiliṭṭha* (Grr.; Erz.), AMg. *samkiliṭṭha* (Ovav.), *asamkiliṭṭha* (Dasav. 642,41); Ś. *kilesa*=*kleśa* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 68,8.10; Lalitav. 562,22); MŚ. *kiliṇṇa*=*klīṇa* (Hc. 1,145; 2,106; G.; Mukunda. 15,1); A. *kiliṇṇau* (Hc. 4,329), beside *kiṇṇau* (cf. § 59); AMg. *kiliṇa*=*klīṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); AMg. *gilāi*, *vigilāi*=*glāyati*, *viglāyati* (Hc. 2,106; Sūyag. 200.215; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *milāi* (Hc. 2,106; 4,18, Āyār. 1,1,5,6); M.JM.Ś. *milāna*=*mlāna* (Grr.; G.H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,16; Vikr. 26,13; Cait. 73,9), Ś. *milāanta* (Mālatim. 249,4), *milāamāṇa* (Vikr. 51,10; Mālav. 30,7); for Ś. *pammalāadi* (Mālatim. 120,2) is with ed. Madras 105,3 and ed. Bombay 1892, p. 92,2 to be read *parimilāadi* (§ 479); *miliccha*, AMg. *milakkhu*, beside AMg. JM.Ś.A. *meṇṇa*, AMg. *miccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105); *silimha*=*śleṣman* (Hc. 2,106); AMg. JM. *siliṭṭha*=

śiṣṭa (Gr.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 38,10,12), *asiliṭṭha* (Āv. 38,8); Ś. *susiliṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 71,13; Mālatim. 234,3), *dussiliṭṭha* (Mahāv. 23,19); AMg. *silesa*=*śleṣa* (Hc. 2,106; Vivāhap. 658); AMg. JM. *siloga*=*śloka* (Sūyag. 370.497.938; Aṇuog. 557; Dasav. 637,31.44; 638,8; 641,7; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *silōja* (Sūyag. 405.417.506), Ś. *silōa* (Hc. 2,106; Lalitav. 554,13; Mudrār. 162,6; Viddhaś. 117,13; Karpas. 30,3.5); *suila* (Hc. 2,106), AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla* (Hc. 2,106 [read as such]; Thān. 569; Jiv. 27.33. 224.350.457.464.482.554.928.938; Aṇuog. 267; Uttar. 1021.1024.1041; Ovav.; Kappas.¹; JM. *sukkiliṣa* (Āv. 7,16).

1. The Indian editions very frequently write *sukkila* (e.g. Thān. 339.345.348.349. 406.568, Vivāhap. 436.532.535.544.1033.1322.1323.1421.1451.1456, Paṇṇav. 8.11ff. 46.241. 379.380.481.525, Paṇhāv. 167; Samav. 64; Rāyap. 50.55.104.110.120 (*sukkila*) etc. Sometimes both the forms stand side by side, thus Thān. 568 *sukkila*, but 569 *sukkila*, Aṇuog. 267 *sukkila*, but 269 *sukkila*. According to Hc. 2,106, the correct form is *sukkila* in spite of § 195.

§ 137. The separation vowel *i* sometimes appears after a secondary *b* developed from *mr*, *ml* (§ 295): *ambira*=*āmra* (Hc. 2,56; Deśin. 1,15); M. *tambira*=*tāmra* (Hc. 2,56; H. 589 [read as such]); M. *āmbira*=*ātāmra* (G.H.); *tambirā* (rust of wheat; Deśin. 5,5); AMg. JM. *ambila*=*amla* (Hc. 2,106; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,1,7,7; 2,1,11,1; Thān. 20; Paṇṇav. 8.10.12ff.; Vivāhap. 147.532; Jiv. 224; Uttar. 1021; Dasav. N.656,29; Kappas.; Āv. 24,18); AMg. *aṇambila* (Āyār. 2,1,7,7), *accambila* (Dasav. 621,14); *ambiliyā* (tamarind; Pāiyāl. 145); AMg. *āyambila*=*ācāmla*¹ (Vivāhap. 223; Nāyādh. 1292; Ovav.; Dvār. 498,2), *āyambilaya*=*ācāmlaka* (Thān. 352; Ovav. [text *‘bīliē’*]). For Mg. *tikkhābilakeṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,19), according to v.l. in GODABOLE p. 442, we should read *tikkhambilakeṇa*.

1. So is the word explained by the scholiasts. Improbable assumptions with regard to its derivation in LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *āyambiliya* and in WEBER, IS. 16,305, note 12.

§ 138. In Ś. Mg. *i* appears as a separation-vowel in the passive in *-ia* as in *paḍhiadi*=Pāli *paṭhiyate*=*paṭhyate*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍhiyāi*, P. *paḍhiyyate* (§ 535ff.), in the participia nec. and adjectives in *-āṇia* as in Ś. *karaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia*=*karaṇiya*, Ś. *ramaṇia*, Mg. *lamaṇia*=*ramaṇiya*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *karaṇiṣa*, *ramaṇiṣa*=**karaṇyā*, **ramaṇyā* (§ 91.134.571), and in M.AMg. in the ending *-māna*=Skt. *-māna* as in AMg. *āgamamāna* (§ 110.562). The separation vowel oscillates between *i* and *ī* in M.Ś. *accharia* JM. *acchariṣa*=*āścarya* (Vr. 12,30 for Ś.; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Mṛcch. 172,6; Mālav. 69,2; 85,8; Vikr. 9,12; Prab. 4,1; Mālatim. 25; Lalitav. 562, 19 etc.¹; Pāiyāl. 165; Kk.), Mg. *aścalia* (Lalitav. 565,11 [‘ja’]; 566,3; Veniś. 34,6) and Ś. *accharia* (Hc.; Mṛcch. 73,8; Śāk. 14,4; 157,5; Ratn. 296,25; 300,7.13; 306,1; 313,23; 322,23 etc.); M.AMg. also *acchera* (Bh. 1,5; 3,18.40; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Kī. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Paṇhāv. 380 [text *acchara*]), AMg. JM. *accheraya* (Nāyādh. 778f. 1376; Kappas.; Āv. 29,23; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *accheraga* (Paṇhāv. 288), according to Hc. also *acchariṣa*, a form which points to accentuation as *āścaryā*, and *acchaara*, whose origin is still in the dark. Beside M. *pīloa* (G. 589; [read as such])=*pīloa*, *pīluṭṭha*=*pluṣṭa* (Hc. 2,106) we have also *pīluṭṭha* (Deśin. 6,51). M.Ś. *jīā* (Vr. 3,66; Hc. 2,115; Kī. 2,61; Mk. fol. 30) is not=*īyā*, but=*jīvā*. In PG. *āpiṭṭiyam*=*āpiṭṭiyām* (6,37), and in inscriptions *ī* frequently stands for *i*.

1. In many editions of the drama they are falsely written as *acca*. Cf. § 301.

§ 139. If one of the connected consonants is a labial or *va*, the more usual separation vowel is *u*: M. *uddhumāi*=**uddhmāi* (Vr. 8,32;

Hc. 4,8), *uddhumāa*=*uddhmāta* (G.R.), *uddhumāia* (R.); *kḥuluha*=*kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 250; cf. § 206); AMg. *chāūma*=*chadman* (Hc. 2, 112), especially in *chāūmattha*=*chadmastha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,15; Thān. 50.51. 188; Vivāhap. 78.80; Uttar. 116.805.812; Ovav.; Kappas.); *tuvarai*=*tuvarate* (Vr. 8,4; Hc. 4,170), M.Ś. *tuvara*=*tvarasva* (H.; Śak. 77,3; 79,6), Ś. *tuvaradi* (Mṛcch. 97,9; Vikr. 9,12); *tuvaradu* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 64,11; Ratn. 313,7), *tuvaradu* (Mālav. 39,11), *tuvaramha* (Ratn. 293,31), *tuvaranta* (Mālatim. 119,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālatim. 24,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālav. 33,7; 39,13), *tuvarāvedu* (Mālav. 27,19), *tuvarānti* (Mālatim. 114,5); Mg. *tuvaladu* (Mṛcch. 170,5), *tuvalēsi* (Mṛcch. 165,24); AMg. JM.Ś. *duvāra*=*dvāra* (Hc. 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Pāiyāl. 235; Āyār. 2,1,5,4ff.; Vivāhap. 1264; Nāyādh.; Āv. 25.34; Erz.; Kk.; Mālatim. 238,6; Mudrār. 43,8 [read as such with v.l. for *dāra*]; Ratn. 303,2; 309,10; 312, 22; Mālav. 23,6; 62,18; 65,7; Bālar. 35,6; Priyad. 37,9; 38,7), *duāra* (Mṛcch. 39,3; 50,23; 70,9; 72,13; 81,25; Śak. 115,5; Viddhaś. 78,9; 83,7); *duāraa* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 44,25; 51,10; 68,21; 99,18; Mahāv. 100,6); Mg. *duvāla* (Prab. 46,12), *duāla* (Mṛcch. 43,11; Cait. 150), *duālaa* (Mṛcch. 45,2; 97,17); AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādaśa* (§ 244); M.AMg.Ś. Mg. *duve*, A. *dui*=*dve* (§ 437); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *paūma*=Pāli *paduma*=Skt. *padma* (Vr. 3,65; Hc. 2,112; Ki. 2,62; Mk. fol. 31; Acyutaś. 36,44.90.94 [text *paduma*]; Thān. 75ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Priyad. 13,16 [°du°]); Ś. *paūmarāa*=*padmarāga* (Mṛcch. 71,1); AMg.Ś. *paūmini*=*padmini* (Kappas.; Mṛcch. 77,13); AMg. *paūmāpai*=*padmāvatī* (Nirāyāv.), Ś. *padumāvadi* (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *puruvva*=*pūrva* (Mṛcch. 39,23; 89,4; Nāgān. 49,10); AMg. *riuvveja*=*rgveda* (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirāyāv. 44; Kappas.); M.AMg. JM. *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaradi*, Mg. *sumaladi*=*smarati* (§ 478); AMg. *suve* (C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,114), *sue* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Uttar. 103; Dasav. 639,15), Ś. *suvo* (Mukund. 14,18)=*śvaḥ*. The separation vowel *u* appears regularly in the feminine of the adjectives in *-u* (Vr. 3,65; C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,113; Ki. 2,62; Mk. fol. 30 f.), as in *guruvi* (Grr.)=*gurvī*, while *garui* belongs to *garua*=*guruka* (§ 123), consequently in Hc. 2,113 the word with *b* is to be corrected as *guruvi*; *tanuvi*=*tanvī* (Grr.), M. *tanui* (H.); *lahuvi*=*laghvī* (Grr.), M.Ś. *lahui* (G.; Mṛcch. 73,11); *mauvi*=*mydvī* (Grr.), M. *maui* (G.); *bahuvi*=*bahvī* (Grr.); *sāhui*=*sādhvī* (Mk.). The feminine of *prthu* is *puhuvī*, when it is used adjectively (Hc. 1,131; 2,113), against which M. JM.Ś.A. *puhavi*, *puhai*, AMg. JM.Ś. JŚ. *puḍhavi* in the meaning "the earth" (§ 51.115). In the same way may be explained also the absolutive Ś. Mg. Dh. *kadua*=*kṛtvā*, *gadua*=*gatvā* from **kaduvā*, **gaduvā* (§ 581), and the absolutive in *-tuāṇam*, *-tuāna*, such as *kāuāṇam*, *kāuāna*=**kartvāṇam* (§ 584).—Sometimes *u* is brought in when the syllable preceding or following the consonant group contains *u* or *o*. Thus *murukkha*=*mūrkhā* (§ 131; Hc. 2,112), which according to Mk. belongs to the *prācyā bhāṣā* that should be spoken by the Vidūṣaka (§ 23), and which occurs in Pras. 48,1 in Ś. [text *murukha*], whilst otherwise *mukkha* is used (e.g. Ś Mṛcch. 52,11.15; 81,4; Karp. 13,8; Priyad. 18,5.14; 38,1.8; Cait. 82,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 81,17.19; Prab. 50,13); P. *sunusā*=*snuṣā* (Hc. 4, 314), to which *sunhā* and *soṇhā* of the rest of the dialects go back (§ 148); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *duruhaī*=**udruhati* (§ 118.141.482).

§ 140. The separation—vowel oscillates between *a* and *i* in *kasana*, *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); M.Ś. *barahi*-, AMg.Ś. *barahiṇa* (§ 406)=*barhin*, beside *bariḥa*=*barha* (Hc. 2,104), A. *bariḥiṇa*=*barhin* (Hc. 4,422,8); *saṇeha*=*sneha* (2,102), A. *saṇephi* (Hc. 4,367,5), *saṇiddha*=*snigdha* (Hc. 2,109), otherwise M. JM.Ś. *siṇeha*, that is not mentioned by Vr. and Hc. though it is the only

form found in the dramas and occurs very frequently (Kī. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26; G.H.R.; Erz.; Mrcc. 27,17; 28,10; Śak. 9,14; 56,15; 90,12; 132,1; Mālav. 39,6; Mālatim. 94,6; Uttara. 68,8; Ratn. 327,13) *Ś. nissineha* (Mrcc. 25, 21), M. AMg. JM. *Ś. siniddha=snigdha* (Hc. 2,109; G.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcc. 2,52; 57,10 [to be read as such]; 59,24; 72,7; Śak. 53,8; 84,11; 132,11; Mālav. 5,10; 60,6); M. *siniddhaam* (Vikr. 51,7; 53,5); AMg. *sasiniddha=snigdha* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6,7,9 [sasa°]; v.l. Kappas.). Beside these forms, we have also M. A. *neha*, AMg. JM. *neha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, M. *niddha=snigdha* (§ 313). The separation-vowel oscillates between *a* and *u* in *puhavi*, *puhai*, *puḍhavi* and *puhuvi* (§ 139); AMg. *suhuma* (§ 131) and AMg. *suhama* (Hc. 2,101; Sūyag. 174); *Ś. sakkanomi* and *sakkunomi=saknomi* (§ 505). Dialectically *a*, *i* and *u* are exchanged in *arh*, *arha* and *arhant* (Hc. 2,104,111): AMg. *araha-* (Sūyag. 321; Samav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JŚ. *arahanta-* (Sūyag. 322; Thāṇ. 288; Vivāhap. 1.1235; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,3,4 [here the text has *ori*°]; 383,44; 385,63); AMg. JM. M. *arihaī* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Sūyag. 178; Dasav. 631,8; Erz.; Śak. 120,6), *Ś. arihadi* (Śak. 24,12; 57,8; 58,13; 73,8; Ratn. 323,1), Mg. *alihadi* (Śak. 116,1); *Ś. ariha=arha* (Vr. 3,62; Mukund. 17,4); *ariha=arha* (Kī. 2,59); AMg. JM. *mahariha=mahārha* (Vivāgas. 128; Rāyap. 174; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *jahāriha=yathārha* (Erz.; Kk.), *Ś. mahāriha* (Śak. 117,7), Mg. *mahāliha* (Śak. 117,5); Mg. *alihanā-* (Prab. 46,11; 51,12; 52,7; 54,6; 58,7; 59,9; 60,13; Mudrār. 183,2 [to be read as such]; Laṭakam. 12,13; 14,19; Amṛt. 66,2); JM. *aruha* (Hc. 2,111; Dvār. 502,27, beside *arahantānam*, v.l. *ori*°). The reading *aruhadi* is found in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śak. (BÖHTLINGK on 17,7,8 of his edition), and Mālav. (33,1; 65,2), likewise we find it in Priyad. 34,20, based on the South Indian manuscripts, in *Ś.* assuredly falsely. — *aruhanta-* (Hc. 2,111).

g) DROPPING OFF AND ADDITION OF VOWELS.

§ 141. Originally a vowel, at the beginning of a word, dropped off only when it was not accented. So in many disyllabic words, having more than two syllables with final accentuation: AMg. *daga=udakā* (Sūyag. 203.209.249.337.339.340; Thāṇ. 339.400; Paṇhāv. 353.531; Vivāhap. 942; Dasav. 619.27; 630,13; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside *udaga*, *udaya* (Ovav. § 83ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), sometimes both occur beside one another as in Sūyag. 337 *udageṇa [=dageṇa] je siddhim udāharanti śāyām ca pāyam udagam phusantā*¹ [*udagassa*]=*dagassa phāseṇa śāyā ja siddhī sījhimṣu pāṇā bahave dagamsi*. The rest of the dialects do not have this dropping off: M. *uaa* (G.H.R.), *udaya* (Erz.), *Ś. udaa* (Mrcc. 45,12; 112,10; 133,7; 134,7). JM. AMg. *duruhaī=udruhāti* (§ 118.139.482). — AMg. *pāṇāṇo=upāṇāṇau* (Sūyag. 384 [text *pāṇahāo*]; Thāṇ. 359 [text *vaṇo*, commentary *paṇo*]; Paṇhāv. 487 [text *vaṇo*] 1212 [text *vāṇahāo*]; Ovav. *paṇo* and *vaṇo*, beside *Ś. vāṇaha* (Mrcc. 72,9), AMg.; *chattoṇvāhana* (Sūyag. 249 [text *vaṇahā*]; Vivāhap. 153), *apovāhanaga, ya* (§ 77). — AMg. JM. JŚ. *posaha=upavasathā* (Antag. 19; Sūyag. 771.994; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402.359; 403,376); AMg. *posahiya=upavasathika* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.). — AMg. *rajanī=aratri* (§ 132; Vivāhap. 1563; Ovav.). — AMg. *lāu=alābū*, *lāu=alābu* (Hc. 1,66; Āyār. 2,6,1,1; Aṇuttar. 11; Ovav. § 79, VII [to be read as such]), *lāuya=alābuka* (Āyār. 2,6,1,4; Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 41.1033; Paṇnav. 31), also *lāum* (Hc. 1,66), beside AMg. *alāu* (Sūyag. 245), *alāuya* (Sūyag. 926.928 [°bu°]), *Ś. alāvū* (Hc. 1,237; Bālar. 229,21).

§ 142. We must also presuppose final accentuation in AMg. *gāra=āgāra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 126.154.345), *gāraththa=āgārastha* (Sūyag.

642.986; Uttar. 208), *gāri*=*agārin* (Uttar. 207), beside *agāra* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,5; Nāyādh.).—M. AMg. *rahaṭṭa*=*araghaṭṭa* (H. 490; Paṇhāv. 67), beside M. JM. *arahatta* (G. 685; Rṣabhap. 30.47; not correctly the ed. Bomb. 47 *palliā rahaṭṭa vva*).—M. *vaamsa*=*avataṃsa* (H. 439), AMg. *vaḍṃsa*, *vaḍṃsaga* (§ 103), beside M. *avaamsa* (H. 173.180), *avaamsaanti* (Śak. 2,15).—Mg. *hage*, *hagge*=**ahakah*; A. *hañi*=*ahakam* (§417). AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā*=*adhastāt* and derivatives (§ 107).—To this further belong the cases like AMg. *tiya*=*alīta* (Sūyag. 122.470; Thāṇ. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.155; Uttar. 833; Uvās.; Kappas.).—AMg. *piṇidhattae*=**apinidhātave* (Ovav. §79,X).—AMg. *pūha*=**apyūha* (§286).—AMg. *vakkamañi*=*apakrāmati* beside *avakammañi*, Ś. Mg. *avakkamadi* (§ 481), AMg. *valkkanta*=*apakrānta* (Pannav.41;Kappas.), *vakkanti*=*apakrānti* (Kappas.); M. *valagganti*=*avalagyanti* (G. 226.551); Ś. *vaṭṭhida*=*avasthita* (Mṛcch. 40,14); *vamhala*=*paṃmārah* (Hc. 2,174), where also the shortening of the *ā* points to final accentuation. Agreeing with Skt. is M. AMg. *piṇaddha*=*pinaddha* (G.H.R.; Rāyap. 81f; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). A different accent from that of Skt. is presupposed in M. AMg. JM. A. *raṇṇa*=*dranya* (Vr. 1,4; Hc. 1,66; Ki. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117.1439; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 58,9;71,9; 72,10), beside the rarer *araṇṇa* (G.H.; Āyār. p. 133,32; Kappas.; Erz.), which is the only form in Ś. (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Mālatim. 30,9; Uttarar. 190,2; Dhūrtas. 11,12; Kārṇas. 46,12; Vṛṣabh. 28,19;50,5; Caṇḍak. 17,16;95,10); against the dialect is *pāraddhiranṇa* (Viddhaś. 23,9).—M.A. *riṭṭha*=*ariṣṭa* (R.1,3; Piṅgala 2,72), JM. *riṭṭhanemi*=*ariṣṭanemi* (Dvār. 496,2;499,13;502,6;505,27), beside AMg. JM. *ariṭṭhanemi* (Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9;497,26;504,19;505,5); AMg. *riṭṭha* (a precious stone; Jiv. 218; Rāyap. 29; Vivāhap. 212. 1146; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.)=*āriṣṭa*, Pāli *ariṭṭha*¹, AMg. *riṭṭhaga* (Nāyādh. §61; Uttar. 980), *riṭṭhaya* (Ovav.)=*ariṣṭaka*, *riṭṭhāmaṇa*=*ariṣṭamaṇa* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), beside *ariṭṭha* (a tree; Pannav. 31). Cf. *ariṣṭātāni*. Probably to this group belongs also M. AMg. JM. Mg. A. *to*, which the grammarians and, with them, S. GOLDSCHMIDT², connect with *ta-*, but which could better be derived from *atas*.

1. WINDISCH, ZDMG. 49,285 against whose explanation goes Pkt.—: Prākṛtica p. 22.

§143. The initial vowel very frequently drops off in enclitic words under the influence of loss of accent. When the words are not used enclitically the vowel is retained. Thus : *api* after an anusvāra becomes *pi*, after a vowel, *vi*, as PG. *anne vi*=*anyān api* (5,6), *amhehi vi*=*asmābhirapi* (6,29); M. *maṇaṃ pi* (H. 12), *taṃ pi* (G. 430), *caḍulaṃ pi* (R. 2,18), *ajja vi*=*adyāpi* (H. s.v. *vi*), *taha vi*=*tathāpi* (R. 1,15), *nimmalā vi*=*nirmalā api* (G. 72), *amhe vi*=*asme api* (H. 232), *appavaso vi*=*alpavaśo'pi* (H. 265). So also in the other dialects. At the beginning of a sentence *a* remains: PG. *api* (6,37), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *avi* (R.; Āyār. 1,8,1,10; Dasav. 632,42; Kk. 270,46; Mṛcch. 46,5;57,6;70,12;82,12; Śak. 49,8; often in *avi a* and *avi nāma*), so in verses after *m*, when a short vowel is wanted, as AMg. *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *kālagam avi* (Kappas. Th. 13,3), and when in AMg. *-ām* remains against the rule (§68); further in AMg. JM. *puṇar api* (§342) and in AMg. JM. *jāvi*=*ja+api*=*cāpi* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5;1,1, 5,3; Sūyag. 120; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,13; Erz. 34,15), in cases like M. Ś. *keṇāvi* (H. 105; Vikr. 10,12 [to be read as such]), JM. Ś. *teṇāvi* (Erz. 10,25;17,17;22,9; Mālatim. 78,8), Ś. *ēttikenāvi* (Śak. 29,9); Ś. Mg. *maṃāvi* (Mṛcch. 65,19; Śak. 9,13;19,3;32,3;50,4; Mṛcch. 140,1); Ś. Mg. *taṇāvi* (Mālatim. 92,4; Mṛcch. 124,20); AMg. *khaṇam avi*=*kṣaṇam api* (Nāyādh. § 137); JM. *evam avi* (Āv. 16,24); JM. *saṇalam avi jivaloṇam*

(Kappas. § 44); M. *piāttanēnāvi* = **priyātvānenāpi* (H. 267); Ś. *jīvida-savassēnāvi* = *jīvitasarvasenāpi* (Śak. 20,5). In all such cases an special emphasis is to be laid on the word standing before *avi*¹. On AMg. *app* see § 174.—After anusvāra *iti* becomes *ti*, after vowels, *tti*; and long vowels are shortened before it (§ 92): PG. *ca tti* = *ceṭi* (6,37); *jīviām ti* = *jīvitam iti* (R. 5,4), *ṇatthi tti* = *nāstīti* (G. 281); AMg. *iṇam ti* = *enad iti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3), *anupariyattāi tti* = *anupariyattata iti* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *laheam ti* = *labheyam iti* (Śak. 13,9), *pekkhadi tti* = *preksata iti* (Śak. 13,6). So in all the dialects. On AMg. *i* see § 93, on M. *ia*, AMg. JM. *iva* at the beginning of a sentence see § 116, on AMg. *icc* § 174. In M. AMg. JM. after anusvāra and short vowels *iva* becomes *va*, after long vowels which are shortened (§ 92), in verses sometimes even after short vowels it becomes *vva* : M. *kamalam va* = *kamalam iva* (G. 668), *uaassa va* + *udakasyeva* (H. 53), *pakkhehi va* = *pakṣair iva* (H. 218), *ālāpakkhambhesu va* = *ālānastambhesu iva* (R. 3,1), *mahumahanena vva* = *madhumathanenēva* (H. 425), *samūsasanti vva* = *samucchvasanti va* (H. 625), *dāru vva* = *dārviva* (H. 105); AMg. *pumcham va* = *puccham iva* (Uvās. 94); JM. *puttam va* = *pultram iva* (Erz. 43,34), *kaṇagam va* = *kanakam iva* (Kk. 258,23). Ś. Mg. do not know the word but substitute *via* for it (Vr. 12,24). In M. AMg. JM. occurs also *iva* : M. (G.); AMg. *ṭaṅkaṇā iva* (Sūyag. 198), *meham iva* = *megham iva* (Uvās. § 102); cf. § 345; JM. *kiṇnaro iva* (Āy. 8,28), *tiṇam iva* = *tyṇam iva*, *vammaho iva* = *manmatha iva* (Erz. 24, 34; 84,21). On A. *jīva*, M. AMg. JM. P. *piva*, *viva*, *miya* see § 336.

1. BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 156f. wrongly rejects the writings of this sort.

§ 144. In Ś. Mg. *idānim* is often used enclitically in the weakened sense of “well”, “now”, “then”, and then it becomes *dānim* (Hc. 4,277.302). S. *vāvaḍo dānim aham* = *iyāpṛta idānim aham* (Mr̥cch. 4,24), *jo dānim...so dānim* (Mr̥cch. 6,4.8; 147,16.17), *kiṃ khu dānim* = *kiṃ khalv idānim* (Mr̥cch. 13,3), *ko dānim so* = *ka idānim saḥ* (Mr̥cch. 28,13), *anantarakarāṇām dānim āṇavedu aṇṇo* = *anantarakarāṇiyam idānim āṇāpayalu āryah* (Hc. 4,277 = Śak. 2,5); Mg. *āyivā dānim samvuttā* = *āyivikedānim saṃvuttā* (Mr̥cch. 37,6), *se dānim, ke dānim*, (Mr̥cch. 37,19.25), *ēṭṭha dānim* (Mr̥cch. 162,18), *toṣide dānim bhattā* = *toṣita idānim bhartā* (Śak. 118,1). In other dialects this use is rare, as PG. *ēṭṭha dāni* (5,7); M. *aṇṇam dānim bohiṃ* = *anyāṃ idānim bodhiṃ* (Hc. 4,277), *kiṃ dāni* (H. 390), *to dāni* (R. 11,121). In the beginning of a sentence and when stress is to be laid on the meaning “now” the *i* is retained in Ś. Mg.¹ too: *idānim* (Mr̥cch. 50,4; Śak. 10,2; 18,1; 25,3; 56,9; 67,6; 77,6; 87,1; 139,2; Vikr. 21,12; 22,14; 24,1; 27,4 etc. (read so everywhere). M. hardly uses the word, but it employs *inhim*, *ēṇim*, *ēṭṭha*, that are quite foreign to Ś. and Mg. AMg. JM. JŚ. have *iyānim*, *idānim* even inside sentences (e.g. Āyār. 1.1.4,3; Uvās. § 66; Ovav. § 86.87; Āv. 16,14; 30,10; 40,5; Pav. 384,60), metrically also AMg. *iyāni* (Dasav. N. 653,40).

1. CAPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125, who in his edition of Ratn. rightly maintained the distinction.

§ 145. An initial *a* generally drops in the sing. indic. pres. of the root as “to be” in the first and second persons when the forms are used enclitically : AMg. JM. *mi* (§ 498), M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* [text *mhi*], *si*. Thus for example AMg. *vañcio mi tti* = *vañcīto'smīti* (Uttar. 116); JM. *viddho mi tti* = *viddho'smīti* (Āv. 28,14); M. *ṭhia mhi* = *sthitāsmi* (H. 239); Ś. *iam mhi* = *iyamasmī* (Mr̥cch. 3,5; Śak. 1,8; Ratn. 290,28 [read so]; Nāgān. 2,16 [and so on]; Pārvatip. 1,18 [and so on]; Mg. *kilantē smi* = *klānto'smi* (Mr̥cch. 13,10). cf. § 85.96. — M. *aṇṇa si* = *adyāsi* (H. 861), *taṃ si* = *tvam asi* (G.H.R.), *diṭṭhā si* = *dṛṣṭāsi* (R. 11,129) *mūḍho si* (G. 487); JM. *kā si* (Erz. 4,8,12), *mukko si* = *mukto'si* (Kk. 266,25),

taṁ si=*toam asi* (Rṣabhap. 15); *paceādiṭṭho si*=*pratyādiṣṭo 'si* (Mṛcch. 5,3), *pucchidā si*=*prṣṭāsi* (Mṛcch. 28,21), *dāṇiṁ si* (Mṛcch. 91,18), *sariraṁ si* (Mālav. 38,5); Mg. *śante śi kilante śi*=*śrānto 'si klānto 'si* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *eśā śi*=*eṣāsi* (Mṛcch. 17,1).—*atthi*=*asti* is never used enclitically as it is generally employed in the pregnant sense="there is", "it actually exists" and remains, whilst as copula are used M.AMg. JM. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi*=*bhavati*, as already pointed out by LASSEN, Inst. p. 193. On AMg. *namo 'tthu naṁ* see § 175.498, on M. JM. *kiṁ tha* § 175, on AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *naṁ*=*nūdm* § 150.

§ 146. Final *a* has dropped in the ins. sing. of *a*-stems in A.: *aggiē*=*agnikena*, *vām*=*vātena* (Hc. 4,343,1); *eṁ cinhem*=*ena cihnena* (Vikr. 58,11); *koheṁ*=*krodhena* (Piṅgala 1,77^a); *daieṁ*=*dayitena* (Hc. 4,333.342); *daivem*=*daivena* (C. 4,331); *pahāreṁ*=*prahāreṇa* (Vikr. 65,4); *bhamanteṁ*=**bhramantena*=*bhramatā* (Vikr. 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); *rūeṁ*=*rūpeṇa* (Piṅgala 1,2^a); *sahajeṁ*=*sahajena* (Piṅgala.1,4^a). In the ins. sing. of *i*- and *u*-stems, *ā*, after its transition into *a*, (§100) has dropped off likewise: *aggiṁ*, beside *aggiṇa* from *aggiṇā*=*agninā* (Hc. 4,343). On *m* from *n* see §348. In A. *a* has decayed in the absolutive in *-i* from *-ia*=*ya*, as *daī*=*Ś. daia* (§ 594).

§ 147. The flexion of *strī* shows that originally the word was disyllabic. In AMg. JŚ. JM. Ś. *itthī* (Hc. 2,130; examples under § 97. 160), AMg. JM. *itthiyā* (Dasav. 628,2; Dvār. 507,2; Āv. 48,42); Ś. *itthiā* (e.g. Mṛcch. 44,1,2; 148,23; Vikr. 16,9; 24,10; 45,21; 72,18; Mālav. 39,2; Prab. 17,8 [read so]; 38,5; 39,6 etc.), also Ā. (Mṛcch. 148,22), Mg. *istiā* (§ 310)=*strikā*, the *i* is, therefore, the remnant of an old vowel, as correctly noticed by JOHANSSON¹. In M. *itthī* is rare and it is only in the later-day poets that it is visible (Acyutaś. 15; Pratāp. 220,9; Sāhityad. 178,3), *itthiajāṇa* (Śukasaptati 81,5), as also Vr. 12,22 correctly requires *itthī* for Ś.² In AMg. we also find, mostly in verses, *thī* (Hc. 2,130; Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 482,483.485) and *thiyā*=*strikā* (Sūyag. 285) used; yet the usual form even in verses is AMg. *itthī*. A. also has *thī* (Kk. 261,4).

1. Shāhbāzgarhi I, 149. But his etymology is not correct; Correct BEZZENBERGER, GN. 1878, 271ff.—2 PISCHEL on Hc. 2,130; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 26,745 WEEBER, H.² p. 454.

h).—DROPPING OFF OF VOWELS

§ 148. Unaccented vowels, especially *a*, are sometimes pushed out, in the interior of words: *katta* "wife" (Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251)=*kālatra*, **kaltra*; AMg. *piusiyā*=*pitṛvasyā* from **piusasiyā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142), M. *piussī* (Mk. fol. 40), AMg. *piussiyā* (Vivāgas. 105; Dasav. 627,40), AMg. *māusiyā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142; Pāiyāl. 253; Vivāgas. 105 [text *māsiyā*; correctly the commentary]; Dasav. 627,39 [text *māu siu iti*], M. *māussī* [Mk. fol. 40; MS. *māussā*]=*māṭṛvasyā*. M. *piucchā*, *māucchā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyāl. 253; H.), AMg. *piucchā* (Nāyādh. 1299.1300.1348), Ś. *māducchā*, *māducchiā* (Karp. 32,6. 8; cf. v.l.) presuppose a change of *sa* into *cha* according to §211. *pupphā*, *pupphiā*=*pitṛvasā* (Deśin. 6,52; Pāiyāl. 253) remain unexplained notwithstanding BÜHLER, ZDMG. 43,146; E. KUHN. KZ. 33,478f., because the dropping off of *i* is without an analogy. M. *po'pphala*=*pūgaphalā* from **pūgphala*, **pupphala* (§ 125.127; Hc. 1,170; Karp. 95,1), beside AMg. *pūyaphala* (Sūyag. 250), M. Ś. *po'pphalī*=*pūgaphalī* (Hc. 1,170; Śukasaptati 123,9; Viddhaś. 75,2 [text *pophallī*]); AMg. *saṇapphaya*=*sānakhapada* Sūyag. 288.822; Thāṇ. 322; Paṇṇav. 49; Paṇhāv. 42; Uttar. 1075¹;

AMg. *subbhi*=*surabhi*' (Āyār. 1,6,2,4; 1,8,2,9; 2,1,9,4; 2,4,2,18; Sūyag. 409. 590; Thān. 20; Samav. 64; Paṇṇav. 8.10ff.; Paṇhāv. 518.538; Vivāhap. 29.532.544; Uttar. 1021.1024), according to which has been formed *dubbhi*, which mostly occurs beside it. Vivāhap. 29 has *subbhi durabhi*, Āyār. 1,5,6,4 has *surabhi durabhi* side by side. In *khu*, *hu*=*khālu* (§ 94) the dropping off of *a* is explained through **khlū*, by the enclitic use of *khālu*. AMg. *uppiṃ* (e.g. Thān. 179.492; Vivāgas. 117.216.226.227.235. 253; Vivāhap. 105.199.233.250.410.414.797.846; Jiv. 439.483 etc.) presupposes the accentuation **ūpāri* or **upāri*', whilst *upāri* becomes M. JM. *Ṣ. uvari*, M.AMg. JM. *uvarim*, Mg. *uvali*, M. also *avarim* (§ 123).—*ā* has disappeared in JM. *bhāujjā*=*bhrātrjāyā* (Deśin. 6,103; Āv. 27,18 [read so; see v.l.]).—*i* has dropped off in M.Ṣ. *majjhaṇṇa*=*mādhyaṇḍina* (Vr.3,7; Hc. 2,84; Kī. 2,54; Mk. fol. 21; H. 839 [read so]; Mālav. 27,18; Nāgān. 18,2; Mallikām. 67,7; Jivān. 42,20 [cf. also *ṇha* 46,10,17]), Mg. *mayyhaṇṇa* (text *majjhaṇṇa*; Mrcc. 116,6; Mudrār. 175,3), *mayyhaṇṇika* (Mrcc. 117,14), beside *Ṣ. majjamaṇḍina* (Śak. 29,4). The grammarians derive *majjhaṇṇa* from *madhyāhna*, and they have been followed by their European disciples. BLOCH² has characterized the form as false, that has been rightly rejected by WACKERNAGEL³; however, he himself quite wrongly explains the development of the form through the process of disinclination, allowing two aspirates to follow one another, since disinclination is unknown in Pkt. (§214).—*u* has dropped in AMg. JM. *isattha*=*iṣuṣāstra* (Samav. 131; Paṇhāv. 322 [text *i*°]; Ovav. § 107; Erz. 67,1,2)⁴; AMg. *challūya*=*śaḍulūka* (Thān. 472; Kappas. Th. §6 [read so], with shortening of *ū* of *ulūka*, according to §80; JM. *dhiyā*, *Ṣ.Mg. dhidā* (Prākṛtamañjari on Vr. 4,33 *dhidā ca duhitā matā*) mostly in the compounds JM. *dāsiedhiyā*, *Ṣ. dāsiedhidā*, Mg. *dāsiedhidā* (§ 392)=**duhitā* for *duhitā*⁵; M. AMg. JM.Ṣ. *sunhā* (Hc. 1,261; H.; Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,2,1,12; Sūyag. 787; Antag. 55; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 628.631.633.634.647.660. 820.1110; Vivāgas. 105; Vivāhap. 602; Āv. 22,42; Bālar. 168,5 [read thus], M. *soṇhā* with *o* according to § 125 (Vr. 2,47; Kī. 2,91; Mk. fol. 39; H.), in Kāleyak. 14,7 also in *Ṣ. [text soṇhā]*=*snūṣā*, from P. *sunuṣā* (§ 139), **sunuṣā* (§ 263)⁶; so also AMg. *sunhatta*=**snusātva* (Vivāhap. 1046), beside AMg. *ṇusā* (Sūyag. 377) and *Ṣ. susā* (Hc. 1,261; Bālar. 176,15 [correct ?]).—*ū* has dropped off in *ohala*, *o'kkhala*, AMg. *ukkhala*=*udūkhala* (§ 66), which presupposes an accentuation other than *ulū'khala*⁷. On *ētto*, *aṇṇo* see § 197.

1. The texts often write the word falsely. KZ. 34,573 I have blundered in considering the word an avyayibhāva. JACOBI, KZ. 35,571 rightly rejects this, but he forgets to note that the word is a bahuvrīhi, through which, in fact, it is not altered.—2. Vr. and Hc. p. 33f.—3. KZ. 33,575f., Altind. Gr. §105, note; §108, note.—4. LEUMANN, Aup. *Ṣ. s.v.* and JACOBI Erz. s.v. explained the word with *īvastra*, that is factually and linguistically impossible, Abhayadeva on Paṇhāv. 322 rightly equates it as=*iṣuṣāstra*. Cf. §117 HOEFER, De Prākṛita dialecto p. 61 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,693 reject the derivation of the word from *dhitā* from *√ dhai*, BOLLENSON on Mālav. p. 172 derives the word from another *duhitā*=*duhitā*, wherein *i* remains unexplained.—5. Wrongly JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxii, note 3, has understood the word *sunhā* to have developed from *ṇusā* through metathesis. AMg. proves that *ṇusā* was not improper. Cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 33,479. In Kī. 2,91 there occurs also *ṇohā* beside *soṇhā*.—6. Wrongly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,582; FISCHER, KZ. 34,573f.

i) DROPPING OFF AND WEAKENING OF SYLLABLES.

149. Disappearance of the syllable *ya* occurs in M. A. *attha-maṇa*=*astamāyana* (H.; Hc. 4,444,2), the form has crossed also into Skt. as *astamana*; A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (Piṅgala 1,104.143) with reduplication of *ma* according to §194; *ṇisaṇi*, *ṇisaṇiā* (ladder; Deśin. 4,43)

=*niḥśrayaṇī*, *niḥśrayaṇikā*, beside AMg. *nisseṇī* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,6).—*va* has dropped in *ada*=*avaṭṭa* (Hc. 271; Pāiyāl. 130); AMg. JM. *em*=*evam* in AMg. *em ee*=*evam ete* (Thāp. 576. 579; Dasav. 613,9). JM. *emāi*=*evamādi* (Erz.; Śāgara 8,12), M. *emea* (G.H.), AMg. JM. *emeva* (Hc. 1,271; Pāiyāl. 166 [emeja]; Āyār. 2,1,6,4,7,5; 2,5,1,11; Uttar. 442.633.804; Dasav. N.646,9;650,28;652,21;660,29;662,43; Āv. 19,37). In JM. *evadda*, *evaddaga* (so big; Āv. 45,6,7), AMg. *emahālaya*, *femin. emahāliya* (Vivāhap. 412.415 [femin.] 1041; Uvās. §84), *emahiddhiya* (Vivāhap. 214), *esuhuma* (Vivāhap. 1191f.; Ovav. § 140) *e* should not with HERNLE¹ be equated as=*evam*, but with WEBER² as=*iyat*, more rightly **ayat* (§153), to which AMg. *evaijā* (Vivāhap. 212.214.1103; Kappas.), *evaikkutto* (Kappas.) and the parallel *kemahāliya* (Paṇṇav. 599ff.; Jiv. 18,65; Āṇuog. 401ff; Vivāhap. 415), *kemahiddhiya*, *kemahajjuīya*, *kemahābala*, *kemahāyasa*, *kemahāso*³ *kkha*, *kemahāpubhāga* (Vivāhap. 211), *kemahesakkha* (Vivāhap. 887), *kevaīya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Vivāhap. 17.26.209.211.239.212.734.738.1076ff.), *kevaciram* (Vivāhap. 180.1050; Paṇṇav. 545ff.), *kevacciram* (Jiv. 108.128ff.) M.⁴ *keccira*, *kecciram* (R.3,30.33)⁵, *ś.kecciram* (Mālatim. 125,2 [read so]; 278,8; Viddhaś. 18,11; 61,8; Kāleyak. 9,22), *keccireva* (Mālatim. 276,6) point. WEBER has likewise already compared Vedic. *ivat*; Vedic *ivat* stands in the same relation to *keva*-. Cf. also §153.261.434. Dropping off of *va* occurs in *kalera* (rib; Deśin. 2,53; Triv. 1,3,105) from *kalevara*=*kalebara*⁴. An isolated case is *duggāvī*=*durgādevī* (Hc. 1,270).

1. Uvās. s.v. *emahālaya*.—2 Bhag. 1,422.—3 S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica' p.23, note 1.—4 FISCHER, BB. 6,95.

§ 150. Dropping off of the initial syllable occurs in AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. *ā. naṁ*=*nūnām* (Hc. 4,283.302; e.g. Āyār. 1,6,3,1; 1,7,1,5,3,1,4,1,2,6,1,3 etc.; Ovav. §2ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nīrayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,3;16,17; 17,12; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,12;17,22;23,10; Śak. 3,4;27,5;37,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 12,16;22,5;31,2;81,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 32,23; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,10,13). The usual derivation of the word from *nanū*¹, which Hc. 4,283 even has, fails because of the accent, since *naṁ* in Ś. Mg. Dh. is used even in the beginning of a sentence and, therefore, was not always an enclitic. To regard AMg. *naṁ*, with WEBER², as the remnant of an old pronominal stem *na* and separate it from the *naṁ* of the dramas is impossible, because their use in other respects is similar. Further, AMg. sometimes employs *nūnaṁ* exactly like *naṁ*; e.g. *se nūnaṁ* (Uvās. §118.173.192) as against *se naṁ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,17ff.). Sometimes *nūnaṁ* as well stands at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. JM. *nūnaṁ gahena gahia tti teṇa tte mamaṁ dinnā* (Āv. 12,28); Ś. *nūnaṁ esa de attagado maṇoradho* (Śak. 14,11); Mg. *nūnaṁ . . takkemi* (Mṛcch. 141,1), as otherwise in Ś. Mg. *naṁ*. That in AMg. JM. *naṁ* is always written with cerebral *ṇa* (§224) is also an argument for its having been originally used within a word, although it may have its source in the enclisis.—M. *dhilla*=*śithila* (§194; Karp. 8,5; 70,8) as in Modern Indian³, beside *saḍhila*, *siḍhila* (§ 115). Identical with it is *dhē'lla* (poor; Deśin. 4,16), with *ē* for *i* according to §119. Dropping off of the final syllable occurs in *ova* (elephant-trap; Deśin. 1,49)=**dvapata*, AMg. *ovā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,4), beside *oā* (Deśin. 1,166)=*avapāta*; *kisala*=*kisālaya* (Hc. 1,269); cf. *pisalla* (§232); M. AMg. JM. *je*, A. *ji* for *jeva*=*eva* (§336); M. *dā* for *dāva*=*tāvāt* in *mā dā* (R. 3,10.27) against the dialect (§185); Mg. *ghaḍukka*=*ghaṭṭokaca* (Mṛcch. 29,20). In *sahia*=*sahṛdaya* (Hc. 1,269) we should not assume dropping off of a syllable. The word is=**sahṛd* with a regular descent to the *a*-declension. Likewise is *hia* (Mk. fol. 33), AMg. *hiya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5)=*hṛd*, Mg. *hadakka* (§194)=**hṛdaka*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 173; BOHTLINGK on Śak. 4,4 p 149, etc.—2 Bhag. 1, 422 ff.—3 FISCHER on Hc. 1,89.

k) SAMPRĀSARANA

§151. Samprasāraṇa takes place in Pkt. in the same cases as in Skt.; *ya* in an unaccented syllable becomes *i*, and *va* becomes *u*: Ś. *iṭṭhi*=*iṣṭhi* from *yaj* (Śak. 70,6); M. *utla*=*upta* from *vap* (G); M. AMg. JM. *sutta*=*supta* from *svap* (H; Kappas.; Erz.). Pkt. has, however, this change of sound also in a number of cases in which Skt. shows *ya* and *va*. Thus *ya* becomes *i*: AMg. *abhintara*=*abhiantara* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *tirikka*=**tiryakṣa* from *tiryak* (Thāp. 121,336; Sūyag 298; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. Ś. A. *tiricchi* (Hc. 2,143; 4,295; Karp. 37,5; Mallikām. 74,2 [text °ra°]; Hc. 4,414, 3,420,3), Mg. *tiliṣci* (Hc. 4, 295 [so it is to be read]); Ś. *tiriccha* (Bālar. 68,14; 76,19; 246,9; Viddhaś. 34,10; 124,3); AMg. *vitiriccha* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. *paḍiṇiya*=*pratyānika* (Ovav. §117; *viana*=*vyajana* (Vr. 1,3; Hc. 1,46; Kī. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5); M. *vilā*=*vyalika* (Hc. 1,46; H.); in future such as *kāhimi* from **karsyāmi*, *dāhimi* from **dāsyāmi*, and the endings *-ihisi*, *-ihii* in M. AMg. JM. (§520ff.). On *bāhim* see §181. In AMg. sometimes even the secondary *ya*, which has taken the place of some other consonant, becomes *i*: *āriya* beside *āyariyā*=*ācāryā* (§81,134), *rāiṇṇa* for **rāyaṇṇa*=*rājanya* (Thāp. 120; Samiv. 232; Vivāhap. 800; Ovav.; Kappas.).¹ *ya* has become *i* in AMg. *viikkanta*=*vyatikrānta* (Āyār. 2,15,2,25 [text *vi*°]; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s.v. *viikkanta*; Uvās. s. v. *vaiikkanta*); *viivayamaṇa*=*vyativrajamaṇa* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *viivaittā*=**vyativrajitvā* (Ovav.).² For *yā* has developed *i* in *thiṇṇa*, *thiṇṇa*=*styāna* (Hc. 1,74; 2,33,99), beside *thiṇṇa*, M. *thiṇṇa* (R.).

1. So more correctly than in KZ. 34,570; falsely JACOB, KZ. 35,573. The frequent interchange of *ya* and *i* in Jaina manuscripts need not be assumed here, because the word is always written with *i*, and for *āriya* the change to *i* has been explicitly taught by the grammarians — 2. From the v.l. I feel assured to admit that it is *vi*, and not *vi* or *va* that is to be written. The lengthening of the second *i* is explained according to §70.

§ 152. *va* is changed to *u*, before double consonants also to *o* (§125) AMg. *amsoṭṭha*, *assoṭṭha*, *āsoṭṭha*=*asvasthā* (§74); *gailā*=*gavayā*, *femin. gailā* (Hc. 1,54,158; 2,174,3,35); A. *jāu*=*ydvat*, *tāu*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,423,3; 426, [read *jāu*]); M. A. *turiā*=*tvaritā* (Vr. 8,5; Hc. 4,172; G.H.R.; Piṅgala 1,5), AMg. JM. *turiya* (Pāṭiyal. 173; Vivāhap. 949; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), Ś. *turiā* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 41,12; 170,4; Ratn. 297, 12; Vṇṇis. 22,20; Mālatim. 284,11; 289,6 etc.), Mg. *tulidā* (Mṛcch. 11,21; 96,18; 97, 1; 98,1,2; 117,15; 133,11; 171,2; Caṇḍak. 43,8), A. D. Ā. *turiā* (Vikr. 58,4; Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3,11); *viśum*=*viśvak* (Hc. 1,24,43,52); M. *suoi*, *suoi*, JM. *siyai*=**svapāti*=*svapiti*, JM. Ś. *suwāmi*, A. *suahī* (§497), AMg. *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa*, A. *suviṇa*=*svāpnā* (§177) with reference to the verb; M.Ś. *soṭṭhi*=*svasti* (Kī. 2,148; H.; Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11,19; 73,18; Vikr. 15,16; 29, 1; 44,5 etc.), *soṭṭhivāṇa*=*svastivācāna* (Vikr. 43,14; 44,13), *soṭṭhivāṇa* (Vikr. 26,15), AMg. *soṭṭhiya*=*svastika* (Paṇḍav. 283,286; Ovav.); AMg. *soupiya*=*śauvanika* (dog-keeper; Sūyag. 714; but *sovaṇiya* 721). Also secondary *va*, which has first arisen in Pkt., sometimes becomes *u* through ablaut in the prefix *upa* (§155); further in A. *ṇāu* from **ūṇāvaṇ*=*nāma* (Hc. 4, 426,1). Secondary *u* is sometimes also raised, as in *sovaī*, JM. *soveṇti*, *soum*, A. *soevā*; *sovaṇa*, AMg. *osovaṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *svap* (§78,497); AMg. *sovāga*=*śvapāka*, *sovāgi*=*śvapāki* (§78), and *o* arising from *u* is lengthened, as in M. *soṇāra*=*svaṇakāra* (§66). — *vā* appears as *ū* in the absolute in PG. M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇam*, P. *-tūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇa*, P. *-tūṇa*, JŚ. *-dūṇa*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇa*=Vedic *tvāṇam*, as in PG. *kātūṇam*, P. *kātūṇam*, AMg. JM. *kātūṇam*, JŚ. *kādūṇa* M.

JM: *kāūpa* = **kartvānam*, **kartvāna* (§ 584 ff.). On *do*, *du* apparently = *du*, see §435.

§ 153. Under the law of *saṃprasāraṇa* falls also the change of *aya* into *e* and of *ava* into *o*. Thus *aya* becomes *e* in verbs of the 10th class, causatives and similarly formed denominatives, such as PG *apuvatthāveli* = *anuprasthāpayati*, AMg. *thāvei*, M. AMg. JM. *thavei* = *sthāpayati* (§551f.); M. AMg. *kahei*, Mg. *kadhedi* = *kathayati*, Ś. *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (§490); Ś. *sīdalāvedi* = *sītalayati* (§559). Further in cases like M. *nei*, JM. *nei* = *nayati*, Ś. *nedu* = *nayatu* (§474); M. JM. *dei*, Ś. *dedi* = **dayati*, Mg. *dedha* = **dayata* (§474); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* = **trayadaśa* = *trayodaśa* (§443), AMg. JM. *tevīsam*, A. *teisa* = **trayaviṃśati* = *trayaviṃśati*; AMg. JM. *tēttisam*, *tittisam* = *trayastrīṃśat* (§445); AMg. *nissenī* = *niḥśrayaṇi* (§149).—AMg. *leṇa* = *layana* (Sūyag. 658; Thān. 490.515; Panhāv. 32.178.419; Vivāhap. 361 f. 1123. 1193; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. Ś. A. *e'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G. H.; Mrcch. 41,19; 60,12; 77,10.24; Vikr. 45,4; Mālav. 26,10; Mālatīm. 82,9; Uttarak. 18,2; 66,1; 72,6; Hc. 4.341.2), JM. *e'ttiya* (Āv. 18,6; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *e'ttika* (Śak. 29,9; 59,3; 70,10; 71,14; 76,6; Vikr. 25,7; 46,8; 84,9; Mg. Mrcch. 125,24; 165,14; Śak. 114,11), *ittia* (Hc. 2,156) can neither with LASSEN¹ be referred directly to **ati* nor with S. GOLDSCHEIDT² with the support of Hc. directly to *iyat*, but it presupposes one **ayāt*, from which was derived **ayattya*, with a separation-vowel **ayattiya*, corresponding to Skt. *ihatya*, *kvatya*, *tatraiya*. In the same way M. Ś. A. *ke'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; H.; Mrcch. 72,6; 88,20; Vikr. 30,8; Hc. 4,383,1), JM. *ke'ttiya* (Erz.) = **kayattya*, **kayattiya* from the stem *kaya-*. So we must explain *e-* and *ke-* also in the first member of compounds in AMg. M. Ś. (§149). Analogous formations are M. *je'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.), Mg. *je'ttika*, *ye'ttia* (Mrcch. 132,13; 139,11); *jittia* (Hc. 2,156), M. Mg. A. *te'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.; Mrcch. 139,12; Hc. 4,395,7), Mg. *te'ttika* (Mrcch. 132,14); *tittia* (Hc. 2,156). Derivatives are *e'ttila*, *ke'ttila*, *je'ttila*, *te'ttila* (Hc. 2,157), JM. *e'ttilliya* (Āv. 45,7), A. *e'ttula*, *ke'ttula*, *je'ttula*, *te'ttula* (Hc. 4, 435).

1. Inst. p. 125.—2. Prākṛtica p. 23.

§154. *ava* becomes *o* through *au*, e.g. in M. *oaraṇa* = *avataraṇa* (G.H.); M. *oāra* (G.H.), Ś. *odāra* (Śak. 21,8), beside *avadāra* (Vikr. 21,1) = *avatāra*, Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati*, Mg. *odala* = *avatara* (§477); JŚ. *ōggaha* = *avagraha* (Pav. 381,21); AMg. *oma* = *avama* (Thān. 328; Uttar. 352.768.918), *anoma* = *anavama* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), *omāna* = *avamāna* (Uttar. 790), *vodāna* = *vyavadāna* (Sūyag. 523), and so very frequently in all the dialects in the prefix *ava* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *osā* = *avaśyā* (Sūyag. 829; Uttar. 311; Dasav. 616,21), also *ussā* for *o'ssā* (Thān. 339; Kappas. S. §45; v.l. *osā*, as should read be everywhere), *bahuosa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1), *apposa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,1,2); M. Ś. *osāa* = *avaśyāya* (R. Vikr. 15,11 [read so with v.l. in the Drāviḍa recension 625,11, ed. PISCHEL]); M. AMg. JM. *ohi* = *avadhi* (H.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *jomiyā* = *yavanikā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), but *javana* (Panhāv. 41; Panhav. 58), *javanīyā* (Kappas.); M. Ś. *nomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Hc. 1,170; H.; Mrcch. 73,10; Lalitav. 560,9.17.20 [a proper noun]; Mālatīm. 81,1; Śak. 9,11; 12,13; 13,3; 15,3), *nomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Vr. 1,7); M. *nohaliā* = *navaphalīkā* (Hc. 1,170; Kī. 2,148 [aṁ]; H.); M. AMg. JM. A. *loṇa* = *lavāṇa* (Vr. 1,7; Hc. 1,171; Kī. 1,8; Mk. fol. 6; G.H.; Kāleyak. 14,13; Āyār. 2,1,6,6,9; 2,1,10,7; Sūyag. 337.834.935; Dasav. 614,15.16; 625,13; Āv. 22,39; Hc. 4,418,7.444,4), PG. JM. *alona* = *alavaṇa* (6,32; Āv. 22,39), JM. *loṇiya* *aloniya* (Āv. 22,14.30.31). According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lavāṇa* only. M. AMg. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi* = *bhavati* (§475f).

The secondary *ava* derived from *apa* also may become *o* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35), as in M.JM. *osarāi*=*apasarati*, JM. *Ṣ. osara*=*apasara*, Mg. *osaladi*=*apasarati* (§477).—*āva* appears as *o* in M. *oli*=*āvali* (Hc. 1,83, who equates it as=*āli*; G.H.R.) and in *loṇṇa*=*lāvanya* (Mk. fol. 6), A. also *salona*=*salāvanya* (Hc. 4,444,4) in rhyme with *lona*=*lavaṇa*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *Ṣ.* has *lāvanna* only, and so it occurs in *Śak.* 158,10.

§155. According to Hc. 1,173, *upa* may become either *ū* or *o*. His examples are : *ūhasiām*, *ohasiām*, *wahasiām*=*upahasiām*; *ujjhāo*, *ōjjhāo*, *wajjhāo*=*upādhyāyāḥ*; *ūāso*, *oāso*, *wavāso*=*upavāsah*. Mk. fol. 35 mentions that these do occur according to somebody (*kasyacinmate*). *ujjhāa*, that is found in poetry in JM. (Erz. 69,28;72,39), stands for **ujjhāa* from **uwjjhāa*=M. *Ṣ. wajjhāa* (H.; Karp. 6,3; Vikr. 36,3.6.12; Mudrār. 35,9;36,4 6;37,1; Priyad. 34,14.17.21;35,15), AMg. JM. *wajjhāya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff; Samav. 85; Thān. 354f. 366.384ff; Erz.)=*upādhyāya*. There arises, therefore, *u* from *va* according to §152 and the two colliding *u*'s have been contracted into one. The same process is effective in *ūhasia* (Hc.) from **uuhasia*=*wahasia*=*upahāsita*, beside the dialectical *ūhaṭṭha* (laughter; Deśin. 1,140)=**upahasta*; further in *ūāsa* (Hc.)=**uuāsa*=*uavāsa*=*upavāsa*; *ūṇandīa* (overjoyed; Deśin. 1,141)=**upanandīa*; *ū'aṭṭha*=**upavṛṣṭa* (Pāṇīal. 197); *ūsitta*=*upasikta* (Pāṇīal. 187)¹. Against these there occur the parallel forms with *o*, not going back to *upa*. In *ōjjhāa*, from which is derived NI. *ojhā*², *o* is to be explained according to §125, in AMg. *paḍṇyāra*=*pratyupacāra*, *paḍṇyārei*=*pratyupacārayaṇi* (§163) *o*³, if the reading is correct, must be explained according to §77; in all other cases *o*=*ava* or *apa* according to §154, even when no corresponding word is found in Skt. Thus :—*ohasia* (Hc.)=*apahāsita*, as *ohaṭṭha* (Deśin. 1,153)=**apahasta*, *oāsa* (Hc.) is=**apavāsa*; *ositta* (Deśin. 1,158)=*avasikta*. *ua* never becomes *o*, for the Pāli, M. *o* (R.), that is equated by Hc. 1,172 and most of the scholiasts to=*uta*, and by others is explained with *atha vā*⁴, is=Pāli *ādu*⁴, AMg. *adu* (Sūyāg. 118.172.248.253.514; Uttar. 90), *adu vā* (Sūyāg. 16,46.92.142; Uttar. 28.116.180.328; Samav. 82.83), *adu va* (Sūyāg. 182.249; Samav. 81), *Ṣ. Mg. ādu* (Mṛcch. 2,23;3,14;4,1;17,21;51,24;73,4; Mālatīm. 77,3; Priyad. 30,13;37,14; Adbhutad. 53,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,14; 132,21;158,7), which, as sometimes *o*, is explained as=*atha vā*. *o* has, therefore, developed from **āu*, **au*.⁵

1. In the last two examples *ū* can be equated also as=*ud*, as usually it is according to § 64.327a.—2. CROOKE, An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 96 note. False with others, FISCHER, GGA. 1894,419, note 1.—3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s. v. *o*.—4. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 25 wrongly equates the word as=Vedic *ād u*. Cf. also FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte Vanskelige Pāli-ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1881) p. 25ff. The words do not have something in common in meaning.—5. Falsely JACOBI ZDMG. 47,578; KZ. 35,578. Pāli *oka*=*udoka* is to be explained from **ukka*, **o kka* according to 66. AMg. *adu* cannot be=*ataḥ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,422; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p.36), because *ta* does not become *da* in AMg. Cf. §203.204.

1) VOCALIC SĀMDHI

156. Similar vowels, when they meet together in compounds, are generally contracted, as in Skt. : *a*, *ā*+*a*, *ā* becomes *ā*; *i*, *ī*+*i*, *ī*=*ī*; *u*, *ū*+*u*, *ū*=*ū*. PG. *mahārājādhirāja* (5,2), *ārakhādhikate*=*ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5), *sahassātīreka*=*sahasrātīreka* (7,42), *vasudhādhīpataye*=*opatīn* (7,44), *narādhama* (7,47); M. *kaḍvārāha*=*kṛtāparādhā* (H.50); AMg. *kālākāla* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM.

iṅgiyākāra (Āv. 11,22); JŚ. *surāsura* (Pav. 379,1); Ś. *kilesāṇala*=*klesāṇala* (Lalitav. 562,22); Mg. *yūḍialāvamāṇa*=*dyūṭakarāvamāṇa* (Mṛcch. 39,25); A. *sāsāṇala*=*śvāsāṇala* (Hc. 4,395,2); M. *puhaviṣa*=*prthiviṣa* (H. 780); A. *aṃsūsāsaiḥ*=*aśrūcchvāsaiḥ* (Hc. 4,431). So also in secondary vowels in M. *iṣṣa*, *iṣiṣi*=*iṣat+iṣat* (§102). Before double consonants a long vowel is shortened according to §83: M. *uddhaccha*=*ūrdhvākṣa* (H. 161), *kaṇḍa*=*kavindra* (Karp. 6,9); JŚ. *adindiyatta*=*atindriyatva* (Pav. 381,20); AMg. *gunatṭhi*=*gunārthi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM. *rattaccha*=*raktākṣa* (Āv. 12,27); Ś. *jammanīare*=*janmāntare* (Mṛcch. 4,5); Mg. *anṇagāmantala*=*anyagrāmāntara* (Mṛcch. 13,8); PG. *aggitṭhomavāḍapeyassamedhuyāji* (5,1). S. also in the verse before a simple consonant in AMg. *rāyamacca*=*rājāmātya* (Sūyag. 182; Dasav. 624,22). In AMg., more rarely in JM. JŚ., however, similar vowels often remain uncontracted, particularly in dvandva compounds. Thus: *-a+a*: AMg. *samaṇamāhapaṇi*=*śramaṇabrāhmanātithi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; 2,2,1,2,2,8; cf. 2,10,4), *puvavidehaavaravideha* (Jiv. 161.174f. 210; Aṇuog. 396.397; Bhag.), *saṇḍu*=*svāṇḍu* (Sūyag. 364), *saatṭha*=*sārtha* (Sūyag. 579), *kharapharusaasiniddhaditāniṣṭāsubhāpriyākāntavagnubhiṣa* (Nāyādh. 757), *puḍhaviḍagaagani*=*prthyudakāgni* (Paṇhāv. 353), *indaṇilaajasi-kusuma*=*indranilātasikusuma* (Ovav. §10), *maṇagutti*, *kāyaagutti*=*manogutti*, *kāyāgutti* (Vivāhap. 1462); AMg. *suraasurā*=*surāsūrāḥ*, JM. *suraasura-maṇḍyamahiṇā*=*surāsura-manuḍyamahitāḥ* (Āyār. 2,15,12; Kk. 269,26); JM. *egaakkhara*=*ekākṣara* (Āv. 7,27), *āiregaatṭhavāsa*=*atirekāṣṭavarsa* (Āv. 8,9) *sayalaatṭhamiḍajiyāloa*=*sakalāstamitaḍiyāloka* (Āv. 8,22); JŚ. *savvaatthesu*=*sarvārthesu*, *vandanaatṭham*=*vandanārtham* (Kattig. 399.313; 402,356). *-a+ā* AMg. *akiriḍaāyā*=*akriyātmānāḥ* (Sūyag. 410; *-a* for *ā* according to §97), *selagajakkhaaruhaṇa*=*śailakayakśārohaṇa* (Nāyādh. 966). *-ā+a*: AMg. *mohā-aḍavi* (Nāyādh. 1449), beside JM. *mahā-aḍavi* (Erz.); JM. *dhammakahā avasāṇa*=*dharma-kathāvasāṇa* (Āv. 7,27), *mahāakkanda*=*mahākranda* (Dvār. 505,20). *-i+i*: AMg. *mauḍḍhigārava*=*matyaddhigaurava* (Dasav. 635,38), where, therefore, the second *i* is secondary. *-u+u*: AMg. *bahuḍjhiya-dhammiya*=*bahūjjhātadharmika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,4.11,9; Dasav. 621,6), *bahuudaga*=*bahūdaka* (Sūyag. 565), beside *bahūdaga* (Thān. 400), *bahuupala*=*bahūt-pala* (Nāyādh. 509), *devakuruuttarakuru* (Jiv. 147.174.194.205.209.211; Aṇuog. 396), **kuruga* (Vivāhap. 425), *devakuruuttarakurāo* (Samav. 111), **kurayāo* (Samav. 114), *suuddhara* (Dasav. 636,30), *suujjuyāra*=*svrjukāra* (Sūyag. 493), in which the second *u* is secondary. The vowels remain uncontracted in M. very rarely, somewhat more frequently in Ś. as M. *pavālaaṇkura*=*pravālāṇkuraka* (H. 680), *piāahara*=*priyādhara* (H. 827), *dhavalaamsua*=*dhavalāṃśuka* (R. 9,25; cf. also the v.l.); Ś. *piamvadaṇusūdo*=*priyamvadaṇusūye* (Śak. 67,6), *puṇṇikadaajjiauttakitti*=*puṇṇikṛtāryaputrakiri* (Bālar. 289,20), *aggisaraṇāḍlinda*=*agnisaraṇāḍlinda* (Śak. 97,17), *cediāaccanā*=*ceṭikārcanāya* (false dative), *piārīha*=*pūjārīha* (Mukund. 17,12,14). So also in A. *addhaaddha*=*ardhārdha*, *biaaddha*=*dvitīyārdha* (Piṅgala 1,6,50). In cases like Piṅgala 1,24,25 we must not assume composition, but the stem, used as nominative. Too general is Hc. 1,4.

§157. *a*, *ā*, with short dissimilar vowels before single consonants in compound, undergo, the same sandhi as prescribed in Skt.: *a*, *ā+i* becomes *e*; *a*, *ā+u*=*o*. Thus for example M. *disēbha*=from *disā*=**disā=dig+ibha* (G. 148), *saṃdaṭṭebhamoṭṭia*=*saṃdaṭṭebhamauktika* (G.236), *pañcesu*=*pañcesu* (Karp. 12,8; 94,8), *kisoari*=*krīśodari* (H. 309), *sāmoa*=*śyāmodaka* (R.9,40.43,44), *girilulioah*=*girilulitodadhi* (G. 148). Likewise in the other dialects. Contraction takes place in the case of secondary *i* and *u* as well, so

AMg. *Ś. mahesi* from *mahā + isi = ṛṣi*, M.Ś. *āśesi* from *rāa = rāja + isi = ṛṣi* (§57); AMg. *savvouiya* from *savva = sarva + uuiya = ṛtuka = sarvartuka* (Panhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Vivāgas. 10; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. 527; Pannav 111; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niccouga*, *ṛya = nīrtartuka* (Samav. 233; Thān. 369), *aṇouiya = anṛtuka* (§77; Thān. 369). In AMg. the vowels often remain uncontracted : *savvaūoarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), beside *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879); *paḍhamasamaṇaūvasanta = prathamasamayopasānta* (Pannav. 65); *kakkolaiṣṭra* (Panhāv. 527); *āyariyaūvajiḥyā = ācāravopādhyāya* (Thān. 354f. 366.384ff.; Samav. 85); *heṭṭhimaiṭṭurima* (Samav. 68; Thān. 197 [hi²]); *vājaghaṇaūdahi vātaghanodadhi* (Vivāhap.102); *kaṇṭhasutaiṭṭaratta = kaṇṭhasūtroraṣṭha* (Vivāhap. 791); *appaūdaṇya = alpodaka* (Āyār.2,3,2,17), *divadisāud ihiṇaṁ = dvīpadigudadhīnām* (Vivāhap. 82). *mahāudoga = mahodaka* (Uttar. 714); also in the secondary second vowels : *iḥmigaūsabha = iḥamṛgaṛsabha* (Jiv. 481.492.508; Nāyādh. 721 [°ha]; Ovav. §10; Kappas. §44); *khaggaiṭṭsabha = khaḍgaṛsabha* (Ovav. §37). In other dialects the vowels seldom remain uncontracted, such as in JM. *paṇaṇaūvaghāyana = pravacanopaghātaka*, *saṁjamaūvaghāyana = saṁyamopaghāta* (Kk 261,25,26); *Ś. vasantussavaūṛāṇa = vasantotsavopāyana* (Mālav. 39,10; uncertain; cf. v.l.); and in the secondary second vowel Ś. *visajjidaūsidāraa = visarjitaṛsidāraka* (Uttarar. 123.10).

§158. If the second member of a compound begins with *i*, *u*, followed by a double consonant or with either original or secondary *i*, *u*, the final of the first member is, as a rule, discarded. (C.2,2; of Hc. 1,10). So M.A. *gaṇḍa*=*gaṇḍra* (G.H.R.; Vikr. 54,1), A. *gaṇḍa* (Vikr. 59,8;60,21;63,2); JŚ. Ś. A. *ṇarinda*=*ṇarendra* (Kattig. 400,326; Mālatim. 206,7 [so to be read]; 292,4; Piṅgala 1,21.24), Mg. *ṇalinda* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. Ś. Mg. *mahinda*=*mahendra* (Thāṇ. 266; Mālatim. 201,5; Mṛcch. 128,8); AMg. JŚ. *devinda*=*devendra* (C. 2,2; Hc. 3, 162; Kattig. 400,326); AMg. *joisinda*=*jyotiṣendra* (Thāṇ. 138); AMg. JM. JŚ. *jininda*=*jinendra* (Ovav. §37; Āv. 7,24; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,42); Ś. *minda*=*mīgendra* (Śak. 155,1 [to be so read]; 156,7) and so many compounds with *indra* in all the dialects (cf. §159); JM. *māindajāla*=*māyendrajāla* (Āv. 8,53); AMg. *egindīya*=*ekendriya* (Vivāhap. 100,109.144); AMg. *soindīya*, *ghāṇindīya*, *jibbhindīya*, *phāsindīya*=*śrotendriya*, *ghṛāṇendriya*, *jihvendriya*, *spāṣendriya* (Thāṇ. 300; Vivāhap. 32; Ovav. p. 40, VI; Uttar. 822), A. *jibbhindīya*=*jihvendriya* (Hc. 4,427 [so to be read]); M. *taddiasindu*=*taddivasendu* (G. 702); *tiasisa*=*tidasisa* (Hc. 1,10); JM. *rāsara*=*rāṣaśara* (Erz.); *parvadisara*=*parvateśvara* (Mudrār. 40,6;46,9;216,13); M. *kannuppala*=*karnotpala* (G.760), AMg. JM. *nīluppala*, Ś. *nīluppala*=*nīlotpala* (Uvās. §95; Ovav. §10; Kī. 18 [nī^u]; Erz. 79,8; Priyad. 15,8;33,2;39,2); Mg. *nahuppala*=*nakhotpala* (Mṛcch. 122,19); M. *khandhukkheva*=*skandhotkṣepa* (G. 1049), CP. *pātukkheva*=*pādotkṣepa* (Hc. 4,326); AMg. *gandhuddhūya*, A. *gandhuddhūa*=*gandhoddhūta* (Ovav. §2; Vikr. 64,16); JM. *rajanujjala*=*ratnojjala* (Āv. 8,4); Ś. *mandamāruduvvūlīda*=*mandamārutodvellīta* (Ratn. 302,31; cf. Mālatim. 76,3), *parvadamūlīda*=*parvatonmūlīta* (Śak. 89,13); Mg. *śarvavyāna*=*śarvodāna* (Mṛcch. 113,19); M. *kāśāsa*=*kṛtucchāsa*, *liḍhāsa*=*liḍhoṣa* (G. 387.536), *gamaṇsua*=*gamanotsuka* (R. 1,6); AMg. *egūṇa*=*ekona* (§144), *pañcūṇa* (Samav. 208; Jiv. 219), *desūṇa* (Samav. 152.219), *bhāgūṇa*, *koṣūṇa* (Jiv. 228.231); M. *gāmīsara*=*grāmotsava* (G. 598); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava*=*mahotsava* (Karp. 12,9; Erz., Mṛcch. 28,2; Ratn. 292,9.12;293,13;295,19;298,30; Mālatim. 29,4;119,1;142,7;218,3 etc.; Uttarar. 108,2;113,6; Candak. 93,6; Anarghar. 154,3; Nāgān. 42,4 [text 'āssa']; 53,19; Vṛṣabh. 11,2; Subhadr. 11,5.17); Ś. *vasantūsava*=*vasantotsava* (Śak. 121,11; Vikr. 51,14; Mālav. 39,10 [so to be read]). So also in the case of secondary

second vowels : AMg. *uttamiddhi*=*uttama*+*ṛddhi* (Thāṇ.80), *deviddhi* (Uvās. *mahiḍḍhi* (Thāṇ.178), *mahiḍḍhiya* (Ovav.); very seldom before a simple consonant, as in JM. *viṣesuvaogo*=*viṣesopayoga* (Kk. 277,9) and Ā. *addhuia*=*ardhodita* (Mṛcch. 100,12).

§159. In the cases mentioned in §158 contraction takes place, sometimes, when the second member begins already in Skt. with *i*, *ū* and is followed by a simple consonant : Ś. *vāderida*=*vāterita* (Śak. 12,1); M. *kariaroru*=*kariara*+*ūru*=*kariakaroru* (H. 925), *piṇoru*=*piṇa*+*ūru* (R.12,16), *pāḍoru*=*prakāṭoru* (H. 473), *valioru*=*valitoru* (G. 1161); AMg. *varoru* (Kappas. 33,35), *pīvaroru*, *disāgaīndoru*=*diggajendroru* (Kappas. §36), *egoruja*=*ekoruka* (Paṇnav. 56), but *agūruya* (Jiv. 345ff.; Vivāhap. 717); JM. *kari-karoru* (Erz. 16,12); Ś. *mantharoru* (Mālatim. 108,1), *pīvaroru* (Mālatim. 260,3 [so to be read]). If the first member is a prefix, the vowels in contact are always contracted: Mg.AMg. JM. *pe'chhai*, JŚ. *pe'chhadi*, Ś. *pe'kkhadi*, Mg. *pe'skadi*=*preksate* (§84); M. *aṇave'kkhia*=*anapekṣita* (R.), JM. *ave'kkhai* (Erz.); Ś. *ave'kkhadi*=*apekṣate* (Śak. 43,10;130,2); M. *uve'kkhia*=*upekṣita* (H.); M. *pe'llia*=*prerita* (G.H.). Also in the case of *i*, *u* with double consonants following, contraction occurs, but only seldom without a v.l. Thus: M. *nisārenda*=*niśācarendra* (R. 7,59); M. Mg. *mahenda*=*mahendra* (R. 6,22;1320; Mṛcch. 133,12); M. *rakkhasenda*=*rākṣasendra* (R. 12,77); Ś. *ṇarenda*=*ṇarendra* (Mālatim. 90,4;179,5); *ratto'ppala*=*raktot'pala* (Mṛcch. 73,12). JŚ. *pañcendija*=*pañcendriya* (Pav. 388,9) must be an error. Beside it, almost always, is found also the v.l. with *i*, *u*, as for example Ś. *mahenda* (Vikr. 5,10;6,19;8,11.13;36,3;83,20;84,2) which always occurs as *mahinda* in the Bengālī recension, as it occurs also otherwise in Ś. (§158)¹; for Ś. *ṇiṇṇo'ṇṇa*=*nimnonnata* (Śak. 131,7) we should read *ṇiṇṇunṇa* with the v.l., as there stands in M. *ṇiṇṇunṇa* (G.681); for Ś. *i'pho'ṇha* (Śak.29,6), the correct form will be *uṇhuṇha*, for Ś. *maddalo'ddāma*=*mardaloddāma* (Ratn. 292,11), *maddaluddāma*². Contraction might correctly be required in cases like JM. *ahe-sara*, *khaṇāresara*, *naresara* (Erz.); Ś. *paramesara* (Prab.14,9;17,2), which were probably first contracted with secondary *isara*, and certainly in Ś. *purisōttama*, Mg. *puliśōttama*=*puruṣottama* (§124), since as a proper noun, it has directly been taken from Skt. Otherwise one says AMg. *purisuttama* (Dasav. 613,40 [at the original place Uttar. 681 has °so°]; Kappas. §16 [so it is to be read with v.l.]; Ovav. §20 [so it is to be read; cf. the following *loguttama*]).

1. In any case BOLLENSSEN is in the wrong when he, on Vikr. 8,11p.176, considers that *mahinda* has transgressed the boundary of high Pkt., by which he means Ś.—2. Explanation of o° in such cases, according to §125, does not appear likely in the face of a large number of counter-examples. Presumably in cases of this sort we have examples of Sanskritism that are to be corrected. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 175, note.

§160. In AMg. *a*, *ā* is often retained, even when a double consonant follows *i*, *u*, as with simple consonants (§157; cf. §156). So AMg. *kakkeṇaṇandaṇila*=*karkatanendranila*, *mādambijaibbha*=*mādambikebbha*, *koḍumbijaibbha*=*kaḍumbikebbha* (Ovav. §10.38,48); *piśāyainda*=*piśācendra* (Thāṇ. 90), but *piśāinda* (Thāṇ. 138,229); *bhūiyainda*=*bhūtendra* (Thāṇ. 90), but *bhūinda* (Thāṇ. 229), beside *jakkhinda*, *rakkhasinda*, *kinṇarinda* etc. (Thāṇ. 90; cf. §158); *annāya-ūñcha*=*aññatōñcha* (Dasav.636,17); *lavaṇasamuddatūttaraṇa*=*lavaṇasamudrottarāṇa* (Nāyādh. 966); *pehuṇaṭṭikkhevaṇa*=*preñkhanotkṣepaka* (Paṇhāv. 533); *nāvāussīñca*=*nāpoisīñcaka* (Āyār 2,3,2,19,20); *indiyāuddesa*=*indriyoddesa*, *dugulla-sukumālaūttarija*=*dukūlasukumārottarīya*, *aṇegaiittama*=*anekottama*, *bhaṇa-ūviggā*=*bhayaḍvigna*, *sohammakappatūddhaloya*=*saudharmakal'pordhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 177f. 791.809.835.920); *āyāmaūsseha*=*āyāmoṭsedha* (Ovav. §10). Very

rarely the vowels remain beside one another in other dialects, as M. *paṇaṭṭhaūjjo*=*pranaṣṭoddyota*, *khaūpā*=*khotpāta* (R. 9,77,78), *ṇinaṭṭha-ṇaūṭṭhambhāṇa*=*ṇinastanotthambhūṭṭāṇa* (H. 294), *muhaūvūḍḍha*=*mukho-dyūḍḍha* (Śak. 88,2). False is *Ś. mōttiaūppatti*=*mauktikotpatti* (Viddhaś. 108,2), for which we should read *mōttiaūppati* [v.l. *o'ppa'*]; as for example M. *piāmahuppatti*=*pitāmahotpatti* (R.1,17), AMg. *aṅkuruppatti* (Paṇṇav. 848) remain, and in Prab. 17,2 *Ś. paboho'ppatti*=*prabodhotpatti* is to be corrected to *pabohuppatti*. Hiatus is the rule in all dialects in *ittihī*=*strī* (§147): AMg. *asurakumāraūṭṭhio*, *thaṇiyakumāraūṭṭhiyo*, *tirikkhaṇiṇiṇiṭṭhio*, *maṇu-saūṭṭhio*, *devaūṭṭhio* (Vivāhap. 1394); JŚ. *paraūṭṭhiāloa*=*parastryāloka* (Kattig. 401,344), *bhūsaṇaūṭṭhisamsagga* (Kattig. 402,358); *Ś. anteuraūṭṭhī* (Śak. 38,5). However, there occurs also AMg. *maṇussitṭhio*, *deviūṭṭhio*, beside *tirikkha-ṇiṇiṭṭhio* (Thāṇ. 121); JŚ. *purisitṭhī* (Kattig. 401,345).

§161. Falling out of *a*, *ā* is also to be assumed before original or secondary *e*, *o*, but not before the *e*, *o* going back to Skt. *ai*, *au*: *gāmeṇī* (goat; Deśin. 2,84)=*grāma*+*eṇī*; M. *ṇavelā*=*nava*+*elā*, *phullelā*=*phulla*+*elā* (R. 1,62,63), *ukkhāṇḍiēkkapāsa*=*utkhāṇḍitaikaṇḍīpārśva* (R. 5,43); *Ś. avalambiderāvaṇahattha*=*avalambitairāvaṇahasta* (Mṛcch. 68,14), *silādala'kkadesa*=*śilātalaikadeśa* (Śak. 56,11), *karuṇēkkamaṇa*=*karuṇaīkamanas* (Mālatim. 251,7); M. *kusumōṭṭhaa*=*kusumāvastṛta* (R. 10,36), *paḍhamosaria*=*prathamāpasṛta* (H. 351), *bāhumaṭṭha*=*bāspāvamiṣṭa* (R.5,21), *jāloli* from *jāla-jvāla*+*oli*=*āvali* (§. 154; H. 589), as *vaṇoli*=*vana*+*āvali* (Hc. 2,177=H. 579, where *vaṇāli*), *vāoli*=*vāta*+*āvali*, *paholi*=*prabhā*+*āvali* (G. 555,1008); AMg. JM. *udao'lla* from *udaka*+*o'lla*=**udra*, (§111; Dasav. 625,27; Āv. 9,3), beside AMg. *udai'lla*=*udaka*+*ulla* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6; 2,6,2,4); AMg. *vāseṇo'lla*=*vārseṇa*+*o'lla*=(Uttar. 673); AMg. *mālohaḍa*=*māla* (platform; pedestal; Deśin. 6,146)²+*ohaḍa*=*avahṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Dasav. 620,36), *maṭṭhiolitta*=*maṭṭhiā*=*myṭṭikā*+*olitta*=*avalipta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); JM. *jaloḥa*=*jalaugha* (Erz. 3,26), *saṁstṭhāṇasappiṇi*⁰=*saṁstṭhāṇavasarpīṇi*⁰ (Rṣabhap. 47); *Ś. guḍo-daṇa*=*guḍaudana* (Mṛcch. 3,12), *vasantodāra*=*vasanāvatāra* (Śak. 21,8), *kararuhoṛampa*=*kararuha*+*orampa* (attack; Mālatim. 261,2; so to be read; cf. Deśin. 1,171; Pāiyāl. 198). Sometimes the vowels remain beside one another, as M. *vāṇdolaṇaṇavia*=*vātāṇdolanāvanamita* (H. 637); AMg. *khuddagaegāvali*=*ksudrakakāvali* (Ovav. [§38]), *vipphāḍiṇiṇiṭṭha*=*vipra-bhāṇiṭṭha* (Ovav. §4); JM. *sabhāvāsa*=*sabhāvakaśa* (Āv. 15,12).

1. In cases like *ṇavelā*, *jaloḥa*, *guḍoḍaṇa* one may be in doubt. The proposition is proved with the help of the compounds with secondary *e*, *o*, *o*, that have, therefore, been quoted as examples copiously.—2. Cf. JACOBI, SBE. XXII, 105 note 1.

§162. *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, as a rule, do not undergo *saṁdhi* with a following dissimilar vowel (Hc. 1,6): M. *ṇahapṇahāvaliṇaṇa*=*nahapṇahāvaliṇaṇa* (Hc. 1,6), *rattiaṇḍha*=*rātryaṇḍha* (H. 669), *saṁjṇahāvaṇaṇaḍḍha*=*saṁdhyā-vadhvaṇaḍḍha* (Hc. 1,6); AMg. *jāṭiṇiṇiṇiṭṭha*=*jātyārya* (Thāṇ. 4,14), *jāṇḍha*=*jatyāṇḍha* (Sūyag. 438), *sattigaṇa*=*śaktyaṇḍha* (Dasav. 634,11), *puḍhaviṇiṇiṭṭha*=**prthi-vyāpaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 742), *paṇṇaviṇiṇiṭṭha*=*prāntopadhyupakaṇḍha* (Uttar. 350), *paṇṇaviṇiṇiṭṭha*=*prakṛtyupaśānta* (Vivāhap. 100,174), *puḍhaviṇiṇiṭṭha*=*prthivyūrdhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 920), *kadalīūsuga*=*kadalī*+*ūsuga* (middle, inside; cf. BÖHTLINGK 2, ūsa 1) b) c); Āyār. 2,1,8,12), *suḍḍhiṇiṇiṭṭha*=*svadhīta* (Thāṇ. 190, 191), *bahuaṭṭhiṇiṇiṭṭha*=*bahvasika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5 [to be read thus]. 6; Dasav. 621,4), *sāhuajjava*=*sādhvārjava* (Thāṇ. 356), *sualamkiṇiṇiṭṭha*=*svalamkiṇiṭṭha* (Dasav. 632,39), *kavikacchuagaṇi*=*kapikacchvagni* (Paṇḍav. 537), *bahūsa*=*bahva-vaśya* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1); also in secondary second vowels, as in AMg. *suisi*=*surji* (Paṇḍav. 448), *bahūddhi*=*bahuvyadhi* (Nāyādh. 990). Beside AMg. *cakkuṇiṇiṇiṭṭha*=*cakṣurindriya* (Samav. 17) more frequent is *cakḥindriya*=*cakḥa*

cakṣas+*indriya* (Samav. 69.73.77ff; Vivāhap. 32; Uttar. 822; Ovav. p. 40, VI). JM. *osappiṇiussappiṇi*⁰=*avasarpinyulsarpiṇi*⁰ (Rṣabhap.47), *suṇṇuyatta*=*svanuvrta* (Āv. 11,15), *meruāgāra* (7.5.8); Ś. *santiudaa*=*śāntyuṭaka* (Śak. 67,4), *uvarialindaa*=*uparyalindaka* (Mālatīm. 72,8;187,2), *uvvasiakkhara*=*urvaśyakṣara* (Vikr. 31,11). *sarassadiuvāṇa*=*sarasvatyupāyana* (Mālav. 16,19), *sīdāmaṇḍaviummilā*⁰=*sītāmāṇḍavyūrmilā*⁰ (Bālar. 151,1), *dehacchaviṭṭulluñcīda*=*dehacchavyulluñcīta* (Prab. 45,11). Quite isolated is the dropping off of *i* in AMg. *iṭṭhattha*=*stīyārtha* (Dasav. 638,18) and *kiṃcūṇa* from **kiṃciūṇa*=*kiṃcidūṇa* (Samav. 153; Ovav. 30,II,e), as well as of the initial *i* in AMg. *bendiya* (Thān. 275; Dasav. 615,8), *tendiya* (Thān. 275.322), beside *beindiya*, *teindiya* (Thān. 25,122.322 [ve⁰]; Samav. 228; Vivāhap. 30.31.93.144; Dasav. 615,8 [te⁰]=*dvindriya*, *trīndriya*. AMg. *isāsa*=*iṣvāsa* (§117) is directly derived from Skt.

§163. *i* and *u*, as the final sounds of prefixes, with the following dissimilar vowels, undergo the same saṁdhi as prescribed in Skt. The group of sounds thus arising is treated according to the rules holding good for the individual dialects. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *accanta*=*atyanta* (G.; Nirāyāv.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12;389,1; Mṛcch. 60,25; Mālav. 28,13); AMg. *accei*=*atyeti* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*=*adhyupapanna* (§77); M. *abbhāga*=*abhyāgata* (H.); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvīya*, *abbhuvagāya*=*abhyupagamita*, *abhyupagata* (Āv. 30,9.10); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavanna*=*abhyupapanna* (Mṛcch. 28,18; Vikr. 8,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 175,18); M. AMg. Ś. A. *pajjatta*=*paryāpta* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Śak. 71,7; Vikr. 25,6; Hc. 4,365,2); M. Ś. *nivvūḍha*=*nirvūḍha* (G.H.R.; Mālatīm. 282,3); M. *aṇṇesai*, Mg. *aṇṇesadi*=*aṇṇesati* (G.; Mṛcch. 12,3); JM. Ś. Ā. *aṇṇesanta*=*aṇṇesat* (Erz.; Vikr. 52,20; Mṛcch. 148,7,8). The sound-groups *ty*, *ry*, especially in AMg. JM., are often divided by separation-vowels, in which case *y* disappears often in AMg. and JM., and always in the other dialects, so that the vowels, as in §162, come beside one another. M. *aiāra* (H.); JM. *aiyāyara* (Erz.)=**atiyāḍara*=*atyāḍara*; AMg. *nāiunha*=*nātyuṣṇa* (Vivāhap.954), beside AMg. *accusiṇa* (Āyār.2,1,7,5), M. *accuṇha* (H.); M. *aiiujjua* (H.), Ś. *adiiujjua* (Ratn. 309,24; Priyad. 43,15)=*atyrjuka*; AMg. *ahiyāsiijanti*=*adhyāyante* (Ovav.); JM. *paḍijāgaya*=*pratyāgata* (Erz.), beside M. *paccāga* (H.), JM. *paccāgāya* (Erz.), Ś. *paccāgada* (Uttarar. 106,10); AMg. *paḍijākkhiya*=*pratyākkhiyāta*, beside *paccakkhā* (§565); AMg. *paḍiuccāreyaṇṇa*=*pratyuccārayiṇiṇya* (Vivāhap. 34); AMg. *paiyāvanna*=*paryāpanna* (Āyār. 2,1,9,6.11,7,8); AMg. *paliucchūḍha*=*paryutkṣubha* (§66); M. *viola*=*vyākula* (§166). In AMg., and sometimes in other dialects, the *i* of *prati* too, is thrown out before a dissimilar vowel following it. Thus beside AMg. M. *pāḍiēkka*=*pratyeka* (Hc.2,210;R.; Nāyādh. 1224; Vivāhap. 1206; Ovav. [read so in all the places for *pāḍiyakka*]) also *pāḍikka* for **pāḍēkka* (§84; Hc. 2,210); *paḍamsuā*=**pratyāśrut* (§115); *paḍāyāṇa*=**pratyāḍāṇa* (§258); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *vacca*=*vajati* (§202.590), *pāḍucciya*=*prātika* (Thān. 38); AMg. *paḍuppanna*=*pratyuppanna* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; Sūyag. 533; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.78.79.80.651; Jiv. 337.338; Anug. 473.510ff.; Uvās.), JM. *apaḍuppanna* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *paḍoyāra*=*pratyavatāra* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and=*pratyupacāra* (§155; Vivāhap. 1235.1251), *paḍoyāreu*=*pratyupacārayatu*, *paḍoyāreha*=*pratyupacāreyata* *paḍoyāreṇti*=*pratyupacārayantu*, *paḍoyarijamaṇa*=*pratyupacāryamaṇa* (Vivāhap. 1235.1251). On M. *pattiaī*, JM. AMg. *pattiyāī*, Ś. Mg. *pattiaādi*, AMg. *patteya* see §281.487.

§164. A vowel, which remains after dropping off of a consonant (§186), is called *udvṛtta*¹. An *udvṛtta* vowel, as a rule, undergoes no saṁdhi with a vowel previously existing (C.2,1 p. 37; Hc. 1,8; cf. Vr. 4,1). So

M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G. H. R.²); *gaa*=*gaja* and *gata*; *paavi*=*padavi* (G.H.); *saala*=*sakala*; *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *ghāa*=*ghāta* (H. R.); *kai*=*kati* (R.), = *kapi* (G. H. R.); *kavi* (G. H.); *jai*=*yadi*; *nai*=*nadi*; *gāiā*=*gāyikā* (H.); *taūsi*=*trapuṣi* (H.); *paūra*=*prapura* (H.); *pia*=*priya*; *piama*=*priyatama*; *piāsā*=*pipāsā* (H.); *riu*=*ripu*, *juala*=*yugala*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *sūi*=*śūci* (G. H.); *aneā*=*aneka* (G.H.); *joaṇa*=*yojana* (R.); *loa*=*loka*. The rule holds good also for compounds of all kinds: M. *aira*=*acira*; *āiōva*=*apūva*; *avaamsa*=*avatamsa* (H.R.); *āaa*=*āyata* (H.R.); *uauḍha*=*upagūḍha*; *paāva*=*pratāpa*; *paiva*=*pradīpa*; *dāhiṇamsaāa*=*dakṣiṇāmsataṭa* (G.104); *saāṇha*=*satṛṣṇa* (H.); *golāada*=*godātata* (H. 103); *disāala*=*diktala* (R. 1,7); *vasahāindha*=*vrṣabha*; *cihna* (G. 425); *niṣiara*=*niścara* (R.); *saurisa*=*satpuruṣa* (G. 992); *gandhaūdi*=*gandhakuṭi* (G. 319); *golāūra*=*godāpūra* (H.231); *viñṇaūra*=*viñṇatūrya* (R. 8,65); *guruṇa*=*guruṇa* (H.). So in all other dialects under similar conditions.

1. Hc. 1,8 calls the vowel *udvṛtta*. In C. 2,1 p. 37 it is called *uddhṛta*. Triv. 1,1,22; Sr. fol. 9; Narasiṅha 1,1,29; Appayadikṛta 1,1,22 call it *śeṣa*, a term that is not recommended, as Hc. 2,89 and Triv. 1,4,86 employ it for the consonant that is retained out of a group.—2. These quotations hold good for all the following words, under which nothing has not been noted.

§165. Udvṛtta vowels are sometimes contracted with preceding similar vowels. Thus *a*, *ā* with *a*, *ā*: *attamāṇa* beside *āvatamāṇa*=*āvartamāṇa* (Hc.1,271); AMg. *āra* from **aara*=*avara* (Sūyag. 106.322) and JM. *ādara* (Kk. II); *oāva* (time of the sun's set; Deśin. 1,162) = **oāava*=*apagatātapa*, whereas *oāāa* (Triv. 1,4,121; ed. *oāava*; cf. also BB.13,13) is = *apavātaka*; *kālāsa* beside *kālāsa*, as according to Mk. always in Ś., = *kālāyasa* (Vr. 4,3; Hc. 1,269); A. *khāi* beside *khāi*=*khādai* (Vr. 8,27; one: Ki. 4,77; Hc. 4,228;419,1); A. *khanii*=*khānti*, **khānti*=*khādanti* (Hc. 4,445,4), *khāu*=*khādau* (Bh. 8,27), from which a root *khā* has been deduced, from which have been formed a future *khāhii* (§525), a second person singular imperative A. *khāhi* (Hc. 4,422,4.16) and a past passive participle *khāa*=**khāta* (Hc. 4,228); *gāṇa* from *gāṇa*=*gāyana* (Deśin. 2,108); *gāṇi* (trough for cattle; Deśin. 2,82) from **gāṇāṇi*, AMg. *gavāṇi* (Āyār. 2,10,19) = *gavādani*; Mg. *gomā* from **gomāao*=*gomāyavaḥ* (Mrcch. 168,20); A. *campāvaṇṇi*=*campakavarṇi* (Hc. 4,330,1); *chāṇa* (clothing; Deśin. 3,34) = *chādana*; A. *jāi* from *jaai*=*jayati* (Piṅgala. 1,85^a); *dhāi* beside *dhāvai*=*dhāvati* (Vr. 8,27; Hc. 4,228), M. *uddhāi*=*uddhāvati* (R.), from which is deduced, as in the case of *khā*, a root *dhā*, from which are formed *dhāu* (Bh. 8,27), *dhāha* (Hc. 2,192), *dhāhii* (§525), *dhāo* Hc. 4,228); AMg. *pacchitta* (Samav. 91; Hc. 4,428), beside AMg. *pāyacchitta* (Jiyak. 18; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.) = *prāyascitta*; *pāvadaṇa*, beside M. *pāvadaṇa* (H. ^opa^o) = *pādapatana* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); M. JM. Ś. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (§194) = *pāviḍha* beside *pāaviḍha*=*pādāpīṭha* (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); AMg. *bhante*=*bhadantaḥ* (§366b); *bhāṇa*=*bhājana* (Vr. 4,4; Hc. 1,267; Ki. 2,151), whilst Ś., as noted by Mk., has only *bhāṇa* (Mrcch. 41,6; Śak. 72,16;105,9; Prab. 59,4; Venis. 25,3,5; Mallikām. 289,3; Adbhutad. 2,15). On forms like *gāi*=*gāyati*, *jhāi*=*dhyāyati*, *jāi*=*jāyate*, *palāi*=*palāyate* see §479. 487.567.—*i*, *ī* get contracted with *udvṛtta i*, *ī* in M.A. *bia* (Hc. 1,5,248; 2,79; G. s.v. *viya*; H. s.v. *vīa*; R. s.v. *biia*; Piṅgala. 1,23.49.56.79.83), A. also *bia* (Piṅgala. 1,50), AMg. JM. *biya* (Vivāhap. 55; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ki. 21; Erz.), beside M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biīya* (§82) = *doiṭiya*; A. *tiā* from **tiia*=*tiṭiya* (Piṅgala. 1,49.59.70); AMg. *paḍiṇa*, *uḍiṇa*=*praticīna*, *uḍiṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4; 1,6,4,2; Ovav. §4), *paḍiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1675f.), also shortened prosodically *paḍiṇa* (Dasav. 625,37; cf. §99); AMg. *siā*=*śibikā* (Āyār. p. 127,26; Nāyādh. 865ff.; 1021f, 1074.1097.1189.1497; Nirayāv. 61.62;

Vivāhap. 275.277.362.1262; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside AMg. JM. *siyā* (Āyār. 127,15 [to be read so]; Ovav.; Erz.); in future, as JM. *hohi* beside M. JM. *hohi*=*bhōsyati=bhaviṣyati (§521). JM. *vināsihi* (§527), *jarehi*, *nivārehi* (§528), *ehi*, A. *eṣi* (§529), JM. *dāhi* (§530), *sakkehi* (§531), AMg. JM. *kāhi* (§533), AMg. *nāhi* (§534). M. *cīa* (H. 104) is=**cīa* from **citiya*=*cīya*, AMg. *cī* in *civandana*=*cāityavandana*, according to Hc. 1,151 is=**cii*=Skt. *citi*—*u*, *ū* with the udvṛtta -*u*, *ū*, are contracted in AMg. *umbara* from *uumbara*, **ūmbara*=*udumbara* (Vr. 4,2; Hc. 1,270; Ki. 2,152; Anuttar. 11; Nāyādh. §137; p 289.439; Thān. 555; Jiv. 46.494; Niraṣvā. 55, Paṇṇav. 31; Vivāhap. 807.1530).

§166. Sometimes *a*, *ā* becomes contracted with an udvṛtta *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*: *ke'i* from **kaili*=**kadili*=**kadali*' with *i* according to §101, and on the same model *kela* from **kaila*=**kadila*=**kadala* (Hc. 1,167.220)¹; M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. thera* from **thaira*=**sthavira* (Hc. 1,166,2,89; Pāiyāl. 2; Deśin. 5,29; H. 197 [to be read so]; text *thera*); Kāvyaaprakāśa 73,9=H. 983 [to be read so according to the best MS.; text *thera*]; Sarasvatik. 8,13 [*thera*]; Acyutaś. 32 [*thera*]; Thān. 141.157.286; Vivāhap. 131.132.169.172.173.185.792; Uttar. 786; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk.; Anarghar. 63,4 [*thera*]; M. *Ṣ.* also *thavira* (Prab. 38,10 [ed. Bomb. P.M. *thavira*]; Nagān. 3,2 [v.l. *thavira*, *thera*]; M. *theri* (Pāiyāl. 107; H. 654 [text *theri*]; ed. Bomb. 7,52 *thera*⁰); AMg. *theraja* (Sūyag. 176), *theraga* (Sūyag. 334), *theriyā* (Kappas.); *therāsaṇa* (lotus; Deśin. 5,29), *therosana* (lotus; Triv. 1,4,121)=**stha-virāvasana*²; *meḍambha* from **maḍāmbha*=**mṛgāmbha* (noose for catching a roe; Deśin. 6,139); *mehara* beside **māihara*=**matidhara* (headman; Deśin. 6,121); AMg. *vera* (Kappas. §45) from *vaira* (§135)=*vajra*; A. *eha*, *jeha*, *teha*, *keha* (H. 4,402) from and beside *aīsa*, *jāīsa*, *tāīsa*, *kāīsa* (Hc. 4,403)=*idrīsa*, *vādrīsa*, *tādrīsa*, *kīdrīsa* (§121); A. *jē* for the common *jāī*=*yadi* (Piṅgala. 1,4².97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *jam*!]); A. *de* beside *dāī*=*Ṣ. dāī*, absolutive from *daya* (§594). In AMg. A. -*ai*=*-ati*, the ending of the third person singular, is sometimes contracted into -*e* in poetry. So AMg. *aṭṭe* (Sūyag. 412) from *aṭṭai* (cf. *pariṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230)=**aṭṭa*'i from *aṭ* (not from *aṭṭa*=*ārta*), *kappe*=**kalpati* (Āyār. 1,8,4,2), *bhuñje* from *bhuñjai* (§507)=*bhunakti* (Āyār. 1,8,4,6,7), *abhibhās*=**abhibhāṣate*, *paḍiyākkhe*=*pratyākhyāti* (§491), *seve*=**sevati*, *paḍiseve*=**pratiṣevati* (Āyār. 1,8,1,7.14.17.4,5); A. *ṇacce*=*ṇṛiyati*, *sadde*=**śabdati*=*śabdayati*, *gaṇje*=*garjati*, *boḷle*=*boḷlai* (Hc. 4,2), *ugge* from **uggai*=**udgāti* (goes up; Piṅgala. 2,82.90.228.268), *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6) from *hosai* (Hc. 4,388.418,4)=**bhōsyati*=*bhaviṣyati* (§521). Similarly are explained also AMg. *bemi* from **bāimi*=*bravimi* (§494).—A. *co*=*caū*=*catur* (Piṅgala. 1,65; GOLDSCHMIDT, however, reads *aṭṭha vi lahuā* for *co laghu kattha vi* of the ed. Bomb.), *covīsa*, *covisa* beside *caūvisaha*=*caturvimśati*, *coḷīsaha* beside *caūḷīsā*, AMg. *coyāḷisam* bes. d. *caūyāḷisam*=*caturścatvārimśat*, *cōṭṭisam*=*caturvimśat*, etc. (§445); M. *cōṭṭha* beside *caūṭṭha*=*caturtha* (§449); *cōḍḍaha* beside A. *caūḍḍaha*, AMg. *cōḍḍasa* beside *caūḍḍasa*=*caturdasa* (§443), AMg. *cōḍḍasama*=*caturdaśama* (§449); *cōḡḡuṇa* beside *caūḡḡuṇa*=*caturguṇa*, *cōḡḡāra* beside *caūḡḡāra* (Hc. 1,171); *toḡḡaṭṭa* beside *taūḡḡaṭṭa* (an ear-ornament; Deśin. 5,23,6,89); M. AMg. *pōmma*=*padma* (Hc. 1,61; 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Kāleyak. 14,15; Pārva ip. 28,15; Uttar. 752 (text *pomaṇ*)), *pōmmā*=*padmā* (H.); M. *Ṣ. pōmmarā*=*padmarāga* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Karp. 47,2; 103,4 (Ṣ.); Viddhaś. 113,7 (Ṣ.); Pras. 121,8 [Ṣ.; text *pa*⁰]; 155,12; Bālar. 157,12 (Ṣ.); 168,4 (Ṣ.); M. *pōmmāsana*=*padmāsana* (Kāleyak. 3,11), from and beside M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. paūma*, *paūmarā* (§139); *bohāri* beside *baūhāri* (brush; Deśin. 6,97; 8,17); A. *bhōhā* from **bhāuhā*=*bhamuḥa* (Piṅgala 2,98; §124.251); *moḍa* beside *maūḍi* (tress; Deśin. 6,117; Pāiyāl. 57), M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. A. mora* (Vr. 1,8; Ki. 1,7; Mk. fol. 6; Pāiyāl. 42, H.;

Anuog. 502,507; Nandis. 70; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52; Kappas.; Kk.; Śak. 155,10; 158,13; Uttarak. 163,10; Jivān. 16,12; Vikr. 72,8; Piṅgala 2,90), A. *moraa* (Piṅgala 2,228), femin. M. Ś. *morī* (Śak. 85,2; Ś. Śak. 58,8; Viddhaś. 20,15), Mg. *molī* (Mr̥ch. 10,4 [to be so read], AMg. *moraga*=*mayūra* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18) from and beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūra* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 54; Dasav. N. 662,36; Erz.; Vikr. 32,7; Mallikām. 220,20), AMg. *mayūra* (Vivāgas. 187,202), *mayūratta*=*mayūratva* (Vivāgas. 247), Mg. *maūlaka* (Śak. 159,3), femin. AMg. *mayūri* (Nāyādh. 475,490,491). *mora* has gone into Skt. too, and consequently it has been treated as Skt. by Hc.1,171. M. *moha*=*mayūkha* (Grr.; R.1,18) from and beside M. Ś. *maūha* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 47; G.H.R.; Prab. 46,1); M. *viola* from **viāula*=*vyākula* (Deśin. 7,63; R.; cf. §162)⁴; A. *saṁhāro* from *saṁharaū*=*saṁharatu* (Piṅgala 2,43). Cf. also *kohala*, *samāra*, *somāla* §123, o §155. M. AMg. *bora*=*badara* (Vr. 1,6; Hc. 1,170; Kī. 1,8; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 609,1256,1530), AMg. *borī*=*badarī* (Hc. 1,170; Mk. fol. 5; Pāiyāl. 254; Anuttar. 9) presuppose one **badura*, **badurī*⁵. AMg. *būra* (v.l. *pūra*; Jiv. 489,509,559; Rāyap. 57; Uttar. 986; Vivāhap. 182; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) is not=*badara*, but=*pūra* (citron-tree) which will be the correct reading. The scholiasts generally explain it as *vanaspativiśeṣa*.⁶ Obscure is *pora*=*pūtara* (Hc. 1,170).

1. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; not correctly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573.—
2. FISCHEL BB. 13,3.—3. FISCHEL, Deśin. Introduction p. 7.—4. FISCHEL, GGA., 1880, p. 335.—5. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; falsely JACOBI, ZDMG: 47,575; KZ. 35,573. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *baara* only.

§167. In compounds too the udvṛtta vowel is sometimes contracted with the final vowel of the first member: M. A. *andhāra*=*andhakāra* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Piṅgala. 1,117^a,2,90), A. *andhāraa* (Hc. 4,349), M. *andhāra*=*andhakārīta* (H.), JM. *andhāriya* (Erz.; Kk.), beside M. Ś. *andhāra* (G.H.R.; Mr̥ch. 44,19;80,9;88,17;138,3; Śak. 141,7; Priyad. 51,12; Karp. 85,6; Mallikām. 209,17; Prab. 14,17; Cait. 40,15), Mg. *andhāla* (Mr̥ch. 14,10 22;16,22), AMg. JM. *andhāyāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Rṣabhāp.), JM. *andhāyāriya* (Erz.); M. JM. A. *āa* from and beside *āaa*=*āgata* (Hc. 1,268; H.; Āv. 8,47; Piṅgala 2,255,264); *kamśāla*=*kām-syātāla* (Hc. 2,92), Ś. *kamśātāla* (Mr̥ch. 69,24); AMg. *kammāra*=*karmakāra* (Jiv. 295) and other compounds with *kāra*, like AMg. *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra* (Hc. 1,8; Mk. fol. 32; Uvās.), beside *kumbhāra* (Grr.), AMg. *kumbhakāra* (Uvās.), JM. *kumbhagāra* (Erz.), D. *cammaāraa*=*carmakāraka* (Mr̥ch. 104,19), M. *mālārī*=*mālākārī* (H.; Deśin. 1,146,114), AMg. *lohāra*=*lohakāra* (Jiv. 293), M. *valāraa*=*valayākāraka* (H.), *soṇāra*=*svaṇa-kāra* (§66), AMg. *dodhāra*=*dvidhākāra* (Thāp. 401); A. *piārī*=*priyākārī* (Piṅgala 2,37); JM. *khandhāra*=*skandhāvāra* (Mk. fol. 32; Erz.), beside *khandhavāra* (Erz.); M. *cakkāa*=*cakravāka* (Hc. 1,8; Kī. 2,151; Mk. fol. 32; Candrasekhara on Śak. 88,2 p. 192; G.R.; Śak. 88,2), AMg. *cakkāga* (Paṇṇav. 54); AMg. *ṇiṇṇāra*=*nirṇagara* (Vivāhap. 1277); AMg. *nimboliṇṇā*=*nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152,1173); *talāra*=*talavāra* (Deśin. 5,3; Triv. 1,3,105; FISCHEL, BB. 3,261); *pāra* beside *pāara*=*prākāra* (Hc. 1,268); M. *pāraa* (Hc. 1,271; H.; Ind. Stud. 16,78, at 184) beside *pāvāraa*=*prāvāraka*; *pārāa* beside *pārāvaa*=*pārāvata* (Bh. 4,5; cf. §112); M. *pāvāliā*=*prapāpālikā* (H.); JM. *varisāla*=*varśākāla* (Erz.); *vāraṇa* beside *vāaraṇa*=*vyākaraṇa* (Hc. 1,268); M. *sālāhana*=*sātavāhana* (Hc. 1,8,211; H.); M. *sāhāra*=*sāhakāra* (Karp. 95,1); AMg. *sūmāla* beside *sukumāla*=*sukumāra* (§123); *sūrisa*=*beside sūrisa*=*supurusa* (Hc. 1,8). As compounds are treated M. *jālā*, *tālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; Dhvanyāloka 62,4) too; falsely even in Ś. (Mallikām. 87,11; 124,14) and Mg. (Mallikām. 144,3) = **yāt kālāt*, **tāt kālāt*, *kālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46) = **kāt kālāt* (FISCHEL, BB. 16,172). Cf. also §254.

§168. In some cases *a* at the end of the first member of a compound is elided before a dissimilar udvṛtta vowel that is at the beginning of the second member : *indova* from **indaova*=*indragopa* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1,81), beside AMg. *indagova* (Aṇuog. 344), *indagovaga* (Uttar. 1062), **ya* (Paṇṇav. 45); *indovatta*=**indragopātma* (cochineal; Deśin. 1,81); *gharoli* from **gharaoli*=**gharagoli*=*grhagoli* (domestic multipede; Deśin. 2,105), AMg. *gharoliyā*=*grhagolikā* (Panhāv. 22; Paṇṇav. 53 [text *gharoilā*]); *gharola* from **gharaola*=**gharagola*=*grhagola(ka)* (a kind of home-made pastry; Deśin. 2,106); M.AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *deula*=*devakula* (Hc. 1,271; Mk. fol. 33; H.; Aṇuog. 387; Nāyādh. 535; T. 4,9,7,18; Erz.; Mṛcch. 151,14; Kārṇas. 25,1; Mṛcch. 29,24;30,11,12), beside and from JM. Ś. *devaūla* (Hc.; Mk.; Erz.; Viddhaś. 59,7; Cait. 134,10,14), AMg. *devakula* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8;2,10,14;2,11,8; Panhāv. 521; Nāyādh. 581; Kappas.); JM. *deuliyā*=*devakulikā* (Āv. 31,10); JM. D. *rāula*=*rājakula* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,267; Mk. fol. 32; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), Mg. *lāula* (Lalitav. 565,7,9,15;566,13,12; Mṛcch. 36,22; 135,2), falsely in Ś. (Prab. 47,5,9;49,13,15; ed. M. has throughout *lāūla*, ed. P. 47,9), where *rāūla* (Grr.) is to be read, as stands in Śak. 115,3,6; 119,1; Ratn. 309,9; Nāgān. 57,3; Priyad. 9,13. In Prab. 32,9 for Mg. *lājāūla* (ed. M. *rājāūla*) we should read *lāūla*; JM. has *rājāūla* (Erz.)¹ also; Mg. *lāutta* from **laūutta*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 114,1;115,7,9;116,9;117,5); *vāutta* beside *vāūutta*=*vātaputra* (Deśin. 7,88).

1. Cf. Candrasekhara on Śak. 114,1 (p. 197) *rāulasabda* [so to be read] *itvare deśi*. In this sense the word stands in Prab. as in Skt. too in the inscriptions (KIELHORN, EI.4, 312, note 7). Quite falsely JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,576.

§169. In the sentence as a rule vowels remain unchanged in the auslaut, whether they originally stood next to one another or have afterwards come together through dropping out of a consonant. PG. *kāncipurā aggiṭṭhoma*° = *kāncipurāḍ agniṣṭoma*° (5,1), *sivakhaṇḍavamo amhaṇ visaye* = *śivaskandavarmās-mākaṇ viṣaye* (5,2), *govallave amacce ārahādāhikate* = *govallavān amātyān ārah-ṣādāhikrān* (5,5), *tī api ca āpiṭṭiyam* = *ityapi cāpiṭṭiyām* (6,37), *tī eva* = *ityeva* (6,39), *tasa khu amhe* = *tasya khalvasme* (7,41), *sakakāle uparilikhitam* = *svakakāla uparilikhitam* (7,44); M. *na a me icchāi* = *na ca ma icchayā* (H. 555), *taṇ si aviniddā* = *tvamasyavinidrā* (H. 66), *duṭṭhūna uṇṇamante* = *drṣṭvonnamate* (H. 539), *jivie āsaṅho* = *jivitā āsaṃsā* (R. 1,15), *paattāu uahī* = *pravartatām-udadhiḥ* (R. 3,58); *āmuai aṅgām* = *āmuñcatyaṅgām* (R. 5,8), *jāo elāsura-himmi* = *yāta elāsuraḥ* (G. 417), *so esa kesavo vvasamuddam uddāma*° = *sa eṣa keśava upasamudramuddāma*° (G. 1045); AMg. *atthi me āy ā ovavāie* = *asti ma ātmaupapātikah* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *cattāri ee* = *catvāra ete*, (Dasav. 632,7) *tāo ajjāo ejjamāñño pāsai* = *tā āryā eyamāññā paśyati* (Nirayāv. 59), *ege āha* = *eka āha* (Sūyag. 74), *klāne āummi* = *kṣiṇa āyuṣi* (Sūyag. 212), *jo imāo diṣāo anudisāo atusamcarai* = *ya imā diṣa anudisā nusaṃcarati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4). So also the rest of the dialects.

§170. *na* (not) not rarely undergoes saṁdhi with the initial vowel of the following word, especially when the latter is a verb : M. AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *natthi* = *nāsti* (e.g. G.H.R. s.v. *as*; Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Āv. 9,9; Pav. 380,10; Mṛcch. 2,24), Mg. *nasti* (e.g. Mṛcch. 19,11 [text *natthi*]); M. *nāmī* = *na + amī* (G. 246), *nalliai* = *na + alliai* (R. 14,5); M. JŚ.Ś. *nāham* = *na + aham* (H. 178; Pav. 384,36; Vikr. 10,13); M. *nāulabhāva* = *na + ākulabhāva* (G. 813), *nāga* = *na + āgata* (H. 856), *nālavai* = *na + ālapati* (H. 647); AMg. JŚ. *neva*, *neva* = *na + eva* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3,4,1; Pav. 384,59), M. *nea* (G.H.R.); AMg. *nānāgama* = *na + anāgama* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *nābhijānai* = *nābhijānāni* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *nārabhe* = *na + ārabheta* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4), *nābhībhasimsu* = *na + abhi*°, *nāivattai* = *na + ativartate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); Ś. *nāgadā* = *na + āgatā* (Mālatiṃ. 72,6); Mg.

nāścadi=*na*+*āgacchati* (Mṛcch. 116,5,19; 117,11); AMg. JM. *nāidūra* (Uvās. §208; Ovav. §33; Nāyādh. §7; Erz. 22,23), Ś. *nādidūra* (Mālatim. 30,8), Mg. *nādidūla* (Caṇḍak. 66,13)=*na*+*atidūra*; Ś. *nārihadi*=*na*+*arhati* (Śak. 24,12); M. *neccai*=*na*+*icchati* (H. 205), Ś. *neccadi* (Śak. 73,4), Mg. *neścadi* (Mṛcch. 11,1); Ś. *nālaṃkiḍā*=*na*+*alaṃkiṭā* (Mṛcch. 18,10), *nodaradi*=*na*+*avatarati* (Mṛcch. 108,21). In such cases *na* is proclitic and is treated as the first member of a compound. This holds good also for the root *jñā*, which after *na* very often, drops its initial *ja*, which, as in the anlaut, is changed into *ya* in AMg. JM.: M. *na āṇāmi*, *na āṇasi*, *na āṇai*, *na āṇimo*, *na āṇaha*, *na āṇanti*; AMg. JM. *na jāṇāmi* (Nāyādh. 84; Āv. 29,19), JM. *na jāṇasi*, *na jāṇai*, AMg. *na jāṇāmo*; Ś. *na āṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 52,16; 65,11; Vikr. 43,14; 46,1); Mg. *na āṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 140,12); Ś. D. *na āṇādi*; D. *na āṇāsi*, Ś. *na āṇiadi*=*na jñāyate*; M. AMg. Ś. *na āṇe*=*na jāṇe*. References in § 457.510.548. This formation is quite analogous to compounds such as Ś. *aāṇantena*=*ajānatā* (Mṛcch. 18,22; 63,24). *aāṇia*=*ajāṇāivā* (Śak. 50,13), AMg. *viyāṇāi*, Ś. Mg. *viāṇādi*, AMg. *pariyāṇāi*, Mg. *paccabhiāṇādi* (§510). In most of the cases, however, *na* is not proclitic, and, therefore, as a rule it remains unchanged before all vowels, as M. *na iṭṭham*=*neṣṭam* (H. 501), *na iṣā*=*nerṣyā* (H. 829), *na uttarai*=*nottaratī* (H. 271), *na ei*=*naiti* (R. 14,43). *na ohasiā*=*nāvahasiā* (H. 60); AMg. *na ambile*, *na unḥe*, *na itthi*, *na annahā*=*nāmlaḥ*, *noṣṇaḥ*, *na strī*, *nānyathā*, beside *natthi* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4), and so in all dialects.¹

1. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 193; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 193.302; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,104.

§171. As in isolated cases in Skt., *na* may be used as the first member of a compound instead of *a*, *an* in Pkt. too. M. *naśahiāloa*=*asodhāloka* (G. 364), *naśahiapaḍiboha*=*asodhapratibodha* (G. 1162), *naḥapuppanta*=*aprabhat* (G. 16,46), *naḥaputta*=*aprabhūta* (G. 114), for which R. 3,57 has *naḥaputta* with *pa* treated as a medial sound for the sake of rhyme. One may also like to consider this *na* in AMg. in cases like *taṃ maggāṃ nūttaraṃ*=*taṃ mārgam-anuttaram* (Sūyag. 419); *disaṃ nantaṇṇena*=*disamanantanaṇṇena* (Āyār. 2,16,6); *diṭṭhiṃ nantāhiṃ*=*diṭṭibhiranantābhīḥ*, *muttisuhāṃ nantāhiṃpi* [text *vi*] *vaggavaggūhiṃ*=*muktisukham anantairapi vargavagnubhiḥ* (Paṇṇav. 135); *aggivaṇṇāṃ negaso*=*agnivarnāny anekasaḥ* (Uttar. 598); *egappaḥ negāṃ padāṃ*=*ekapadeṇekāni padāni* (Paṇṇav. 63), *essanti nantaso*=*esyantyanantaśaḥ* (Sūyag. 45.56.71); *bandhaṇehi negehi*=*bandhanairanekaiḥ* (Sūyag. 225); *gaṇḍavacchāsu* [text *vatthā*] *negacittāsu*=*gaṇḍavakṣaḥsvaneke-cittāsu* (Uttar. 252); *itto nantagunīyā*=*ito* **nantagunīkāḥ* (Uttar. 599); *virāyae negagunovavee*=*virājate* *nekagunopetaḥ* (Sūyag. 309); *buddehi nāṇṇā*=*buddhair anācīrṇā* (Dasav. 627,16). As, however, the dropping off of the initial *a* occurs in all the analogous cases (§175), and the texts always write *n*, never *n*, we shall have here to assume the dropping off of *a*. Hence in transcription we should write *maggāṃ* *nūttaraṃ*, etc.

§172. Besides in the case of *na* contraction takes place within the sentence more frequently only when one of the words is a pronoun, an adverb, a preposition, or in the case of a substantive used as a preposition, in which proclisis or enclisis of the particles has to be assumed. Such a contraction occurs especially in AMg. JM. So AMg. *ahāvarā*=*athāparā* (Āyār. 2,1,11,4ff.; 2,2,3,19ff.; 2,5,1,7ff. etc.), *na jāham*=*na cāham* (Āyār. 1,7,6,1), *jeṇāham*=*yeṇāham* (Uttar. 241); JM. *jeṇāham* (Erz. 17,14), *jeṇāṇijāham*=*yeṇāṇitāham* [Erz. 8,23], *iḥāḍavie*=*iḥāṭavyām* (Erz. 30,13), M. *sahasāgaassa*=*sahasā-gatasya* (H. 297); AMg. *purāsi*=*purāsit* (Sūyag. 898); JM. *sahāmacceṇa*=

sahāmātyena (Āv. 11,18); AMg. *dāriḡeyam*=*dārikeyam* (Dasav. N. 648,2); M. *na hujjālā*=*na khalūjjālā* (on H. 993); AMg. *no hūvaṇamanti*=*no khalūpanamanti* (Sūyag. 100), *ē'thovarae*=*atroparatah* (Āyār. 1,6,2,4); JM. *siharovari*=*siharopari* (T. 5,10); Ś. *mamovari*=*mamopari* (Mṛcch. 41,22); JŚ. *jassedha* [text °eha]=*yasyeha* (Pav. 382,24). On *ajjāoi*, *keṇāvi*, *teṇāvi* etc. see §143. Contraction occurs more rarely in other cases, like AMg. *samāsajjāvitaham*=*samāsādyāvitatham* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *jānittāyariyassa*=*jñātoācāryasya* (Uttar. 43), *kammānāṇaphalā*=*karmānyajñānaphalāni* (Uttar. 113), *tahosuyāro*=*tatheṣuk-ārah* (Uttar. 422), *iṣiṇāhāra-m-āni*=*ṛṣiṇāhārādini* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *mānuse-sūvavannā*, *tirikkhesūvavannā*=*manusyēṣūpapannā*, **tiryakṣēṣūpapannā* (Āv. 17,22, 23), *paḍikappiēnāgao*=*pratikalpitenāgatah* (Erz. 32,18), *subuddhināmeṇāmacceṇa*=*subuddhināmnāmātyena* (Erz. 17,19). In AMg. in verses sometimes even the vowels, that have come together, first after a secondary fashion, are contracted. So : *esovarae*=*ēsa uparatah* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1); *uvasaggā bhīmāsi*=*upasargā bhīmā āsan* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7); *tamhāvivijjo*=*tasmād atividyah* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3); *buddhāṇusāsanti*=*buddhā anūsāsati* (Uttar. 33); *parājijjāvassappāmo*=*parājijjā apasarpāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 186); *akayakara nānabhigayā ya*=*akṛta-karaṇā anabhigatās ca* (Jijyakappa 73). Also after a toneless nasal in *maggā-ṇusāsanti* for *maggā anūsāsanti*=*mārgamanūsāsati* (Sūyag. 465,517), *addhā-ṇugacchāi*, *panthāṇugāmie* for *addhā anugacchāi*, *panthā anugāmie*=*adhvānam anugacchati*, *panthānam* **anugāmikaḥ* (Sūyag. 59). Cf. §173.175.

§173. In the auslaut vowels are often thrown out in M. JŚ., and especially in JM.AMg. before a vowel in the anlaut : M. *jeṇ' aham*=*yeṇāham* (H. 441), *tujiḥ' avarāhe*=*taoṇparādhe* (H. 277); JM. *kuṇālen' imam*=*kuṇālenemam* (Āv. 8,16), *tāyass' ānam*=*tātasyājñām* (Āv. 8,18), *jeṇ' evam*=*yeṇaivam* (Erz. 14,8] *iḥ' eva*=*ihaiva* (Āv. 29,14; Erz. 17,3; 20,14), *jāvo' esā*=*yāvad eṣā* (Erz. 53,28), *tah' eva*=*tathaiva* (Āv. 12,26; 27,19), *tass' anṇesaṇattham*=*tasyānṇesaṇārtham* (Erz. 13,18); JŚ. *ten' iha* (Pav. 387,21) *jattih' atthi*=*yatrāsti* (Kattig. 401, 353), *ten' uvaṭṭho*=*tenopadiṣṭah* (Kattig. 398,304); AMg. *akkhāy' aṇelisam*=*ākhyāyānidṛsam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15), *jattih' atthamie*, *jattih' avasappanti*, *jattih' agani*=*yatrāstamitah*, *yatrāvasarpanti*, *yatrāgnih* (Sūyag. 129,181,273), *vuḍḍhen' anūsāsie*=*vṛddhenānūsāsitaḥ* (Sūyag. 515), *ubhāyass' antareṇa*=*ubhaya-syāntareṇa* (Uttar. 32), *vinnavaṇ' itthisu*=*vijñāpanā strīṣu* (Sūyag. 208,209), *jeṇ' uvahammāi*=*yeṇopahamāyate* (Dasav. 627,13), *jah' ē'ttha*=*yathātra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,2), *viṇṇadivann' ege*=*vipratipannā eke* (Sūyag. 170), *tass' āharaha*=*tasyā-harata* (Āyār. 2,1,11,2). *i* has dropped off e.g. in AMg. JM. *nattih' ē'ttha*=*nāstyatra* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; Erz. 10,21) against Ś. *nattih' ē'ttha* (Śak. 121,5); AMg. *jam' ime*=*yasminime* (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), *sant' ime*=*santime* (Āyār. 1,1,6,1; Sūyag. 65; Uttar. 200; Dasav. 625,25; 626,36); *vajant' ege*=*vadantyeke* (Sūyag. 37), *cattār' itthiyāo*=*catasrah striyaḥ* (Thāp. 247), *cattār' antaradivā*=*catvāro 'ntara-dvīpāḥ* (Thāp. 260) in poetry, beside °ri a° in prose and *cattāri agani*=*caturo 'gnih* (Sūyag. 274) in poetry, *kīlan' anne*=*kṛīḍantanyane*, *tarant' ege*=*tarantyeke* (Uttar. 504,567), *tinn' udahī*, *dōnn' udahī*=*traya udadhayaḥ*, *dōvū-dadhī* (Uttar. 996,1000), *dalām' aham*=*dalayāmy.* (= *dadāmy*) *aham* (Uttar. 663). *e* has dropped off for example in AMg. *s' evam*=*sa evam* (Āyār. 1,7,3,3; 2,3,1, 1ff.), *paḍham' ittha*=*prathamō'tra* (Nandis. 74), *tubbh' ē'ttha*=*yusme atra*, *im' ee*=*ima ete*, *mann' erisam*=*manya idṛsam* (Uttar. 358,439,571), *im' ejārīve*=*ayametadrūpaḥ* (Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151,170,171; Uvās.). *o* has dropped off in AMg. *gurun' antie* for *guruṇo antie*=*gurorantike* (Uttar. 29; Dasav. 632,22). Anusvāra has dropped off after weakening of the nasal sound, for example, in AMg. *niyogajivān' anantānam*=*niyogajivānām anantānām* (Paṇṇav. 42), *cariss' aham* for *carissam aham*=*carisyāmyaham* (Sūyag. 239), *pucchiss' aham* for *pucchissam aham*=*apṛākṣamaham* (Sūyag. 259), *veṇajīṇ' u vāyam*=*vainayikānām u vādam* (Sūyag. 322), *vipparijās' uve nī*=*vīparyāsam upayanti*

(Sūyag. 468,497), *dukkhāṇ' antakaro=dukkhānām antakaraḥ* (Uttar. 1005), *siddhāṇ' ogāhaṇā=siddhānām avagāhaṇā* (Ovav. 171), *paḍham' ittha=prathamam-atra* (Kappas. Th. §9), *im' eṇārūvaṇ=imametadrūpaṇ* (Āyār. 2,15,24; Kappas. §94), *im' erisaṇ aṇāyāraṇ=imamīḍṣasamanācāraṇ* (Dasav. 626,27); JM. *moriyavaṇsāṇ' amhaṇ=mauryavaṇsāṇāsmākaṇ* (Āv. 8,17), *im' erisaṇ=imamīḍṣam* (Āv. 25,26). Almost all the examples are found in verses. In the very frequent AMg. *no iṇ' atthe samaṭṭhe* (Sūyag. 852,986,992; Paṇṇav. 366; Nāyādh. 570; Vivāhap. 37,44,46ff,79,106,112ff,204; Ovav. § 69,74; Uvās. s.v. *samaṭṭha*), beside *no iṇam atthe samaṭṭhe* (Ovav. §94) "that is not the case" *iṇ'* is to be taken, with Hc. 3,85, as the nom. sing. of the neuter, which, otherwise also in AMg. (§357), is connected with the masculine.¹ Very rarely a final vowel has dropped off in other dialects, as in Ś. *etth' antare* (Mṛcch. 40,23; also in JM. Erz. 17,30); Mg. *tav' edeṇa=tavaitena* (Mṛcch. 12,19) in the verse.

1. Not correctly WEBBER, Bhag. 1,409, where occurs a collection on the *saṁdhi* from Vivāhap., E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation, note 107. Cf. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,344f.

§174. In AMg. the final vowels of *api* and *iti*, with an initial dissimilar vowel, sometimes undergo the *saṁdhi* prescribed in Skt.: *appa=apy* fuses with *eka* and **ekatya* into one word, as in Pāli: *appege=*apyekah* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5f.), *appege=*apyeke* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5), *jaṁsī, taṁsī 'ppege=yasmin tasminn *apyeke* (Āyār. 1,8,2,13), beside medial *vi ege* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1), *vi ee* (Uttar. 1016), and *v' ege* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 234), *v' ee* (Vivāhap. 101,180), *v' eg'evam āhaṁsu=*apyeka evam āhuḥ* (Sūyag. 240), *evam p' ege* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1,2), *puvvaṇ p' eyaṇ pacchā v'* [so to be read] *eyaṇ=pūrvama-pyetaṭpaścādapyetat* (Āyār. 1,5,2,3); AMg. *appegaṇiṇā=Pāli appekacce=*apyekatyāḥ* (Ovav.); also in JM. *io pp' eva=ito 'pyeva* (Āv. 19,23). Likewise *ili*: AMg. *iccāi=ityādi* (Kappas. § 196ff.); *icceva* (Āyār. 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 557), *icce' ege* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2), *iccattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), *iccevaṇ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *iccee* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7,4,7; 1,5,4,5), *iccehim* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *icceyāo icceyāsīm* (Āyār. 2,1,11,10,11), *icceyāvaṇti* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4). In Ś. Mg. *nu*, before *etad* becomes *no* and then fuses with it in a word: Ś. *evam (ēvām) nedaṇ=evam noetaṭ* (Mṛcch. 22,16; 57,20; Śak. 2,5; 45,13; 71,6; Prab. 8,6; Ratn. 292,8), *kiṇ nedaṇ=kiṇ noetaṭ* (Mṛcch. 3,2; 27,17; 40,17; 54,15; 60,4; 97,14; 117,17; 169,20; 171,4; 172,22; Vikr. 25,18; 31,4; Ratn. 301,28), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 40,8; 134,17; 171,5), and against the dialect (§429) *taṇ nidaṇ=tannvidam* (Lalitav. 566,20).

§175. An initial *a* in verses, after *e*, *o*, is sometimes elided as in Skt. M. *piō' 'jja=prīyo'dya* (H. 137); AMg. *āsīṇe 'nelisaṇ=āsīno 'nīḍṣam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *phāse 'hiyāsae=sparśanādhyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,18), *se 'bhinnāyadaṇsaṇ=so' bhinnātmadaṇsaṇaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10), *sisam se 'bhitāvayanti=śīrṣamasyābhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280), *se 'nutappaṇi=so 'nutappate* (Sūyag. 226), *uvasante 'nihe=upaśānto 'nihaḥ* (Sūyag. 365), *tiphamāno 'hiyāsae=īrpyamāno 'dhyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,10), *īṇamo 'bbavī=idamabravit* (Sūyag. 259), *ābhogao 'ibakuso=ābhogato 'tibahuṣaḥ* (Jiyak. 44), *bālo 'varajjhaṇ=bālo 'parādhyate* (Dasav. 624,32); Mg. *snāde 'haṇ=snāto 'haṇ* (Mṛcch. 136,11). In prose dropping off of *a* occurs in the standing formula AMg. *ṇamo' 'tthu ṇam=namo 'stu nūnam* (§498) and in JM. in *ahaṇ*, as in *tie 'haṇ=tasyāmahaṇ* (Erz. 12,22), *tao 'haṇ=tato 'haṇ*, *jāo 'haṇ=jāto 'haṇ* (Erz. 9,36; 53,34). In AMg., seldom in JM.M., in poetry, initial *a* too frequently drops off even after vowels other than *e*, *o*. Thus after *ā* in *paṇijjāmaṇā' 'ttataraṇ=pāyyamānā ārtataram* (Sūyag. 282); after *i* in *jāṇjārāmaranehi 'bhidduā=jāṇjārāmaranairabhidrutah* (Sūyag. 156), *ciṭṭhanti 'bhitappa-*

māñā=*tiṣṭhantyaabhitapyamāñā* (Sūyag. 274), *sūlāhi* *'bhitāvayanti*=*śulābhira abhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280.289), *jāvanī* *'vijjāpurisā*=*yāvanto 'vidyāpuruṣāḥ* (Uttar. 215), *novālabdhāmi* *'ham*=*nopalāhhe 'ham* (Uttar. 575), *cattārī* *'bho jñāmi*=*catvāry-abhōjyāni* (Dasav. 626,6), *jai* *'ham*=*yadyaham* (Dasav. 641,21), as *M.* too has (R. 15,88), *agunēhi* *'sāhū*=*agunairasādhūn* (Dasav. 637,3); after *i* in AMg. *vejaranī* *'bhiduggā*=*vaitaranyabhidurgā* (Sūyag. 270), *lahai* *'bhidugge*=*labhate 'bhidurge* (Sūyag. 277), *jamsī* *'bhidugge*=*yasminnabhidurge* (Sūyag. 287.297 [*'duggamsī*]), *nadī* *'bhiduggā* (Sūyag. 297); after *u* in JM. *dosu* *'bhiggaho*=*dvayorabhigrahaḥ* (Āv. 19,36); also after anusvāra with weakening of the nasal sound, as in AMg. *kaham* *'bhitāvā*=*kathamabhitāpāḥ* (Sūyag. 259), *vejaranīm* *'bhiduggam*=*vaitaranimabhidurgām* (Sūyag. 270), *vajjanam* *'bhiuñje*=*vacanamabhiyūñje* (Sūyag. 529). False in prose is *tesim* *'tie* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), for which, according to the commentators, we have to write *tesim antie*. Cf. §171.172.173. Even vowels, other than *a*, sometimes drop off in AMg. after *e*, *o*; so *i* in *je* *'me* for *je ime*=*ya ime* (Sūyag. 454), *je* *'ha* for *je iha*=*ya iha* (Sūyag. 304); *e* in AMg. *akāriṇo* *'ttha*=*akāriṇo'tra* (Uttar. 290), *anno* *'ttha*=*anyo'tra* (Uttar. 791), *ko* *'ttha* (H. 364), and after the weakened nasal sound in M. JM. *kim tha*=*kim e'ttha*=*kim atra* (H. s.v. *tha*; Āv. 26,9).

m) EPENTHESIS

§176. The separation vowel *i* in the sound-group *ry* (§134) has sometimes made its way into the preceding syllable, and with an *a*, *ā* of the same become fused into *e*: M. AMg. *acchera*, AMg. JM. *accheraṇya*, AMg. *accheraga*, beside M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. *aścāria*, dialectically *accharijja* and *acchaara*=*āścarya* (§138) also; M. *kerā*=*kārya*¹ (belonging to; Mk. fol. 40; Kāmsav. 52,11, *keram* (on account of; Kāvya-prakāśa 28,7), Ś. *omhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 19,9), *tumhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 104,6), *parakera* (Mālav. 26,5), otherwise in Ś. *keraka*, *kerā* (Mṛcch. 4,3;38,3;53,20;63,16;64,19;65,10,11;68,11;74,8;153,2; Śāk. 96,10;155,9; Mālatim. 267,2; Mudrār. 35,8; Priyad. 43,16;44,6; Jivān. 9,1; Kāmsav. 50,11); also in Ā. *keraka* (Mṛcch. 100,18); femin. Ś. *kerikā* *keriā* (Mṛcch. 88,24 [read *kerika* *tū*]; 90,14;95,6; Viddhaś. 83,4), also in Ā. *kerikā* (Mṛcch. 104,9); Ś. *parakeraattana*=**parakāryatvana* (Mālatim. 215,3); Mg. *kelaka*, *kela*a (Mṛcch. 13,9;37,13;40,9;96,21,22;97,3;100,20;112,10;118,17;119,5;122,14.15 [read *kelakāim*]; 130,10;132,2;133,2;146,16;152,6;173,9; Śāk. 116,11;161,7); also to be mentioned here Prab. 32,8, where *bhaṭṭālakakelakehim*, according to II, 34.115, is to be read; femin. *kelikā*, *keliā* (Mṛcch. 21,21; 132,16; [read *kelikāe*]; 139,16 [read *kelikā*]; 164,3,8;167,3,21); A. *kerā* (Hc. 4,422.373), *kerāa* (Hc. 4,359.373); M. AMg. Ś. *peranta*=*pariyanta* (Vr. 3,18; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58;2,65.93; Ki. 1,4;2,79; Mk. fol. 5,22; Pāiyāl. 173; G.H.; Ovav.; Lalitav. 555,11;567,23; Vikr. 31,17; Mālatim. 76,5; 103,3;118,6;248,5; Mahāv. 97,13; Bālar. 49,2;67,15;76,16;226,3;278,20; 287,9; Anarghar. 58,9; Mallikām. 55,10;57,17), AMg. *pariperanta* (Nāyādh. 513.1383ff.; Vivāgas. 107); *bamhacera* (Hc. 1,59;2,63.74.93), AMg. A. *bamhacera* (Hc. 2,74; Āyār. 1,5,2,4;1,6,2,1;1,6,4,1;2,15,24; Sūyag. 81.171.318.643.652.759.866; Vivāhap. 10,135.722.726; Dasav. 618,33; Dasav. N. 649,38; Uvās.; Ovav. §69; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz. 3,24), beside *bamhacaria* (Hc. 2,63.107)=*brahmacya*; AMg. JM. *merā*=*maryā*² (frontier; Hc. 1,87; Āyār. 2,1,2,5;2,3,1,13;2,5,1,2;2,6,1,1; Āv. 47,23,25; Kk.); AMg. *nimmera*=*nimarya* (Thān. 136.143 [nī^o]; Vivāhap. 483.1048; Qvav.), *samera*=*samarya* (Thān. 136 [text *sammera*]. 143); AMg. JM. *pāḍihera*=Pāli *pāṭihāriya*=*prāṭihārya*³ (Vivāhap. 1047.1189; Ovav.; Āv. 14,2), JM. *pāḍiherattana* (Āv. 13,25); AMg. *pariheraga*=*pari-*

-hāryaka (Ovav.); M. Ś. *sundera*=*saundarya* (§84). On *ukkerā* see §107, on *dera*, §112. Isolated is Mg. *śeṇaṁ* from **śaṇiāṁ* (Mṛcc. 134,24) =M. Ś. *saṇiāṁ*, AMg. JM. *saṇijāṁ*=Pāli *sanikaṁ* (§84). Epenthesis of *u* occurs in AMg. *pora*=*parvan* from **paurva*- (Āyār.2,1,8,11).

1. FISCHER, IA. 2,121ff.; 966ff.; on Hc. 2,174. HOERNLE, JASB. 41,1, 124ff.; IA. 2,210 ff. Comp. Gr. §377 and BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,281 ff. derive the word from *kṛta*.—
2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *nimmāra*, Hc. and Triv. derive it from *mirā*.—3. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.

n) ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

§177. Dialectically the vowels of the neighbouring syllables have sometimes been assimilated to one another. AMg. *mirī*=*māricī* (Jiv.542; Paṇhāv. 254 [text °*riya*]; Ovav. [§38]. 48 [so to be read]; Nāyādh. §122), *samirīya*=*samarīcika* (Samav.211 [text °*ma*°]; Ovav.); AMg. *mirīya*=*marīca* (Hc. 1,46; Āyār. 2,1,8,3; Paṇnav. 531); M. *avarim*=*upāri*; M. *avahoāsa*, *avahovāsa*=**ubathahpārśva* (§212), *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (§ 123); *bhamayā* beside M. *bhumāā*, AMg. *bhumayā*=**bhruvakā* (§124); M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣū*; AMg. *usu*=*i'su*, *susu*=*śiśu* (§117); AMg. *puhuttā*=*prīhaktva* beside *puhutta* (§78). As in Sanskrit, there occur beside one another AMg. *niuramba*=*nikuramba* (Ovav.) and AMg. *niurumba*=*nikurumba* (Samav. 211; Ovav.), beside *sarīsiva*=*sarīsrpa* there are often found the variants *siṛīsiva*, *siṛisiva* (§81). M. Ś. *siṇa*=*svaṇa* (Vr. 1,3,3,62; C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259;2,108; Kī. 1,2,2,59; Mk. fol. 5,29; H. R.; Pratāp. 212,9; Vṛṣabh. 14,6;17,1,2), M. Ś. *siṇāā*=*svaṇnaka* (H. 2,186; H.; Karp.75,4; Lalitav.554,21,22;555,1; Vikr.24,17; Mālav.62,5; Mālatim. 179,9; Bālar 238,14; Karp.70,3,11.12;71,1,7,3,4; Venīs.18,13,20,21; Nagān. 12,11;13,4;23,3; Karpas. 16,9,12); M. *padisiṇāā*=*pratisvaṇnaka* (Karp. 75,5); *siṇina* (C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259), beside AMg. JM. *suṇiṇa* Sūyag. 838ff; Vivāhap. 943ff. 1318ff.; Uttar. 249,456; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), A *suṇa* (Hc. 4,434,1), and AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* (Hc.1,46; Thān. 567; Nandis. 365; Samav. 26; Vivāhap. 947,1318; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.; T. 7,16; Erz.), JM. *suṇiṇa*, *sumiṇa* (Erz.)=*svaṇnaka* (§133 152,248). The forms like *kilimmaī*, *kilimmihī*, *kilinta* beside *kilammaī*, *kilanta* are not to be considered as correct with S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹, but they rest upon the variation with the frequent v.l. *kilissai*². On future forms like *bhavissidi* see § 520.

1. ZDMG. 32,107.—2. FISCHER, GGA. 1880,328 f. Cf. §136.

3. ANUSVĀRA AND THE NASAL VOWELS.

§178. Beside anusvāra, Pkt. possesses two nasal vowels, of which one is expressed by the sign of anusvāra and the other by that of Anunā-sika. The distinction between anusvāra and the first nasal vowel is not definite in all cases, particularly in the final syllable, where their treatment is mostly the same and the origin cannot be traced definitely. Thus for example in the inst. plur. in -*hiṁ*, beside which -*hī*, -*hi* are used. Ś. *devehiṁ* (Śak.21,5) is equated to Vedic *devēbhiḥ*, which I regard as correct; so a nasal vowel is to be assumed; on the other hand it is equated as=θe'οφιv¹, as the usual hypothesis is and, therefore, anusvāra is more probable. Likewise a nasal vowel will have to be assumed in cases, like *aggim*=*agniḥ* beside *aggi* and *vāum*=*vāyuh* beside *vāū* (§72), on the other hand anusvāra, for example, in the genitive plural *devāṇām*, beside which occur also *devāṇā* and *devāṇa*, exactly as *devehi*, *devehi*, has to be assumed. In adverbs like *uparim* beside *wari*=*upari* anusvāra is probable, and in *bāhim*=*bakhiḥ*, a nasal

vowel. In words where *m̐* may be traced back to *n*, *m* I assume anusvāra, otherwise, however, a nasal vowel, as a rule.²

1. The equation naturally holds good for the ending only.—2. On anusvāra and the nasal vowel see the literature in WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §223.224.

§179. As in the Veda¹, so in Pkt. too, the anunāsika, is not mostly indicated in the manuscripts so that in very many of the cases its existence is to be deduced only from the statements of the grammarians. Thus in H. 651, the MSS. write *jāi vaaṇāi*, the Bombay edition, *jāṇi vaaṇāṇi*, whilst Hc.3,26 explicitly demands *jāi vaaṇāi* which does not, as WEBER thinks², go against the metre, since ardhacandra³ never makes position. In Śak.116,3 in Mg. we have *śaūlāṇam muham̐=svakulānām mukham*, the MS. Z reads *saapāṇam muham̐=svajanānām mukham*; according to Hc. 4 300 there should be read *saapāṇāḥ muham̐*, which no MS. has. Vr. 2,3; Ki.2,5; Mk. fol. 14 teach that in *yamunā* the *m* drops out. Hc.1,178, on the other hand, teaches, without doubt more correctly, intrusion of anunāsika: *jāuṇā*. The manuscripts and the texts write in M.AMg. *jāuṇā* only, in Ś. *jamunā* (§251). In the Sattasāi, the manuscript *ψ* sometimes write ardhacandra instead of bindu of the rest, but not always in the right place⁴. For Apabhraṃśa Hc.4,397 teaches entry of *ṽ* for *m*, e. g. *kāṽalu* beside *kamalu=kamalam*. The manuscripts ordinarily write *mv*. Therefore, the use of ardhacandra can not be determined from the manuscripts.

1. MAX MÜLLER on the Rgvedaprātiśākhya 64; WEBER on the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya 4,9 13.—2. On H.651.—3. So I take, with WEBER, H.p. 4, the mark for anunāsika. Wrongly equate B.-R. s.v. according to WEBER, Die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upanishad (Berlin 1864), p. 334, ardhacandra=anusvāra. The name for the sign for anusvāra is bindu, as has been said in the preceding and following paragraphs.—4. WEBER, H. p. 4; cf. on H. 274.289.292.489.507.548.556.572.597 and γ on 5.

§180. The grammarians teach that in Pkt. and A. the syllables *-im̐*, *-him̐*, *-um̐*, *-hum̐*, *-ham̐*, at the end of a pada, according to Saṃgītaratnākara *-hum̐*, *-im̐* in A., even in the middle of a pada, may be reckoned short (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṃgītaratnākara 4,55.56; Piṅgala 1,4; Hc. 4,411). Therefore, formerly these syllables were allowed to stand even before vowels and consonants, when a short vowel was necessary. WEBER¹ in this case wishes to irradicate bindu everywhere and he is followed by all the modern European editors.² Sh. P. PAṆDIT in his edition of the Gāḍavaha puts a sign of shortness over the bindu, e.g. 1,16 *angaim̐ viṇhuṇo*, *bhariām̐ va*, and with the same end DURGĀ PRASĀD; ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, in their editions of the Sattasāi, of Rāvaṇavaha, of Piṅgala and of Karpūramañjari, have employed ardhacandra.³ BOLLENSSEN⁴ even wished to regard ardhacandra as a sign of elevation, which WEBER⁵ rightly rejects. Hc.3,7.26 teaches *-hi*, *-hī*, *-him̐* and *-ī*, *-im̐* and the MS. R^a of the Rāvaṇavaha tends to write *-ī*, *-hī* when a short is requisite.⁶ Likewise writes the edition of Samav. in the verses, p. 232.233.239, as *tih̐ tih̐ saehim̐*, *chah̐ purisasaeh̐ nikkhanto*, *saveijātoraneh̐ uvavejā=tribh̐s tribh̐s sataih̐*, *ṣaḍbh̐h̐ puruṣasatair̐ niṣkrāntah̐*, *savedikātoranaiḥ upetāḥ*. This place, without doubt, gives the correct direction with regard to the employment of ardhacandra. It will have to be written when a short syllable is requisite and the following word begins with a vowel or the preceding or the following word ends in *m̐*, as is the case in Samav. at two of the places adduced. We shall, therefore, have to write, for example *sālam̐karāṇa gāhānam̐* (H.3); *silummūlīāi kūlām̐* (H. 355); *tumheh̐ uvekkhio* (H.420) *pasāhiāi āngām̐* (H.578); *paṇḍūi salilāi* (G. 577); *vevirapaoharānam̐ disāṇa tanumajjhānam̐*. . . *nimūlīāi muhām̐* (R.6,89) *dhūsarāi muhām̐* (R.8,9); *khaṇacumbiāi bhamareh̐ uḥa suumārakesarasah̐m̐* (Śak.2,14). ardhacandra has to be written also in

cases like *tañām so'ttum diññāi~jāi* (H.379), *jai vaññāi* (H.651), which is expressly testified to by Hc.(§179); further in cases like A. *taruhū vi* (Hc.4,341,2); *atthē hī satthē hī hatthē hī vi* (Hc.4,358,1); *mukkāhā vi* (Hc. 4,370,1), where bindu would be incorrect as instead of *vi* there would have to stand *pi* after it. *m* always makes position, which *~* never does (§348.350).⁷

1. On H. 3.—2. As S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX. Against him KLATT, ZDMG. 33,45ff.—3. Cf. on Hc. 1,2, note 3.—4. On Vikr. p. 521, note; p. 521f., note.—5. On H. 481.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX, note 2.—7. The nasal vowel uttered with bindu is more strongly nasalized than that indicated by ardhacandra. BOPP was not wrong to the extent assigned by BERGAIGNE (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 2,204, Note 1.

§181. After the vowels, that are final either by origin or become so due to dropping off of a consonant, anusvāra is frequently added in M.AMG. JM. in adverbs except in the cases discussed in §75.114. M. *ajjam* (H.R.) beside *ajja=adya*; AMg. JM. *iham* beside *iha=iha* (Hc. 1,24; Āyār. 1,1,3,7; Jiv. 305; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kk.)¹, also *ihayam* (Hc. 1,24); AMg. JM. *isim* beside M. Ś. *isi* (§102); AMg. JM. *pabhim=prabhrti* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *uppiṃ*, M. AMg. JM. *uvarim*, M. *avarim*, beside M. JM. Ś. *uvari*, Mg. *uvali=upari* (§123.148); AMg. *sāim=sakrt* (Āyār. 2,1,1,5; Uttar. 201.235), *asaīm=asakrt* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1; Jiv. 308; Uttar. 201); AMg. *jugavam+yugapat* (Ṭhāṇ. 227; Vivāhap. 1440; Uttar. 870.878.881.1032; Ovav.); AMg. *jāvam, tāvam=yāvat, tāvat* (Vivhāp. 268.269). In M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* (Hc. 2,140; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyāl. 224; G.; Āyār. 2,7,2,1; 2,10,6; Sūyag. 753; Nāyādh. §122 [so to be read]; Erz.), also in *bāhimsalla=bahihśalya* (Ṭhāṇ. 314) and *bāhimhinto* (Ṭhāṇ. 408) and in AMg. *pāum=prāduḥ* (§341) and *muhum=muhuh* (Uttar. 197) a nasal vowel has probably to be assumed (§178). Perhaps, however, *bāhim* should be equated as=*bāhyam* according to §151. Since Mk. fol. 40 teaches *bāhim* as well perhaps this explanation is more correct. It might also be better to separate *bāhim* from *bahim*. Cf. also *saññicara* (§84) and §349.

1. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 217.

§182. In M. anusvāra is sometimes added to the final *a* in the instr. sing. of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems (Hc. 1,27); *sabbhāveṇam=sabbhāvena* ((H. 286); *paruṇṇeṇam muheṇam=paruruditeṇa mukhena* (H. 354); *samaavaseṇam=samayavaśeṇa* (H. 398); *°loaṇeṇam, °seeṇam=°locanena, °svedena* (H. 828); *kavāḍantareṇam=kavāḍāntareṇa* (G 212); *pañjareṇam* (G.301); *°visaṃseṇam=°viśadāmsena* (R. 3,55). This sort of addition is very frequent in AMG. JM. So AMg. *teṇam kāleṇam teṇam samaeṇam=tena kālena tena samayena* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,1.6.17.22; Uvās. §1ff. 9.75ff.; Nāyādh. §1.4.6; Ovav. § 1.15.16.23ff.; Kappas. § 1.2.14 etc.); AMg. *samaṇeṇam bhagavajā mahāvireṇam=śramaṇena bhogavatā mahāvireṇa* (e.g. Nāyādh. § 8 [where, in addition, 21 instrumental forms in -*ṇam* follow; shortened, e.g. Uvās. § 2.78.91]), *kohēṇam māṇeṇam lobheṇam=krodhena mānena lobhena* (Vivāhap. 85), *sakkeṇam devindeṇam devarañṇeṇam=sakreṇa devendreṇa deva-rājeṇa* (Nāyādh. 852), *paravāgaraneṇam=paravyākaraṇena* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4; 1,7,2,3), *hiraṇṇeṇam=hiraṇyena* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3); JM. *vaccanteṇam=vrajatā, vaddeṇam saddeṇam=vaddeṇa śabdena, uppaheṇam=utpathena, sureṇam=sureṇa* (Āv. 11,19; 23,14; 36,32.37), *saṇamkumāreṇam nāyāmaccauttanteṇam kovam uogaṇeṇam=saṇatikumāreṇa jñātāmātyavritāntena kopam upagatena* (Erz. 3,29). Similarly also in adverbially used instrumental forms, like AMg. *āṇupuvveṇam=āṇupūvryeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; 1,7,7,5; [aru°]; Nirayāv. § 13; Nāyādh. §118 [aru°]) *parampareṇam* (Kappas. S. § 27); AMg. JM. *suheṇam=sukhena* (Vivāgas. 81; Ovav. §16; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Erz.); AMg.

majjheṇaṃ=*madhyena* (*Uvās.*; *Nāyādh.*; *Kappas.*; *Nirayāv.*; *Vivāhap.* 236; *Ovav.* §17).¹ In the nomin. and acc. plural of the neuter *Vr.* 5,26 teaches the ending *-i* : *vaṇāi*, *dahīi*, *mahūi*=*vanāni dadhīni*, *madhūni*, *Mk.* fol. 43: *-im*: *vaṇāim dahīim*, *mahūim*, *Ki.* 3,28 beside *-im* in *dhaṇāim*, *jaṣāim*, *dahīim* and according to the opinion of some in *dhaṇāimim*, *vaṇāimim* with anusvāra even before the ending, *Hc.* 3,26, *i-*, *-im*. In prose in all the dialects there occurs only *-im*, so *AMg.* *se jājāim kulāim*=*sa yāni kulāni* (*Āyār.* 2,1,2,2) beside *kulāni* (§ 367); *JM.* *pañca egūṇāim addāgasajājāim...pakkhittāim*=*pañca-ikonāny ādarsasātāni...prakṣiptāni* (*Āv.* 17,15); *Ś.* *rāarakkhidāim tavovaṇāim*=*rājarakṣitāni tapovanāni* (*Śak.* 16,13); *Mg.* *śavalāim duṣṣagandhiāim civalāim*=*śabalāni dūṣyagandhikāni civarāni* (*Mṛcch.* 113,22); *Dh.* *bhūdāim suvaṇṇāim*=*bhūtāni suvarṇāni* (*Mṛcch.* 36,21). In verses *-i* is written, when the metre requires a short, surely in many cases and probably in all cases (§179.180) wrongly. *Hc.* points to *ī*, and in *Vr.* 5 26 *-i* is probably a false reading for *-im*. The statement in *Ki.* 3,28, that some scholars required *-im* before anusvāra ought to teach probably more correctly the forms *dhaṇāimim*, *vaṇāimim* instead of *dhaṇāimim*, *vaṇāimim* given in the text, corresponding to *AMg.* *mahamāsa* for *mahanta*+*aśva*=*mahāśva* (§74). The anusvāra stands here instead of the long. In the loc. plur. of all stems is found beside in *-su*, also in *-sum*, which preponderates in *Ś.Mg.* (§367). The nom. acc. sing. of the neut. in *-i*, *-u* has frequently *-im*, as in *dahim*, *mahim* beside *dahi*, *mahu* (§379), probably with a leaning to the neut. forms in *-am*; according to *Hc.* 3,25 some taught also *dahī*, *mahū*. Beside *mama* *M.* *AMg.* *JM.* have *mamam* (§418; *H.*; *Vivāgas.* §121.122; *Uvās.*; *Bhag.*; *Āv.* 72,28). In the imperative in *-hi* the presses, according to the MSS.,² prin¹, often wrongly *-him* for *-hi* (e. g. *Āyār.* 2,1,5,5 *paribhāehim*, read *°hi*; p. 126,7 *pavattehim*, read *pavattehi*; *Nāyādh.* 144; *Vivāhap* 612.613 *bhuñjāhim*, read *°hi*; *Kappas.* §114 *jīṇāhim*, read *°hi*, *vasāhim*, read *°hi*, *nihaṇāhim*, read *°hi*; *Vivāhap.* 612.613 *śalajāhim*, read *°hi*). Sometimes anusvāra is introduced on account of meter, as in *devamñāgasuvaṇṇa*=*devunāgasuparṇa* (*Hc.* 1,26); *AMg.* *chandamniroheṇa*=*chandonirodhena* (*Uttar.* 195). Compounds like *M.* *uvarimdhūmanvsa*=*uparidhūmaniveśa* (*G.* 140), *AMg.* *uvarimpuñchaṇiō*=*uparipucchinayah* (*Rāyap.* 108; text *°pucchaṇiu*), according to §181, *AMg.* *tiriyamvāya*=*tiryagvāta*, *tiriyambhāgi*=*tiryagbhāvin* (*Sūyag.* 829), according to §75, are to be explained.

1. To these instr. in *-eṇaṃ*, perhaps both the Vedic instr. forms *ghanēṇā* and *tējaneṇā* are to be compared (LANMAN, *Noun-Inflection* p. 331), with difficulty the instr. in *-enā* (LANMAN, *l.c.* p. 332).—2. LEUMANN, *Aup. S.* p. 58, note 9.

§183. Final *n* and *m* as a rule become anusvāra, which in *AMg.* *M.* *JM.* often vanishes before both the vowels and consonants (§348ff.). A short nasal vowel and anusvāra alternate more often with non-nasalized long vowels (§72.74.75.86.114). Before an immediately following sibilant, *r*, *h* a short nasal vowel is often lengthened accompanied with loss of the nasal tone (§76). A long nasal vowel and a long vowel with anusvāra following them either become shortened (§83), or the nasal tone vanishes (§ 89), before consonants and in the auslaut of the latter, also with a short vowel (§ 72.173.175.350).

B. THE CONSONANTS.

I. CONSONANTS IN FREE POSITIONS.

1. GENERAL REMARKS RELATING TO WHOLE OR SEVERAL CLASSES.

§184. Initial consonants, other than *n*, *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, remain as rule unchanged. In the beginning of the second member of a compound they are generally treated between vowels as in the interior of a word according to §186.188; more frequently, however, the initial of verbal roots remains unchanged even after prefixes ending in a vowel¹: M. *paṇsei* = *prakāśayati* (G.); *bhamarāṭṭa* = *bhramarakula* (H. 668) beside *mahuarakula* = *madhukarakula* (G. 468); *āṇṇa* = *ākīrṇa* (G.), *paṇṇa* = *prakīrṇa* (G.H.R.); *āaa* (H.) beside common *āga* (G.H.R.) = *āgata*; *vasahāindha* = *vr̥ṣabhacihna* (G.) beside *aṇumarānamāṇḍaṇacindha* (G. 479); *karaala* = *karatala* (H. 170) beside *calaṇatala* = *caranatala* (R. 9,37); *uwaṣai* = *upaḍisati* (H.); *avasāria* = *apasārita*, *viḥalavasāria* = *viḥalāprasārita* (R. 1,1;13,27), and so against §189 also PG. *aṇuwaṭṭhāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati* (7,45)²; *gahavai* = *gr̥hapatī* (H.); *vamsavatta* = *vamśapattra* (H. 676) beside *an̐kollapatta* (H. 313); Ś. *ajjajūta* = *āryaputra* (e.g. Mṛcch. 53,18) beside Mg. *ayyapuliśa* = *āryapuruṣa* (Mṛcch. 132.23). Aspirates, according to §188, may become *h*: M. *vālahilla* = *vālahhilla* (G.), *raihara* = *ratighara* (H.), *jalahara* = *jaladhara* (G.H.R.), *muttāhala* = *muktāphala* (G.), *thaṇahara* = *stanabhara* (H.), beside M. *sarisavakhala* = *sarśapakhala* (Hc.1,187), *palaaghaṇa* = *pralayaghana* (R.5,22), *vammahadhaṇu* = *man̐mathadhaṇuḥ* (R. 1,29), *nimbaphala* (H.248), *rakkhābhuaṃga* = *rakṣābhujāṃga* (G.178). In the same way, most of the enclitics and sometimes words standing behind p ocritics after vowels are treated as in inlaut: Ś. Mg. D. *adha im* = *atha kim* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 17,24;60,6;67,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,7;22,1;118,2.4.6.25; D. Mṛcch. 101,3); M. Ś. Mg. D.Ā.A. CP. (Hc. 4,326) *a*, AMg. JM. JŚ. *yī* = *ca*; M. *ira* = *kira* = Skt. *kila* (Vr.9,5; Hc.2,186; G.R.); M. JM.Ś. Mg. *uṇa* = *punar*, in the sense of "now", "however" (Hc. 1,65.177; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.; Āv. 8,33; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e.g. Mṛcch. 9,8;13,22;25,1;29,6 etc.; Mg. e.g. Mṛcch. 14,22;38,8;43,4;127,24 etc.) also after anusvāra, like M. Ś. *kim uṇa* = *kim punar* (H.25.417; R.3,28.32;4,26;11,26; Mṛcch. 3,20;18,3; Prab. 15,9;38,6;42,6); M. *en̐him uṇa* = *idānīm punar* (H. 307), *hiāam uṇa* = *hydayam punar* (H. 660); Ś. *sampadam uṇa* = *sāmpratam punar* (Mṛcch. 18,23), *aham uṇa* (Mṛcch. 25,14); *tassim uṇa* = *tasmin punar* (Vikr. 35,5), *kadham uṇa* = *katham punar* (Vikr. 73,14); Ś. Mg. *kin̐mimittam uṇa* (Mṛcch. 88,16;151,2; Mg. 19,5); *vi* = *api* (§143); M. *na vahuttam* = *na prabhūtam* (R. 3,57) for the sake of assonance³, beside *apahutta* (H.277.436). In A. the secondary *pa*, originating from *tva* (§300) as well, is treated in the absolute, as in *pekkheviṇu*, *pekkhevi*, *pekkhāvi* = **prekṣitvī*, *bhaṇivī* = **bhaṇitvī*, *piavi* = **pibaitvī*, *ramevi* = **ramayitvī* (§588). M.A. *ṇavara*, *ṇavaram*, JM. *navaram*, (Erz.; R̥ṣabhap.) "only" (Vr.9,7; Hc. 2,187; G.H.R.; Hc.4,377.401,6 [so to be read]), P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ conjectures = *na param*, hardly rightly, as the anusvāra appears to be secondary. Certainly wrong is the interpretation of M. A. *ṇavari* (Vr. 9,8; Hc. 2,188; G.H.R.; Hc. 4,423,2), JM. *navari* (Pāṇyā. 17; Erz.; Kk.) "thereon", "so forth" from *na pare*, against which is the *i* (§85). Very frequent is the dropping off of the *ja*, after *na* in *jñā* in all the dialects; AMg. JM. have *ja* more often as in inlaut (§170).

1. For the rules, that are common to all the dialects, for the sake of brevity, examples will be given generally only from M.—2. FISCHEL, G. N. 1895, p. 211.—

3. Assonance was also the determinant for the dropping off of the initial consonant in cases, like *o'vvaṇāim* for *jo'vvaṇāim* (R. 7,62), *ṇa iṇaṇ* for *ṇa diṇaṇ* (R. 8,61), *aṇehiṇ* for *jaṇehiṇ*, *ūraṇ* for *dūraṇ* (R. 8,65). The other places mentioned by S GOLDSCHMIDT (ZDMG. 32,105) do not have "better and weightier" readings but quite false ones (PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,327).—4. GN. 1874,573; note; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT. ZDMG. 32 105.

§185. In *tāvat*, *tu*, *te* "your", "to you", "thine" and "these" *t* becomes *d* dialectically. Hc. 4,262.302.323 mentions the transition in *tāvat* for *Ś. Mg. P.* In *Ś. Mg.* it is the rule after all vowels and anusvāra, as in *Ś. ciṭṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 138,16;139,3; Śak. 125,1), *Mg. ciṭṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 9,24;114,12)=*tiṣṭha tāvat*; *Ś. Mg. D. mā dāva*=*mā tāvat* (Mṛcch. 18,2;29,11;55,15; Mg. 117,14;151,25;170,24; D. 100,17); *Ś. uvaṇehi dāva*=*uṇanaya tāvat* (Mṛcch. 61,10); *Mg. yāṇāhi dāva*=*jānihi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 80,21); *Ś. ciṭṭhadu dāva*, *Mg. ciṭṭhadu dāva*=*tiṣṭhatu tāvat* (Vikr. 34,5; Mṛcch. 167,21); *Ś. aṇṇuḍe dāva*=*āryāyai tāvat* (Mṛcch. 94,7); *tumhe dāva*=*yusme tāvat* (16,20); *Ś. Mg. Ā. ido dāva*=*itastāvat* (Mṛcch. 3,3; Vikr. 45,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,20); *Ś. aṇaṅgaṇ dāva* (Ratn. 298,13); *daiṣṣaṇ dāva*=**dayisyāmi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 35,8); *Ś. Mg. ēvvaṇ dāva*=*evaṇ tāvat* (Mṛcch. 12,25;24,20;29,1; Mg. 123,4;126,8). The same transition is found also in *M. (H.R.)*, but very seldom without the variant reading *tāva*, as in R. 3,26.29, so that for *M.*, as for *AMg. JM.*, *tāva* only will be correct, which in *Ś. Mg.* as well always stands at the beginning of a sentence.¹ On *M. dā* see §150.—*tu* (however) has become *du* in *JŚ.* after vowels (Pav. 381,18.20;384,58;385,64; Kattig. 404,388), after anusvāra it remains *tu* (Pav. 382,23), as also in *M. (G. 947)*, *AMg. (Sūy. g. 188.414.429.437.439.497)*, *JM. (Āv.19,32;20,8)* *Ś. (Vikr.40,20)*, *D. (Mṛcch. 325,19)*. Except in *JŚ.* *tu* is rare in all the dialects; it occurs more frequently in *Ś.* only in *kim tu* (Mṛcch. 53,20; Śak. 17,11;50,11;51,12;54,9; 73,8;78,7;98,7;119,2;126,8; Vikr. 33,11;40,6) for which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and the Dravidian recension of Vikr. wrongly write *kim du*². The *u*, that occurs in *M. (G.964)* *JM. (Āv.7,38;8,1 [yu]; 19,30.34;20,1.3.7; Erz.; Kk.)* and especially in *AMg. (e. g. Sūy. g. 50.170. 204.297.312.316.330.403.406.410.415.416.465 etc.; Uṭtar. 43.219.295.312ff. 329f.353; Dasav. 622,11.27; Niraṇṇā. §2; throughout in the verse)* is to be derived neither with *Sh. P. PANDIT*³ and *JACOBI*⁴ from *tu*, nor with *WARREN*⁵ from *ca*, but it is=*u*, that occurs also in *M. kim u* (Karp. 78,9.13.14).—*te* of the pronoun of the second person, in *Ś. Mg. Ā. D.* after vowels or anusvāra becomes *de*. So *Ś. ṇa de*=*na te* (Śak. 65,10), *aṇubhva dāva de* (Śak. 67,12), *mā de* (Vikr. 6,17), *kā vi de* (Mṛcch. 5,2), *parihādi de*=*parihīyate te* (Śak. 91,5), *suṭṭhu de*=*suṣṭhu te* (Mṛcch. 29,14), *amadaṇ kḥu de*=*amṛtaṇ kḥalu te* (Vikr. 9,11), *eso de* (Mṛcch. 7,3), *kudo de* (Mṛcch. 36,7), *piduno de*=*pituste* (Mṛcch. 95,15; so to be read with the v.l. in *Goḍaḇ. lE.*, p. 271), *sāodaṇ de*=*svāgāṇ m te* (Mṛcch. 3,6), *jaṇ de*=*yate te* (Mṛcch. 55,4; Vikr. 41,18), *mantidaṇ de*=*mantritāṇ te* (Vikr. 44,9); *Ś. matthaṇ de*, *Mg. mastāṇ de*=*mastakāṇ te* (Mṛcch. 18,5;21,22); *Mg. ede vi de*=*ete pi te* (=ivām; Mṛcch. 128,12) *tado de*=*tatas te* (Prab. 50,14), *paṇḥaṇ de*=*praṇaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 80,18), *ēvvaṇ de*=*evaṇ te* (=ivām; Mṛcch. 128,14); *Ā. piḍā vi de*=*pitāpi te*, *jaḍi de*=*yadi te* (Mṛcch. 104,17; 105,3); *D. ahiṇṇāṇ de*=*abhijñāṇaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 105,9). This phonetic transition is seemingly to be assumed in *M.* also. Without a v.l. are found *vi de*=*api te* (H.737); *vva de*=*iva te* (R. 4,31); *pariaṇeṇa de*=*parijanena te* (R. 4,33); *pi de* (R. 11,83), *a de*=*ca te* (R. 11,126). At all other places, with the exception of the Telugu recension of H., the v.l. has *te*, particularly even always after anusvāra (H. s.v. *de*; R. s.v. *tu*)

so that the correct reading remains doubtful.—After other pronominal forms *te* (these) also becomes *de* in Ś.Mg. (§425). So also M. *jālā de*=**yāt kālāt te* (Dhvanīyāloka 62,4=H.989). On M. *dāvai=tāpayati* see §275.

1. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p.125; BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 369. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,262; BOLLESEN on Mālav. p.122.—2. Cf. §275.—3. G. s. v.—4. Erz. s. v.—5. Nirayāv. s.v.

§186. In the middle of a word, in most of the dialects, intervocalic *k, g, c, j, t, d* usually, *p, b, v* sometimes, and *y*, except in PG.VG. P. GP., are always dropped (Vr. 2,2; C. 3,34; Hc. 1,177; Ki 2,1; Mk. fol. 14). So M. *uaa=udaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *loa=loka*; *saala=sakala* (H.R.); *sua=suka* (H.R.); *anurāa=anurāga*; *juala=yugala*; *naara=nagara* (G.H.); *turaa=turaga* (G.R.); *nārāa=nārāca* (R.); *paūra=prapura* (H.); *vii=vi* (G.R.); *gaa=gaja*; *na=nija*; *bhoana=bhojana* (H.); *raaa=rajata* (R.); *kaanta=kṛtānta* (G.R.); *niamba=niṭamba*; *rasāala=rasātala* (G.R.); *gaā=gadā* (R.); *pāa=pāda*; *maana=madana* (H.R.); *hiao=hṛdaya*; *niuna=nipuṇa* (H.R.); *riu=riṇu*; *rūa=rūpa*; *alāu, lāi=alābū* (§141); *vuha=vibudha* (Hc.); *chāā=chāyā*; *pia=prīya*, *vīa=vīyoga* (H.R.); *jia=jīva*; *dīaha=divasa*; *lāaṇṇa=lāvaṇya* (G.); *vaḷaḍṇala=vaḍavāṇala* (Hc.). Cf. §199.

1. These citations hold good for all the words for which no references have been given. Cf. also §184, note 1.

§187. In place of the consonants that have dropped off a weakly articulated *ya* (*laghuprayatnata yakāra*, is uttered, that is indicated in this grammar by *ja* (§45; C. 3.35; Hc. 1,180; Ki.3,2). Except in the MSS. written by Jains this *ya* is not indicated. Hc. 1,180 teaches that it comes in between *a*, and *ā* only, but he recognises also *pijāi=piḍati* and 1,15 *sariyā=Pālisarītā=sarīt*. Mk. fol. 14 adduces a quotation, according to which *jaśruti* occurs when one of the vowels is either an *a*- or an *i*-sound : *anādāv aditau varṇau paṭhitavyau yakāravat iti pāṭhaśikṣā*. In KI. *ja* is generally written only between *a*-sounds, as : 1 *saṃalāṇa*, 9 *paṇyā*, 10 *nāya*, *maṇajam pi* (sic), 11 *saṃalam pi* (sic); on the other hand, it is mostly wanting after an *i*-sound. But the inscription is not uniform. Beside *ṇi'a* (9) stands *ṇia* (12); in 14 there is *iya* and in 13, *ṇiya=naiva* also. The oldest M.S. write *ya* after all vowels before *a*, *ā* in AMg. JM. JŚ., and for these dialects *ja* is a characteristic¹. There are, therefore, the correct ways of writing, as *indiya=indriya*, *hiyaya=hṛdaya*; *giya=gita*; *dihiyā=dirghikā*; *roya=ruta*; *dūya=dūta*; *teya=tejas*; *loya=loka*. One s.ys, however, only *ei=eti*; *loe=loke*; *dūo=dūtah*, *uiya=ucita*, *uūim=*ṛtūni*. Numerous examples are found in the preceding and following paragraphs. The Jains erroneously transfer this and other ways of writing from AMg. JM. JŚ. to other dialects too (§11.15).

1. HOEFER, ZWS. 3,366; WEBER, Bhag. 1,397 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 4 f.; FISCHER, Hc. 1, p. x f.; on 1,180; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,447; JACOB, ZDMG. 34,181; KZ. 25,295; STEINTHAL, Specimen p.3.

§188. Aspirates, except *ch, jh, th, dh*, generally become *h* between vowels (Vr. 2,27; Hc. 1,187; Ki 2,14; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *muha=mukha* (G.H.R.)¹; *mehalā=mekhalā*; *sāhā=sākhā*; *jahaṇa=jaghana*; *meha=megha*; *rahuṇāha=raghunātha* (R.); *lahua=laghuka*; *aha=aiha*; *jūha=yūtha*; *mahu-mahana=madhumathana*; *raha=raitha*; *ahara=adhara*; *ruhira=rudhira* (G.R.); *vahū=vadhū*; *sihu=sidhu* (G.H.); *sahara=saphara* (G.); *sehālīa=sēphālīkā* (H.); *ahinava=abhinava*; *naha=nabhas* and *=nakha*; *rahasa=rabhasa*; *sahā=sabhā* (R.); *seriha=sairibha* (G.H.). On *ph* see further especially §200,

In the initial syllable transition to *h* is just sporadic: *hammaï* (goes to) with the compounds *ñhammaï*, *ñhammaï*, *āhammaï*, *paḥammaï* (Hc. 4,162), *ñhammia* (gone out): (Deśin. 4,43), M. *paḥammanti* (G. 871 v.l.)=Pāli *ghammaṭṭi*. The word has *h* already in Skt. and is attributed to the dialects of Surāstra², by Haripāla on G. 871, to that of Kamboja. Dialectically initial *bh* has frequently become *h* in the root *bhū* and its compounds, which has probably resulted from the forms used enclitically. So AMg. JM. *havaï*, JŚ. *havaḍi*, M. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*=*bhavati*, M. *huvanti*=*bhavanti*, PG. *hoja*, P. *huveyya*=*bhavet*, Mg. *huviadi*=**bhūyate*, Ś. *haviṣṣadi*, Mg. *haviṣṣadi*=*bhaviṣyati*, AMg. JM. *hojāva*, Ś. Mg. *hodava*, Mg. *huvidava*=*bhavati*, M. JM. *houm*, JŚ. *hodum*=*bhavitum* (§475.476.521,570). The Telugu recension of H. has pretty often *h* for *bh*: *haṭṭha*=*bhraṣṭa*; *hanida*=*bhanita*; *haniri* for *bhaniri*; *haṇḍana*=*bhaṇḍana*; *hamira*=*bhamira*; *hāḍ*=*bhrātā*; *huaga*, *huamga*=*bhujaga*, *bhujaṃga*; *humaā* for *bhumaā*; *hūsaṇa*=*bhūṣaṇa*; *hea*=*bheda*; *hoṇa*=*bhojana*.³ On aspirates at the beginning of the second member of a compound see § 184.

1. Cf. §186, note 1.—Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 9,26 ed. KIELHORN; Naighaṇṭuka 2,14 (p. 14,17 ed. Roth=1,238 ed. SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMI); WEBER, IS. 13,363 f.; E. KUHN, Beiträge p.42.—3. WEBER, H. s.v.

§189. In PG. VG. all consonants, including the aspirates, with the exception of *bh* in *hoja* (§188), remain unchanged: PG. *ārakhādhikate gumike tūthike*=*ārakṣādhikṛtān gulmīkān tīrthīkān* (5,5); *udakādīm* (6,29); *jāmātukasa=jāmātīkasya* (6,14); *nāganandisa=nāganandīnaḥ* (6,25); *patibhāga=pratibhāga* (6,12); *mahārājādhirāja* (5,1); *apṛatihata=apṛatihata* (6,19); *varisaṣaṣasahasatīreka=varṣaṣaṣasahasatīreka* (7,42); *āpīti* (6,8.37); *api* (6,37); *parihāpetava=parihāpayitavya* (6,37); *paṃukhāṇam=pramukhāṇam* (6,27.38); *uparīkṣitām* (7,44); *atha* (6,40); *tūthike=tīrthīkān* (5,5); *assamedha=atamedha* (5,1); *narādhama* (7,47); *vasudhādhīpataye=vasudhādhīpatīn* (7,44); *oḥobham=koṣobham* (6,32); *vallabhamadena* (6,40). Exceptions are *kassava=kāśyapa* (6,18); *kāraṇeṇjā*=Pāli *kārāṇeṇjya* (6,40); *anuvaṭṭhāveti=anuprasthāpayati* (§184); *vi=api* (5,6;6,29); *bhaḍa=bhaṭa* (5,7;7,43); *koḍi=koṭi* (6,10); *koḍa=kṛta* (7,51). Cf. BÜHLER, EI. 1,3 and §10.

§190. In P. most of the consonants are retained in the initial and medial syllables (Hc. 4,324; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷaṅkāra 2,12); *anekapa*; *makaraketu*; *sagaraputtavacana*; *vijayasenena lapilam*; *pāṭaliputta*; *paṭākā*; *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307); *pāpa*; *āyudha*; *mukha*; *megha*; *sabhā*; *kamātha*; *maṭha*. In the initial and medial syllables *da* becomes *ta* (Hc.4,307), according to Nāmisādhū, optionally: *tāmotara=dāmodara*; *tiṭṭha=drṣṭa* (Hc. 4,314, 321.323); *taṭṭhūna, tiṭṭhūna* (Hc. 4,313.323); *tātisa=tādṛsa, yātisa=yādṛsa* (Hc. 4,317); *teti=*dayati* (Hc. 4,318); *tevara=devara* (Hc. 4,324); *matana=madana, satana=sadana, patesa=pradeśa, vatanaka=vadanaka* (Hc. 4,307).—*tha* becomes *dh* according to Hc.: *adha=aḍa* (Hc. 4,323), *kadhūna=kathitvāna* (Hc. 4,312); *pudhuma=prathama* (Hc. 4,316); *kadhām=katham* (Hc. 4,323); according to Nāmisādhū it is retained: *pathama=prathama*; *puṭhuvi=prthvi*.

§191. In CP. remain, not only are the tenues retained as in P., but all medial, in the initial and medial syllables, are changed into tenues (Hc. 4,325; Ki. 5,102)¹: *kakana=gagana*; *kiritaṭa=giritaṭa*; *khamma=gharma*; *khata=ghṛta* (§ 47); *cāta=jāta*; *cimūta=jimūta*; *chacchara=jharjhara*; *chamkāla=jhankāra*; *ṭamaruka=damaruka*; *ṭimpa=dimba*; *ṭhakkā=dhakkā*; *tāmotara=dāmodara*; *thūli=dhūli*; *pālaka=bālaka*;

pisa=*bisa*; *phakavati*=*bhagavati*; *phūta*=*bhūta*; *nakara*=*nagara*; *mekha*=*megha*; *rāca*=*rājan*; *taṭāka*=*taḍāga*. *kāṭha*=*gāḍha*; *matana*=*madana*; *mathura*=*madhura*; *sāṭhu*+*sādhū*; *raphasa*=*rabhasa*. According to Hc. 4,325 and Ki. 5,103 the change takes place in secondary sounds too, as in *cacana*=Pkt. *ajāna*=Skt. *yajana*; *paṭimā*=*padimā*=*pratimā*; *tāṭhā*=Pkt. *dāḍhā*=*daṁṣṭrā* (§76). According to Hc. and Ki. conjunct consonants too undergo the change : *tukkā*=*durgā*; *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *caccara*=*jarjara*; *nicchara*=*nirjhara*; *kaṇṭa*=*ganda*; *maṇṭala*=*maṇḍala*; *saṇṭha*=*saṇḍha*; *kantappa*=*kandarpa*; *panthava*=*bandhava*; *ṭimpa*=*dimba*; *raṁphā*=*rambhā*. Vr. 10,3 teaches that initial and conjunct consonants remain unaltered. Examples of this rule in Bh. are: *gakana*=*gagana*, against *kakana* in Ki.; *gamana*; *dasavatana*; *gopinta*=*govinda*; *saṁgāma*=*saṁgrāma*; *vaggha*=*vyāghra*, against *vakkha* in Hc. Of these *nt* in *gopinta* is against Vr., but it is in accord with Hc., Ki., as also the examples of Bh. for the inlaut *mekha*, *rāca*-, *nicchara*, *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *saraphasa*, *salapha*=*śalabha*. Hc. 4,327 mentions that according to the opinion of other teachers the change does not take place in consonants in the initial syllable and in the root *yuj* : *gati*; *ghamma*, *jimūta*; *jhaṇḍhara*; *ḍamaruka*; *ḍhakkā*; *ḍāmotara*; *bālaka*; *bhakkavati*; *niyojita* against *niyocita* in 4,325. Doubtful is the treatment of *va*. Bh. has *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava*, but *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *dasavatana*=*daśa-vadana*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *vaggha*=*vyāghra*. In Hc. original *va* is consistently retained : *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *panthava*=*bāndhava*; *phakavati*=*bhagavati*; *vasuthā*=*vasudhā*. Ki. has 5,108 *ḥala*=*vana*, but 5,110 *vañña*=*varṇa*, and he retains it also in 5,107 *thvalati*=*dhvanati*, *thvalita*=*dhvanita*°. Seemingly *ḥa* is to be written, unless, here too, different dialects have got mixed up promiscuously. Secondary *va*, that originated from *ya* (§254), has become *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya* (Sr. fol. 64), *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (Vr. 10,14; Hc. 4,310; Ki. 5,112; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa 2,12; Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,3)³. Mk. has *pisasa*=*viśeṣa* (fol. 86), *kupa ci*=*kva cid*, *pisumaa*=*vismaya* (fol. 87) in the section on Kaikeyapaisācika°. On *piva* see §336, on an analogous shifting in the Gipsy, Dardu and Kāfir languages see MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten (Wien 1874.1878 I.II.p.15ff; IV. p. 51. Cf. §27 notes 7.8.

1. It has already been noted above, §27, that the grammarians do not sharply distinguish between P. and CP. In Vr. and Ki. by P. is clearly meant CP., while the rule for P. given in Hc. 4,304 on *rājan* is a characteristic of CP., since Hc. 4,304 has *rājā*, against *rācā*, *rācānam* in Bh. 10,12 and 4,323 has *rājān rājā*, against that 4,325 has *rācā* for CP. In Hc. 4,326 in CP. °*aggalaggepatibimbam*, *luddam samuddā* are in accord with 4,327, on the other hand, °*pātukkhevena* is to be corrected to °*pena*.—2. So reads also the Paris manuscript according to LASSEN, Inst. p.441; cf., however, §243.—3. For the false reading *hitaakam* in Vr. (cf. v.l., where *va* has been wrongly read for *pa*) and in Ki. we have to read *hitapakam*.

§ 192. In A., according to Hc. 4,396, intervocalic *k,t,p* shift to *g,d,b* respectively instead of dropping off, and *kh, th, pha* become *gh, dh, bh* respectively instead of changing into *h* (§188). Examples of this rule are not very abundant: *khaagāli*=*kṣayakāle* (Hc.4,377); *ṇāgu*=*nāyakah* (Hc. 4,427); *vicchogagaru*=*vikṣobhakaram* (Hc.4,396,1); *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc.4,396,2); *āgado*=*āgataḥ* (Hc.4,355.372); *karadi*, *ciṭṭhadi*=*karoti*, *tiṣṭhathi* (Hc.4,360); *kiladi*=*kṛḍati* (Hc.4,442,2); *kṛdantaho*=*kṛtāntasya* (Hc.4,370,4); *ghaḍadi*, *prañvadi*, *ṭhido*=*ghaṭate*, *prajāpatiḥ*, *sthitaḥ* (Hc.4,404); *maḍi*=*mati* (Hc.4,372); *vinimmavidu*, *kidu*, *radiḥ*, *viḥidu*=*vinirmāpitam*, *kṛtam*, *ratyāḥ*, *viḥitam* (Hc.4,446); *gañjidu*, *mañidu*, *harāvidu*, *bhāmīdu*, *himsidu*=**gañjitam*(= *pīḍitam*; Hc.4,409; cf. Ārya-saptaśatī 384.685; Gītāgovinda 1,19), *marditam*, *hāritam*, *bhṛāmitam*, *hin-*

siṭam (Kk. 260,43ff.); *sabadhu*=*śapatham*, *kadhidu*=*kathitam*, *sabhalaññ*=*saphalakam* (Hc. 4,396,3). By far in most cases A. follows the rules that are applicable to M.; A. of Piṅgala always does it except in the case of *madagula*=*madakala* (§ 202), so does Kālidāsa as well: hence this phonetic law can be considered to hold good just dialectically (§28).

§193. In lieu of dropping off of a consonant or of overstepping of some aspirates to *h*, there often occurs their reduplication. The aspirates are doubled by the corresponding non-aspirate sounds, so that when doubled they appear as *kkha*, *ggha*, *ccha*, *jgha*, *ṭṭha*, *ḍḍha*, *ttha*, *ddha*, *ppha*, *bbha* (Vr. 3,51; C. 3,26; H. 2,90; Ki. 2,108; Mk. fol. 26). The preceding and the following paragraphs contain numerous examples. In PG. the doubled aspirates, in agreement with the method of writing of the other inscriptions, are partly written by means of the simple aspirates: *ārakhādhikate*¹ *āraksādhikrātān* (5,5); *vadhanike*=*vardhanakān* (6,9); *dakhina*=*dakṣiṇa* (6,28); *puṣpha*=*puṣpa* (6,34). The inscription, however, mostly follows the method of writing of manuscripts: *aggitthoma* [so to be read]=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1); *savatttha*=*sarvatra* (5,3); *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5,4); *ṛttha*=*itthā* (5,7); *vatthavāna*=*vāstavyānām* (6,8); *raṭṭhe*=*rāṣṭre* (6,27); *araṭṭha*=*arāṣṭra* (6,32); *veṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); *°cchobham*=*kṣobham* (6,32); *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34); *addhikā*=*ardhakāḥ* (6,39); *anuvattṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45); *vigghe*=*vighnān* (7,46); *sahatttha*=*svahasta* (7,51). In *abhatthemi*=*abhyarthayāmi* we have both the methods of writing conjoined. In the manuscripts, that are in the Dravidian script from which the Nāgari manuscripts have been transcribed, hence in the South Indian impressions too the aspirates like other consonants are either printed double or are mostly indicated as to be doubled by a small circle in the interval before the aspirate (a somewhat rare point): *aghgha*=or *aogha*=*aggha*=*arghya*; *abhbhatthanaṇā* or *aobhaotthanaṇā*=*abhatthanaṇā*=Skt. *abhyarthanaṇā*; *vakhkhaththala* or *vaokhaotthala*=*vaṣṣaththala*. *cha* and *dha* are most seldom written doubled; in relation to the other aspirates the manuscripts waver. In the Bengali manuscripts the doubling occurs very seldom; it is sometimes so also in older editions, as in that of Prabodhacandrodaya, Pūṇā śāke 1773 in some aspirates, such as *kha*, e.g. in *rakhkhasi*=*rākṣasi* (fol. 13^a); *gha*, e.g. in *ughghādiadi*=*udghātyate* (fol. 12^b); *ṭha*, e.g. in *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (fol. 19^b), *pha*, in *viphphuramīa*=*viṣphurat* (fol. 16^d), *bha*, e.g. in *ṇibbhatsida* (sic!) for *ṇibbhacchida*=*nirbhartsita* (6^a). The edition writes in Sanskrit too *ujjhṭita* (fol. 13^a). Clearly it goes back to a South Indian text, since it often agrees with the Telugu edition of Madras. Sh. P. PAṆḌIT has retained this orthography, strictly depending on his manuscripts, in his editions of Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaṣīya in the case of all the aspirates, so that he too writes for example *puchchidum*, *ḍiṭṭhim*, *ṇijjhānāṇi*, *siṇḍhidhā* (Mālav.5), *ubhbhinna*, *pathhidā* (p.6) etc. also². Doubling also occurs in the manuscripts of Hālā and in isolated cases especially in *bha*, also in some Calcutta editions, of Jaina books, as in Paṇḍav. *khokhubbhamāṇa* (169.210); *pabbhatṭha* (216); *labbhā* (363.466); *vibbhama* (227.468); *abhbhūṇaya* (284); in Vivāgas. *tubbhim* (17); *tubbhām* (20.21); *ukkhatta* (214); *pāmoḥkkham* (215), *pāmoḥkkhāṇam*, *pāmoḥkkhehim*, *abhbhūgae* (216); in Jiv. *sattakkkhutto* (621), *dakkkhinilla* (842), *savvabhbhan-tarilla* (878f.), *ṇakkhāṇam* (883.886.887), *majjhimijā* (905ff.), *avadhḍha* (1055f.) etc. This method of writing has merely orthographic, but not a phonetic meaning (§26).

1. So to be read; see LEUMANN, EI. 2.484.—2. Cf. PAṆḌIT, Mālav. 2 (Bombay 1889) p. vi.—3. WEBER, Hālā¹ p. 26f.

§194. Instead of dropping off, or in the case of aspirates, becoming *h*, an intervocalic consonant is often doubled, if it originally stood before an accented vowel. Semivowels and nasals also undergo this doubling. So AMg. *ukkhā*=*ukkhā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); AMg. *ujju*=*jjū* (§57); A. *kēthhu*=*kathā* (§107); JM. *jitta*=*jittā* (Erz. 13,6); AMg. *nijjitta*=*nirjitta* (Sūyag. 704); M. *nakkha*, AMg. *nakkha* beside *ṇaha*, *naha*=*nakhā* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,212; Mk. fol. 27; Pāyā. 109; H.R.; Uvās.); A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (§149); M. AMg. *ṇōllai*, *ṇullai*=*nuddati* (§244); M. *phutṭai*=*sphutṭati* (Hc. 4,177,231; G.H.R.); A. *phutṭi*=*sphuteh* (Hc. 4,357,4), *phutṭisu*=*sphutṭi-syāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12); *phittai*=**sphittati* (Hc. 4,177,370) beside *phuḍai*, *phidai*; *soḷlai*=*suddayati* (§244); *hatta*=*hatā* in *ohatta*=*avahata* (bent downward; Deśin. 1,156), *pasuhatta*, *parasuhatta*=*parśuhata*, *paraśuhata* (tree; Deśin. 6,29); A. *duritta*=*duritā* (Piṅgala 2,17.35.43 [*dūritā*]. 186), *mālati*=*mālātī* (Piṅgala 2,113), *vratu*=*vratām* (Hc. 4,394). The same accent is to be assumed in the suffix *-ka* in M. *sisakka*=*śīṣaka* (R. 15,30); *leḍukka*, *leḍhukka*=*leṣṭuka* (§304); M. JM. Ś. A. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (Hc. 2,138; R.; Erz.; Mālatim. 288,6; Bālar. 199,10; Priyad. 44,18 [so to be read with ed. Cal. 49,2]; Piṅgala 1,107.121.143^a.152^a [*pa°*; text *paika*]; 2,138)¹; Mg. *haḍakka*=**hṛdaka* (§150; Vr.11,6; Ki.5,89 [text *hṛdakko*; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *hladakko*]; Mr̥cch. 79,11;114,14.16.18;115,23), in verses also *haḷaka* (Mr̥cch. 9,25 [Śakāra] and *haḍaka* 30,21); Mg. *hagge*=**ahakāh* (§142.417); *aakka* beside *aaga*=*ajaka* (demon; Deśin. 1,6)²; A. *kālikkā*=*kālikā* (Piṅgala 2,43); Ś. °*caccikka*=°*carcika* (Mr̥cch. 73,15); A. *nāakka*=*nāyaka* (Piṅgala 1,34.57.116), *dīpikka*=*dīpaka* (Piṅgala 1,138), *rūakka*=*rūpaka* (Piṅgala 2,137), *sāraṅgikkā*=*sāraṅgikā* (Piṅgala 2,71 [*sa°*]. 187). Likewise in the suffix *-ta* in AMg. *viuvvittu*=*vikuroita* (Sūyag.792.806), beside the usual *viuvviya*. According to the same rule is explained the duplication of °*la* in the suffixes *-alla*, *-illa*, *-ulla*=*alā*, *-ilā*, *-ulā* (§595). Against the rule, and according to analogy are formed A. *paṭmāvatti*=*pādmāvati* and *meṇakkā*=*meṇakā* (Piṅgala 1,116;2,209). The doubling is frequent also after the long vowel, which is then shortened, as in *ēvvaṁ*=*evam*; *kiḍḍā*=*kriḍḍ*; *jēvva*=*evā*; *neḍḍa*=*niddā*; *tuṇhikka*=*tūṇhikā*; *teḷḷā*=*tailā*; *dugullā*=*dukūlā* etc. (§90).³ On the duplication of enclitics see §92ff, on *ṇihitta*, *vāhitta* §286.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT (Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1879,922), who is followed by WEBER (Hāla² p. xvn) and JACOBI [Erz. s.v.], wrongly derives the word from Persian, because of the large number of cases of duplication of the suffix *-ka* were not known to him. My derivation from *pādika* (GGA.1881,1321) was also wrong, although linguistically that is unassailable —2. Cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *ajaka*, and *purilladeva*=*asura* (Deśin. 6,55)=*daiya* (Triv. 1,4,121; cf. BB. 13,12)—3. FISCHEL, KZ. 35,140ff.; otherwise JACOBI, KZ. 35,575ff.

§195. If the conjunct consonants are separated by a separation vowel, they must be simplified or be treated according to § 186. 188. Sometimes, however, in this case one of them is doubled according to the rule holding good for conjunct consonants (§131): AMg. *sassiriya*, Ś. *sassiria*=*saśrika*; Ś. *sassiriadā*, *sassiriattana*=*saśrikatā*, **saśrikatvana* (§98.135)¹; *puruvva*=*pūruva*; *murukkhā*=*mūrkha*; AMg. *riuvveya*=*ṛgveda* (§139); Ś. *sakka-ṇomi*, *sakkunomi*=*śaknami*; *sakkaṇodi*, *sakkunodi*=*śaknoti* (§140.505); AMg. *sakkiriya*=*sakriya* (Ovav. §30.II,4b; so to be read with the MSS.); AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla*, JM. *sukkiliya*=*śuklita* (§136). In JM. *namōkkāra*, M. A. *avarōppara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*namaskāra*, *aparaspāra*, *paraspāra*, as has been changed into *o*, besides *ska* into *kka*, and *spa* into *ppa* (§306. 311.347). In M. AMg. *poṇma*=*padma*, *poṇmā*=*padmā*, M. Ś. *poṇmarā*=

padmarāga, *a* has become contracted with the udvṛtta vowel (§139.166), and yet in spite of this doubling has taken place.² On *-jja* for *-ya* see §91.

1. Kāvya prakāśa 72,11 is correct, *jaasirī*, like *jaasirīe* (G. 243), since in line 10 *balāmoḍīi* is to be read (§238.589). It is not, with WEBER, Hāla¹ A. 22:2977, to be written as *jaasirī*.—2. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,146f. On Pāli see FRANKE, GN. 1895.530.

§196. Consonant groups standing at the beginning of the second member of a compound may be treated as if they were initial and in that case they must be simplified (§268; Vr. 3,57; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,115; Mk. fol. 28); M. *vāraṇakhandha*=*vāraṇaskandha* (G.1200) beside *mahāsakkhandha*=*mahīśaskandha* (H. 561); M. *hatthaphaṇsa*=*hastasparsa* (H. 330) beside *hatthapphaṇsa* (H. 462); Ś. *anigahida*=*anugṛhita* (Mṛcch. 25,3) beside *pariggahida*=*parigṛhita* (Mṛcch. 41,10); *naigāma* beside *naiggāma*=*naḍigrāma* (Bh.; Hc.); *kusumapaara* beside *kusumappaara*=*kusumaprakara* (Bh.; Hc.); *devathui* beside *devastuti* (Bh.; Hc.; Ki.); *āṇālakhambha* beside *āṇālakkhambha*=*ālānastambha* (Bh.; Hc.); *harakkhandā* beside *harakkhandā*=*haraskandau* (Hc.). Doubling is, however, the rule, that is to say, the treatment, as if in the initial, and according to this analogy¹, not seldom, even a single consonant has been doubled at the beginning of a compound: Ś. *akkhāida*=*akkhādita* (Mṛcch. 55,15); *addaṇsaṇa*=*adaṇsaṇa* (Hc. 2,97); M. *addiṭṭha*=*adṛṣṭa* (G.H.R.); M. *addāa*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya*=**ādāpaka*² (mirror; Deśin. 1,14; Paiyal. 119; H.; Thān. 284; Paṇṇav. 435f.; Nandis. 471; Āv. 17,10. 14.15.16; Erz.); M. *pabbuddha*=*prabuddha* (R.12,34); *abbuddhasirī*=*abuddhasirī* (Deśin. 1,42; Triv. 1,4,121); M. *akkhandia*=*akkhaṇḍita* (H. 689); M. *alliaī*, JM. *alliyai*, AMg. *uwalliyai*, M. *samalliaī*, JM. *samalliyai* (§474); M. JM. *allīna* (G.H.R.; Āv. 14,23;24,17;26,28; Erz.), M. *aṇallīna* (R.), *samallīna* (H.) from *li* with *ā*, *upa*, *samā*³; *allivai*=*ālipāti*=*ālimpāti* (Hc. 4,39); *avallāva*=*apalāpa* (Deśin. 1,38); A. *uddhabbhua*=*ūrdhvabhūja* (Hc. 4,444,3); *ogḡāla* beside *oāla* for **ogāla* (rivul't; Deśin.1,151)=**avagāla*, from *gal* with *ava*; AMg. *kāyaggirā*=*kāyagirā* (Dasav. 634,24); M. Ś. *tēlloḷka* (Bh. 1.35;3,58; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27; R.; Dhūrtas. 4,20; Anarghar. 317,16); Kārṇas.13,9.11; Mahāv. 118,3; Uttarar. 64,8 [*tēlloa*]; Mallikām. 133,3), beside AMg. M. *teloḷka* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 2.178ff. [°lu°]; Dasav. N 655,28; Uvās.; Kappas.)=trailokya, Mg. *pañcayāṇa*=*pañcayanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6); *paḍikkūla* (Hc.2,97), beside the usual *paḍiūla*=*pratikkūla*; M. *pabbala*=*prabala* (R.); *pammukka* (Hc. 2,97) beside the usual *pamukka*=*pramukta* (§566); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paravasa* (H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136; T. 6,14; Erz.; Lalitav. 554,5; Vikr. 29,12, v.l.; Nāgān. 50,13 v.l.), Mg. *palavasa* (Mallikām. 143,11; so to be read)=*paravasa*; AMg. *aṇuvansa*=*anuvāsa* (Sūyag. 192); *pavāai*=**pravāyati*=*pravāti* (Hc. 4,18), M. *pavāa*=*pravāta* (H.R.); M. *āṇāmēttapphala*=*āṇāmātraphala* (R. 3,6); *ahinavadiṇṇapphala*=*abhinavattapphala* (R. 2,37); *pāvapphala*=*pādapphala* (R. 9,4; cf. R. 12,12;13,89; H. 576) *baddhapphala* beside *baddhaphala* (Hc. 2,97; Mk. fol. 29); JM. *bahupphala* (Ki. 2,116; Kk. 271,20), beside *bahuhala* (Ki. 2,116, cf. §200); AMg. *purisakkāra*=*puṛuṣakāra* (Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Nāyād. 374; Uvās. Ovav.)⁴, as M. *sāhukkāra*=*sādhukāra* (R.); AMg. *tahakkāra*=*tathākāra* (Thān. 566); JM. *bhattibbhara*=*bhaktibhara* (Kk. 269,14); M. *maṇikkhaia*=*maṇikkhacita* (Mṛcch. 41,2); M. *malaasiharakkhaṇḍa*=*malayaśikharakhaṇḍa* (Hc. 2,97=R. 8,69); M. *vannagghaa*=*varnagṛhta* (H. 520); A. *vijjajjhara*=*vidyādharma* (Vikr. 59,5; see §216); A. *viṇṇukkha*=*vipakṣa* (Piṅgala 1,138^a); AMg. *sakaḍabbhi*, *sagaḍabbhi*=*svakṛtabhid* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1.4); M. *sajjia*=*sajjāva* (R. 1,45), *sattapha*=*satṛṣṇa* (R. 1,46), *sappivāsa*=

sapipāsa (Hc. 2,97; R.3,21), *sesapphaṇa*=*śeṣapphaṇa* (R. 6,19; cf. 6,63.69.72; 7,59; 9,14.34.45), *paṇḍurappheṇa* (R.8,9; cf. 8,49; 13,24.53.66); AMg. JŚ. *saccitta*=*sacitra* (Dasav. 622,39; Kattig. 403,379). In °*kkāra*, the words beginning with *kkha* and °*pphala*, the doubling is to be ascribed perhaps to an original *s*, in many other cases the duplication is purely metrical, and certainly *al o* in M. *taṇullaā* (Karp. 27,12), beside the usual *taṇulaā*=*tanulatā*, AMg. *rāga-ddosa* (Uttar. 707; Dasav. N.653,6), beside the usual *rāga-dosa* (§129), JŚ. *kuddiṭṭhi*=*kudrṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,318; 400,323), beside and influenced by *saddiṭṭhi*=*saddrṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,317.320) and so on.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 35,147ff.—2 So more correctly than BB. 3,247, as JM. *addāga* proves. On the contraction cf. §165, on *dāvaī* §554. Incorrect WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; on Hāla² 4.204.—3 So more correctly than BB. 13,10f.; cf. KZ. 35,149.—4. Incorrectly explain HOERNLE (Uvās.; Transl. p. 111, note 254) and LEUMANN (WZKM. 3,345) these words as analogous formation according to *balakkāra*=*balātkāra*. It could, with equal justification, be explained as having been formed according to *sakkāra*=*satkāra*.

§197. In many cases the duplication of consonants may be explained from a word-formation or a flexion deviating from Skt. So in *katto*=*kutaḥ* from **kattaḥ*=*kad+taḥ*; *jatto*=*yad+taḥ*; *tatto*=*tad+taḥ*; *anṇatto*=*anyad+taḥ*, on the analogy of which are formed *atto*=*ātaḥ*; *eḥkatto*=*ekataḥ*; *savvatto*=*sarvataḥ* and probably also *itto*=*itāḥ*, which, however, might have its duplication quite regular according to §194. *etto*=**etataḥ* is derived from *eta*=*etad+taḥ*, as *aṇṇo* from *anya*=*anyad+taḥ* according to §339 and with elision of *a* according §148. On *to* see §142¹. The majority of the verbs of the fourth and sixth classes of Skt. has, according to the phonetic laws of Pkt., doubling as its consequence, as in *alliaī* (§196); *phuttāi*, *phittāi* (§194); *kukkaī*, *koḥkai*=**krukyati*; *callaī*=**calyati*=*calati*; *ummillaī*=**ummiḷyati*=*ummiḷati*; *Š. ruccadi*=**rucyate*=*rocyate*; *laggaī*=**lagyati*=*lagati*; *Š. vajjadi*=**vajjati*=*vajjati* (§487.488)². From the derivation of nouns from the present stems are explained the cases, like *oalla* (shivering, departure; Dešin. 1,165; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,8)=**apacaliya*; cf. *oallanti*, *oallanta-* (R.); *ujjalla* (Hc. 2,174 [so to be read; see translation p. 89]; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,7), *oḷjalla* (Dešin. 1,154) "strong", *ujjallā* (violence; Dešin. 1,97) from **ujjvalya-*; *koḥppa* (agitation; Dešin. 2,45; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 6,104) from *kupya-*; *sivvi* (needle; Dešin. 8,29; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,260), *sivviṇi* (Dešin. 8,29) from *sivya*³.

1. Examples in §425ff. Cf. FISCHER, KZ. 35,149. Somewhat deviating S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35,578; wrong is also LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.* *tatto*, who considers the duplication as purely metrical.—2. FISCHER, BB. 13,8ff.—3. FISCHER, BB. 6,86.

§198. Transition of tenues into mediae is the rule with cerebrals, when they stand unconnected within a word and between vowels; *t* becomes *d* and *ṭha* becomes *dh* (Vr. 2,20.24; Hc. 1,195.199; Kī. 2,10.18; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *kaḍaa*=*kaṭaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *kuḍumba*=*kuṭumba* (G.H.); *ghaḍia*=*ghaṭita*; *caḍula*=*caṭula*; *taḍa*=*taṭa*; *paḍala*=*paṭala*; *viḍava*=*viṭapa*.—*kaḍhiṇa*=*kaṭhiṇa* (G.H.); *kaḍhiṇattana*=**kaṭhiṇatvana* (R.); *kamaḍha*=*kamaṭha* (G.H.); *paḍhai*=*paṭhati* (H.); *piḍha*=*piṭha* (G.); *haḍha*=*haṭha* (G.). This change occurs exceptionally also in PG. in *bhaḍa*=*bhaṭa* and *koḍi*=*koṭi* (§189). According to Hc. 1,195 sometimes *t* remains, as in *aṭai*=*aṭati*, which must be a false reading.

1. Cf. §184, note 1; §186, note 1.

§199. Instead of dropping off (§186), *p* mostly becomes *v*¹, not *b*, except dialectically in A. (§192), as was generally assumed formerly (Vr. 2,15;

Hc. 1,231; Kī 2,8; Mk. fol. 16. M. *āava*=*ātapa* (G.H.R.)², *uvala*=*upala* (G.); *kova*=*kopa*; *cāva*=*cāpa*; *nīva*=*nīpa* (R.); *diva*=*dīpa*; *paāva*=*pratāpa*; *vivīna*=*vīpīna* (G.); *savaha*=*śapatha* (H.); *sāvaa*=*śvāpada* (G.R.). Exceptionally in PG. too in *anuvaṭṭhāveti*, *kassava*, *kāravejjā*, *vi* (§189). On *va* for initial and secondary *pa* see §184. According to Hc. 1,231 euphony determines the elision or the transition to *v*. According to Bh. on Vr.2,2 and Mk.fol.14 this is the determinative, especially for the dropping off of all the sounds mentioned in §186.³ Usually *p* becomes *v* before *a*, *ā*, but on the other hand, drops off before *u*, *ū*; before other vowels the usage wavers. Jaina MSS. often wrongly write *b* for *v*.

1. COWELL, Vararuci² p. xiv; FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 52; Academy 1873, p. 398; Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p. 317; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, 512 note ***.—2. Cf. §184, note 1 and §186, note 1,—3. FISCHER on Hc. 2,231.

§200. According to Vr. 2,26 in the medial syllable, between vowels, *ph* always becomes *bh*. Bh. gives as examples: *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*=*śapharī*; *sabhalaṃ*=*saphalam*. Mk. fol. 16 limits this transition to the gaṇa *śiphādi*, in which he reckons: *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebha*=*śepha*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; he cites also *sabharī*=*śapharī* as used by somebody.¹ Kī. 2,16 teaches *bh* for *śiphā* and *śaphara*. Hc. 1,236 allows *bh* and *h*; he teaches *bh* for *rebha*=*repha* and *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *h* for *muttāhala*=*muktāphala*; *bh* and *h* beside one another for *sabhala*, *sahala*=*saphala*; *sebhāliā*, *sehāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*, *saharī*=*śapharī*; *guhāi*, *guhāi*=*guphāi*. So far as our documents on the whole allow us to the present day to determine the words, we have throughout *h*, or at the beginning of the second member of a compound also *ph*. Thus M. JM. *Ś. muttāhala*=*muktāphala* (G.; Karp. 73,9; 72,3; 73,2; Erz.); M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5; 100,5); M. *sahara*, *saharī* (G.); M. *Ś. sehāliā* (H.); Mṛcch. 73,9 [so with v.l. to be read]; Priyad. 11,1; 12,3; 13,16); *Ś. cittaphalaa*=*citrāphalaka* (e.g. Mṛcch. 57,3; 59,7; 69,19; Śak. 125,7; 133,8; 134,4; 142,11; Vikr. 24,18; Ratn. 298,4; 303,19; Mālatīm. 127,11); *bahuhala* (Kī. 2,116); *Ś. bahuphala* (Vikr. 45,13), *saphala* (Mālav. 44,1; 46,11), *saggaphala*=*svargaphala* (Prab. 42,5); Mg. *paṇasaphala* (Mṛcch. 115,20) etc. On A. see §192, on *pphala*, §196. In what relation *phumaī* and *bhumaī*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4,161) stand to one another cannot be said. Dravidian MSS. write *bhaṇ* (to speak) in Skt. and Pkt. very frequently *phaṇ* (cf. e.g. Vikr. ed. FISCHER 622,10 v.l., 17,18 v.l.; 639,8 v.l.; Mallikām. 83,4). Cf. §208.

1. The MS. reads *saparir yāsaur* (or *yāsadar*) *ityādyapi kaccit*.

§201. *b* in the inlaut, between vowels, becomes (Hc.1,237): M. AMg. JM. *Ā. Ś. D. A. kalevara*=*kalebara* (G. R.; Vivāhap. 1303 [°*de*°]. 1390 [°*de*°]; Rāyap. 142 [°*de*°]; Erz.; Mṛcch. 148,22,23; Piṅgala 1,86^a; Hc. 4,365,3), Mg. *kalevala* (Mṛcch. 168,20); M. AMg. *Ś. Mg. A. kavala*=*kabala* (G.H.; Śak. 85,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 69,7; Hc. 4,289,387,1); M. JM. *A. kavandha*=*kabandha* (R.; Erz. [text °*ba*°]; Piṅgala 2,230); AMg. *kilva*=*kliba* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *chāva*=*śāba* (§211); M. *thavaa*=*stabaka* (R.), AMg. *thavaīya*=*stabakita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); M. *dāvaī*=*Marāthī, dābṛm* (Śak. 55,16); M. JM. *sava*=*śaba* (G.; Āv. 36,34); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. savara*=*śabara* (G. [text °*ba*°]; Vivāhap. 246 [text °*vva*°]; Panhāv. 41 [text °*ba*°]; Paṇṇav. 58; Erz.; Pras. 134,6,7 [text °*ba*°]), M. AMg. *savarī* (G. [text °*ba*°]; Vivāhap. 792 [text °*ba*°]; Nāyādh. §117 [text °*ba*°]; Ovav. §55 [text °*ba*°]; M. *savala*=*śabala* (H.); AMg. JM. *sivīyā*=*śibikā* (§165); JM. *sivira* (Erz. [text °*bi*°]), Mg. *śivila* (Lalitav. 565,6,8)=*śibira*². More rarely *b* drops out as in AMg. *alāu*, *alāuja*, *lāu*, *lāu*, *lāuja* beside *Ś. alāvū*=*alābū*, *alābu* (§141); *ṇandhana*=*nibandhana* (dress; Deśin. 4,38; Triv. 1,4,121)³;

viuha (Hc.1,177), beside JM. *vibuha* (Erz.)=*vibudha*.—*v* very often is retained, especially between *a*-sounds. As in the case of *p* (§199), in its case as well the euphony determines the question.

1. Accordingly the remark on Śak. 55,16, p. 184 has to be amended.—2. As the examples show, the Jaina manuscripts especially very often write *b* for *v*, which is not, as JACOBI (Erz. §20, 2d., p. xxviii) assumes supported phonetically, but is simply an error of transcription. Likewise they sometimes write *b* instead of *v* in the initial syllable. (E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 29). In the Lalitav., as in the MSS., with the exception of those in the Dravidian script, only *v* is written, even in places, where *b* should stand. Cf. also §45, note 3.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13,8.

§202. Except in the cases mentioned in §192. 198-200, the transition of tenues to mediae and vice-versa (§190.191) is just isolated and dialectical. Instead of dropping off, *k* in AMg. JŚ. JM., very frequently between vowels, becomes *g*, especially in the case of the suffix *-ka* (Hc.1,177): AMg. JM. *asoga*=*asoka* (e.g. Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; [read *asoga* in the Glossary]; Erz.); JM. *asoga* (Āv. 8,2,32); AMg. JM. *āgāsa*=*ākāśa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 21,15); AMg. *egamega*=*ekaika* (§353); AMg. JM. *kulagara*=*kulakara* (Kappas.; Āv. 46,20,22); AMg. JM. *jamagasamaga*=*yamakasamaka* (Uvās. §148.153; Kappas. §102; Ovav. §52; Āv. 17,15); AMg. JM. JŚ. *loga*=*loka* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,1,3,2; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; 387,25), JŚ. *logālogam* (Pav. 382,23) beside *lojālojam* (Kattig. 398,302); AMg. *sāgapāgāe sākapākāya* (Sūyag. 247.249), *silogagāmi*=*ślokakāmin* (Sūyag. 497); AMg. JŚ. *appaga*=*ātmaka* (Sūyag. 188; Pav. 385,66.68); JŚ. *maṁsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386,4); AMg. *phalaga*=*phalaka* (Sūyag. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.); JM. *tilagacōddasaga*=*tilakacaturdaśaka* (Āv. 17,1; 37,29; 38,24). For these dialects even the frequent retention of *g*, instead of dropping off, is a characteristic. Transition of *ka* into *ga* occurs in an isolated manner in other dialects too. Thus Mg. throughout *hage*, *hagge*=**ahakaḥ* (§142.194.417); further *sāvaga*=*śrāvaka* (Mudrār. 175,1.3; 177,2; 178,2; 183,5; 185,1; 190,10; 193,1 [so to be read]), as also at Prab. 46,13; 47,7 *sāvagā*, 58,15 *sāvagi*, for *sāvakā*, *sāvakā*, *sāvaki*, *sāvaki* of the text, have to read, corresponding to AMg. JM. *sāvaga* (e.g. Uvās.; Erz.). Cf. §17. Further *ka* has become *ga* in M. A. *maragaa*, AMg. JM. *maragāya*, Ś. *maragada*=*marakata* (Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,8; 69,8; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Uttar. 1042; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 13,43; Mṛcch. 71,1 [read °*gada*]; Karp. 53,2; 59,1; 61,7,8; 62,11; Mallikām. 201,13; [read °*gada*]; Hc. 4,349), wrongly *maraaa* (Acyutaś. 43) and *marāada* (Ki. 2,28). According to Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14 *ka* becomes *ga* in *mada-kala* also; a mention should be made here of A. *madagala* (Piṅgala 1,64; Hc. 4,406,1), where it can be explained according to §192. In M. occurs also *pāgasāsana*=*pākasāsana* (G.380). On *ge'ndua* see §107. *-kha* has become *gh* in AMg. *āghāvei*=*ākhyāpayati*, *āghavanā*=*ākhyāpanā* (§88.551), and in *nighasa*=*nikāṣa* (§206). In *ahilaṅkhai*, *ahilaṅghai* (wishes; Hc. 4,192) we cannot decide with certainty whether *kh* or *gh* is original. Dialectically *ca* has become *ja* in *piśāji*=*piśāci* (Hc. 1,177). Conversely *ca* appears for *ja* in M. Ś. *cakkhai* (eats; Vr. Appendix A. p. 99, Sūtra 20)¹, M. *cakkhia* (tasted; Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; H. 605), *acakkhia* (H. 917), *cakkhanta-* (H. 171), Ś. *cakkhia* (absol.; Nāgān. 49,5), *cakkhijanta-* (correctly *cakkhianta-*; Candak. 16,16)² from *jakṣa-*; *maccāi* beside *majjai*=*mādyati* from *mad* (Hc. 4,225); A. *raccasi*=*rajjase* from *raj* (Hc. 4,422,23); M. JM. *vaccāi* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; Ki. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), Ā. *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 99,17 [so to be read]; 100,19; 101,7; 148,8; D. *vaccāi* (Mṛcch. 100,15 [so to be read]), *vacca*, *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 105,4.9), beside Dh. *vajjadi*, Ś. *vajjamha*, Mg. *vayyēnti* (§438)³. To *vaccāi* belongs also AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* (§163.

590), which strictly corresponds to Skt. *pratītya*, by which the scholiasts mostly explain it,⁴ and A. *vicca* (road; Hc. 4,421).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,387; ZDMG. 28,391.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,258, where I refer to the New Indian dialects.—3. *vaccaī* is perhaps a denominative from *vrātya*=**vrātyati* and *vajjati*, from *vrajyā*=**vrajyati*. In that case *cca* would be phonetically quite regular.—4. Wrongly WEBER, Bhag. 1,381; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 21.

§203. The assumption that in AMg. and JM. every *ta* may¹ either remain or drop off, or that between two vowels, of which the second one is *i*, *t* may be introduced² is erroneous. As already suspected by WEBER³ all these cases are to be credited to the account of the scribes, who have very often adopted Skt. forms in the text, just as the Jainas, from an orthographical point of view, generally commit the clumsiest blunders against the dialects.⁴—*ta* becomes *da* and *tha* becomes *dha* in JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh., dialectically also in A. (§192). So JŚ. *vandida*, *dhoda*=*vandita*, *dhauta* (Pav. 379,1); *sam̐pajjadi*=*sam̐padyate*, *bhamadi*=*bhramati*, *pe̐cchadi*=*prek̐ṣate* (Pav.380,6;380,12;384,48); *bhūdo*, *jādi*=*bhūtah*, *yāti* (Pav. 381,15); *ajadhāgahidatthā ede*=*ayathā-grhūtārthā ete* (Pav. 389,1); *devadojadi*=*daivatayati* (Pav. 383,69); *tasaghāda*, *karadi*, *kārayadi*, *icchadi*, *jāyade*=*trasaghāta*, *karoli*, *kārayati*, *icchati*, *jāyate* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *adidhi*=*atithi* (Śak. 18,1,8;20,5;23,9;71,12); Ś. *kadhehi*, *kadhesu*=*kathaya*, *kathedu*=*kathayatu*, Mg. *kadhedi*=*kathayati* (§ 490); Ś. *cūdaladiam*=*cūlatatikām* (Śak.119,9); JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. *jadhā*, Mg. *yadhā*=*yathā*, JŚ. *tadha*; Ś. Mg. *tadhā*=*tathā* (§113); *pāridosia*, Mg. *pāldosia*=*pārtoṣika* (Śak. 117,1.5); JŚ. *havadi*, *hodi*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodi*=*bhavati* (§475.476); Ś. *sādam* (Mṛcch. 3,6;59,19;80,7;86,25;94,22; Śak. 56,4;80,3), Mg. *sādam* (Mṛcch. 113,7;129,18)=*svāgatam*; Dh. *jūdala*=*dyūtakara* (§25), *jūda*=*dyūta* (Mṛcch. 30,18;34,25 [so with v.l. to be read]; 35,5 [similarly]; 39,17), *palivevada*=*parivopita* (Mṛcch. 30,7), *vajjadi*, *dhāledi*, *bhañādi*, *jiñādi*=*vrajati*, *dhārayati*, *bhañati*, *jayati* (Mṛcch.30,10;34,9.12.22); Ś. Dh. *sampadam*=*sam̐pratam* (Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12. etc.; Dh.; Mṛcch.30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *sampadam* (Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2.4.5, 38,19;99,11 etc.). On Dh. *māthuru*=*māthuraḥ* see §25.—Vr. 12,3 and Mk. fol. 66f. require for Ś. (and with it for Mg.) the transition into *da*, *dha*; Hc. 4,260.267 and the grammarians following him desire *da*; they, however, wrongly allow *ha* as well beside *dha*.⁵ In JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. original *da* and *dha* very often remain instead of dropping off, or of being changed into *ha* [Ki.5,71;Mk. fol. 66). *kada tti*=*kṛteti* in PG. 7,51 is a printer's error in the transcription for *kada tti*. On *pidham*, *pudham* beside *piham*, *puham*=*pr̥thak* see §78. On Ā.D. see §26.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 20,1, note 2.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, 5.; cf. STEINTHAL, Specimen p. 2.—3. Bhag. 1,400; cf. IS. 16,234f.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. p. xviii. The handwriting shows that in cases like *taṇijjamatīu kaṇagamatiū pulakāmatiū riṭṭhamatiū vairāmatiū* (Jiv.563), *t* is absured. Likewise it is unthinkable that in one and the same dialect beside one another have been used *bhavati* and *bhavai*, *bhagavatā* and *bhagavajyā*, *mātarā* and *pijaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and so on, especially when nowhere have all the MSS. *t*. When in the future *ehi* is used, it presupposes *ehi* and not *ehiti*, as occurs in Āyār. 2,4,1,2 (§529). Not quite correctly, therefore, LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,340. With the exception of Uvās. all the texts in AMg. JM. are full of numberless errors. Cf. §349.—5. On Ś. see FISCHER, KB. 8,129 ff.—The following and preceding paragraphs give numerous examples. Cf. also §22-25.

204. Vr. 2,7; Ki. 2,28; Mk. fol. 15 teach that in M. also in a number of cases *ta* becomes *da*. They have collected these in the *gaṇa r̥tōdi*. Bh. reckons in it : *udu*=*r̥tu*; *raada*=*rajata*; *āada*=*āgata*; *ṇivvudi*=*nirv̥rti*; *āudi*=*āv̥rti*; *sam̐vudi*=*sam̐v̥rti*; *suidi*=*suk̥rti*; *āidi*=*āk̥rti*;

hada=*hata*=*saṃjada*=*saṃyāta*; *viuda*=*viurta*; *saṃjāda*=*saṃyāta*; *sampadi*=*samprati*; *paḍivaddi*=*pratipatti*. In Ki. and Mk. the *gaṇa* is *ākṛtigāṇa*. Ki. reckons under it *ṛtu*, *rajata*, *āgata*, *nirorta*, *surata*, *marakata*, *sukṛta*, *saṃyāta*, *viurta*, *pravṛti*, *āvṛti*, *ākṛti*, *viāhṛti*, *saṃhṛti*, *niurtti*, *niṣpatti*, *sampatti*, *pratipatti*, *śrūta*, *khyāti*, *tāta*, *sāmpratam*. Mk. adduces:—*ṛtu*, *rajata*, *tāta*, *saṃyāta*, *kirāta* (as *cilāda*), *saṃhṛti*, *susaṃgata*, *kratu*, *samprati*, *sāmpratam*; *kṛti* and *vṛti*, when provided with a prefix, as *ākṛti*, *vikṛti*, *prakṛti*, *upakṛti*, *apavṛti*, *āvṛti*, *parivṛti*, *nirvṛti*, *saṃvṛti*, *viurtti*; *āvṛta*, *parivṛta*, *saṃvṛta*, *viurta*, *prabhṛti* [MS. *padudi*]; *vṛata*. Mk. permits the transition, as optional, in the following *sūtra* in *surata*, *hata*, *āgata*, etc. (*ityādi*). Hc. 1,209 indulges in a polemic against this view. The phonetic change suits Ś. Mg., but not M.; though it occurs once in M. it is a case of dialectical confusion.³ In R. *udu* occurs without a variant (1,18;3,29;6,11;9,85), never *uu*. False reading is *udu* for *uu* in AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,2,6; Thāṇ. 527). Further R. has *mailādā*, beside *paḍiā* (3,31); *vivaṇṇadā*, *rāmādo* in the same strophe with *arāi*, *seummi* (8,87); similarly *mandodari* in the compound *mandodarisuadūmiavāṇaparapariosa*^o, that is with a retained *d* and three elided *ts*. The same occurs otherwise too, especially in the gāthās of the dramas, as *māladi* instead of *mālai*=*mālati* (Lalitav.563,2); *odamsanti*=*avataṃśayanti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 4,10); *ladāo*=*latāḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 53,7; without v.l.; cf. v.l. 85,3 ed. FISCHER and 84,15 of the Kashmir recension, ed. BURKHARD); *uvaṇṇadavvo*=*upaneṭāṇyaḥ* (Mālav. 23,3; without v.l.); *uvaṇṇide*=*upanite* (H. 827); *hodu* beside *hoi* (H. 878); *kādum*=*kartum* (Hc. 924); *haṇidā*=*bhaṇitā* (H. 963) etc. All the examples from H. occur in the Telugu recension. When Hc. declares such forms to be false in M., there is no reason for seeing in them, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT², “puristic prohibitions”. Rather, we have here cases of errors against the dialect, as conversely in the MSS. forms of M. are given times without number in Ś. The information in Vr. Ki. Mk. in no way relate to M. Especially striking are *paḍivaddi* (Bh.), for which perhaps we have, with AC, to read *padivatti*, in spite of the remarkable *d* for *ḍ*, and *nivaddi* (sic), *nippadi* (sic), *sampaddi*, *paḍipaddi* (Ki.), which perhaps rest only on a misunderstanding. On AMg. *adu*, *adu vā*, see §155, note 5.

1. FISCHER, Vikr. p. 614f.—2. Rāvaṇavaho, p. xvii; cf. also R.13,97. p.309, note 4.

§205. In the initial and medial syllables, Pkt., deviating from Skt., has often aspirates, which according to §188 mostly become *h*. The cause of aspiration is not the same everywhere. In no case is the mere proximity of an unconnected *r* or *s* or of a connected *r* the reason, as has generally been assumed.¹ In *tenues*, *nasals*, and *la*, the aspiration generally goes back to a sibilant, that originally stood before them and has disappeared from Skt.² The original sound groups *ska*, *sta*, *spa*, *sna*, *sma*, give in the initial syllable, according to § 306—313, *kha*, *tha*, *pha*, *ṇha*, *mha*.

1. LARSEN, Inst. p. 197f. 251; JACOBI, Erz. §21,2 p. xxviii Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,253.—2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §230.231.

§206. In the initial syllable Skr. *ka* appears as *kha*, often in the beginning of the second member of a compound, as *ha*, as in the medial syllable. JM. *khaṃdharā*=*kaṃdharā* (Mk. fol. 17; Erz. 1,17), but M. Ś. *kaṃdharā* (G.; Mallikām. 192,22;201,7;220,20); *khappara*=*karpara* (Hc.1,181); AMg. *khasiṇa*=*kasita* (Hc.1,181), *khāsiṇa*=*kāsiṇa* (Hc.1,181; Nandis. 380); AMg. JM. *khinkhiṇi*=*kinikini* (Panhāv. 514; Rāyap. 109.129.142; Jiv. 349 [text *khaṇi*]^o. 443; Nāyadh. 948 [text *khaṇi*]^o; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); *sakhinkhiṇi* (Jiv. 458; Āv. 35,25), *khinkhiṇi* *a*=*kinikiniṇika* (Uvās.), *sakhinkhiṇija* (Nāyadh. §93; p. 769.861 [text *kha*],

but M. Ś. *kinikini* (Pāiyāl. 273; G.; Viddhaś. 56,1; Karp. 55,7; 56,4; 102,1; Venis. 63,10; Bālar. 202,14; Ś. Karp. 17,6; Mālatīm. 201,6), Ś. *kinikiniā=kinikiniā* (Viddhaś. 117,3); AMg. *khila=kila* in *indakhila=indrakila* (Jiv. 493; Ovav. §1), beside JM. *indakila* (Dvār.). *khilaa=kilaka* (Hc. 1,181); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja=kubja* (Hump-back" (Vr. 2,34; Hc. 1,181; Ki. 2,40; Mk. fol. 17; Pāiyāl. 155; H.; An- tag. 22; Anuog. 250; Jiv. 87; Nāyādh. §117; p. 832.837; Paṇṇav. 428; Paṇhāv. 78.523; [text *kujja*]; Vivāgas. 226; Vivāhap. 791.964; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 21,5,13; Erz.; Śak. 31,16; Mālav. 70,8; Pras. 44,1ff.), AMg. *ambakhujja ja=am- rakubjaka* (Vivāhap. 116), *khujjatta=kubjatva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), *khujjiya=kubjita* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); but in the meaning "achyrantes aspera" *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; 81,2) *khelana* (Viddhaś. 58,6; Mallikām. 135,5), A. *khelanta* (Piṅgala 1,123^a), *khēllia* (laughter; Deśin. 2,76) from the root *krid*²; AMg. *khutto*, M. *huttam= krttoah* (§451); *khuluha=kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 250; cf. §139); M. *nihasa=niḥasa* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186.260; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.R.), AMg., with transition in the media according to §202, *nighasa* (Vivāhap. 10; Rāyap. 54; Uvās.; Ovav.), M. *nihasana=niḥasana* (G.H.R.)³; cf. *khaṣ* beside *kaṣ* (Dhātupāṭha 17,35); A. *vihasanti=vikāsanti* (Hc. 4,365,1). Corresponding to the Skt. suffix *-bha*, (WHITNEY §1199) Pkt. has a suffix *-kha*, which occurs in A. *navakhī=navakti* (Hc. 4,420,5). Mk. fol. 37 teaches that without change of mean- ing *ha* may appear (*svārthe ca haś ca*); *puttaha=putraka*; *ekaha=ekaka*. To this again may be added *kaḥ svārthe : puttahaa*. This *-kha*, *-ha* occurs in AMg. *khahayara*, *khahacara=*khakacara=kacacara* (bird; Āyār. 2,3,3,3; Sūyag. 825; Anuog. 265.408.449; Jiv. 71,83.86.117ff. 317.319.323; Nāyādh. 1179; Paṇṇav. 47.54.55.302.593ff.; Samav. 132; Thān. 121f.; Vivāhap. 472.479. 522f. 526.1285.1535; Vivāgas. 50.108.187.204f.; Uttar. 1072.1078f.; Ovav. §118), *khahacari* (female bird; Thān. 121f.)⁴; Mg. *vacāhagaṇṭhi sugudāha- suṇṭhi=vacākāgraniṭhi sugudakasuṇṭhi* (Mṛcch. 116,25; cf. §70); M. *chāhā*, *chāhī=*chāyākā* (§255); AMg. *phalaha=phalaka* (Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.), and with doubled suffix *phalahaga* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Ovav.), which has gone into Skt. as *phalahaka*; beside AMg. *phalaga* (Āyār. 2,2,1,6; 2,3,1,2) Uvās.; Ovav.) and *phalaja* (Āyār. 2,7,1,4); M. AMg. Ś. *phaḥiha=sphaṭika* (Vr. 2,4,22; Hc. 1,186.197; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 253; Rāyap. 33; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 68,18; 69,1; Vikr. 39,2; 66,13; Mālav. 63,1; Nāgān. 54,12; Karp. 54,1; Viddhaś. 25,9; 28,5; 74,7), JM. *philihamaya* (Erz.), beside AMg. *phāliya* (Nāyādh. §102; Ovav. [§38]; Kappas. §40), *phāliyamaya* (Paṇṇav. 115; Samav. 97; Ovav. §16, p. 31,19), Ś. *phaḍia* (Ratn. 318,30; Pras. 10,20; probably to be read *ḥia* §238); *phālihagiri=sphaṭikagiri*=Kailāsa (Pāiyāl. 97); AMg. *bhamuhā=Pāli bhamuka=*bhravukā* for **bhruvukā* (§124)⁵; JM. *sirihā= śrīhā* (Erz. 86,19); M. AMg. JM. D. *sunaha=Pāli sunaka=Skt. sunaka* (H.; Paṇhāv. 20; Nāyādh. 345; Paṇṇav. 136; Āv. 34,20.24; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), beside M. *sunaa* (Hc. 1,52; H.; Sarasvatik. 8,13), AMg. JM. *sunaga* (Jiv. 356 [cf. 255, where text *sunamade*]; Nāyādh. 450; Paṇṇav. 49; Uttar. 985; Āv. 35,6.10), *sunaja* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4.6; Paṇhāv. 201; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Āv. 35,9; 36,28ff.; Dvār. 497,18), *colasunaja* (Sūyag. 591; Paṇṇav. 367), fem. *sunijā* (Paṇṇav. 368). To *sunaha* has again *ka* been added

in Mg. *śunahaka* (Mṛcch. 113,20) and A. *śunahāṭi* (Hc.4,443). Perhaps it was imagined that *śunaha* was=*sunakha*=*su*+*nakha*⁶; Dh. *tuhāṃ*, A. *tuhū*=*tvakdm* (§421) with *u* according to §152 and *ū* according to §352; A. *śahū*=*sākam* (Hc. 4,356,419) with *a* according to §81 and *ū* according to §352. Cf. also AMg. *phaṇiḥa* (sic; comb; Sūyag. 250) with *phaṇga* (sic; Uttar. 672). M. *cihura* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; Pāṇyā. 109; G.H.; Pracandap. 43,15; Karp. 48,10; Acyutaś. 35); Mg. *cihula* (Mṛcch. 171,2 [so to be read with v.l.]), wrongly M. *ciura* (Sāhityad. 73,4; Viddhaś. 25,1), questionable whether correct in S. (Prab. 45,1), will not be=*cikura*, which in the meaning of "colouring material" becomes AMg. *ciura* (Nāyādh. §61), but is=**cikšura*, a form derived with reduplication from *✓kšur* (to shave) which would have to become in Pkt. **cikkhura* or **cikhura*, *cihura*. *cihura* bears the same relation to *cikura* as *✓*skur* to *✓*kur*. We have a reduplication of *ci* in AMg. *cikkhalla* (mud; loam; swamp; Hc. 3,142; Deśin. 3,11; Panhāv. 47 [°la]; Anuog. 367; the explanation of *cikkhala* is uncertain; the word probably belongs to modern Indian *cikila cikkāṇa* to which my attention has been drawn by E. KUHN; AMg. M. *cikkhillā* (H.R.; Pannav. 89ff. [91 °kka°]); Vivāhap. 658f. [commentary °kka°] Panhāv. 164,212 [commentary °kka°]; AMg. *cikhillā* (Ovav. §32; text °kka°; see v.l.)=**cikšālya* from *kṣāl* "that which is to be washed off," "that which is to be purified"⁷. M. *nīhā* (multitude, crowd; Deśin. 4,49; Pāṇyā. 19; G.H.R.) is not=*nikāya*⁸, but=*nighāta*⁹ *nīhelana* (homestead; Hc. 2,174; Ki. 2,120. D-śin. 4,51;5,37; Pāṇyā. 49 [ni°]; Triv. 1,3,105) is not=*niketana*¹⁰, but=*nīhelana* (Kappas. §41) and belongs to *✓bhil bhedane* (Dhātupāṭha 32,66), which occurs in AMg. *bhelaṭṭā* (Thān. 421)¹¹; cf. *bil*, *bila*.—*vihala* is not=*vikala*, but=*nihvala* (§332).—M. *sihara* (Pāṇyā. 259; R.) is not=*śikara* (Hc. 1,184)¹², but comes from M. *sihara* (R.), which the grammarians (Vr. 2,5; Hc. 1,184; Ki. 2,26; Mk. fol. 14) likewise derive from *śikara*, which, however, belongs to Vedic *śibham*¹³.

I. PISCHEL, BB. 3,254.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 3,254f. *kheḷadi*, *kheḷāṭi* have gone also into Skt. as *✓kheḷ*. Deviating from BB. 6,92, I could now assume dropping off of *s* in most of the other words.—3. The scholiasts mostly equate *nīhasa* as=*nigharṣa* and *nīhasana* as=*nigharṣana*, a thing that is not possible linguistically, since these words would become *nīhaṃsa*, *nīhaṃsana*.—4. Abhayadeva on Thān. 121 remarks *khaḥaṃ ti*, *prākṛtatvena kham ākāṣam iti*.—5. LEUMANN, Aup. S s.v. does not rightly consider *ha* as preventer of the hiatus.—6. That the aspiration rests chiefly on this false analogy, as TRECKNER assumes in the case of Pāli (Pāli Miscellany p. 58, note 6), is wrong. On the doubled suffix cf. AMg. *phalahaga*, *thūbhīyāgā* [§208] and Mk. fol. 37.—7. Anuog. 367 offers a beautiful etymology of *cikkhalla* as a sample, as one may etymologize: *cicca karoti kham ca bhavati cikkhallam*. A. *cikkhili* (feminine; [sic]; Prabandhac. 56,6) is an adjective. Both the words, *cihura* (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,186) and *cikkhalla* (ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 56) have been taken also into Skt.—8. BÜHLER, Pāṇyā. p. 12 and s.v.—9. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91.—10. BÜHLER, Pāṇyā. p. 12 and s.v.—11. PISCHEL, BB. 3,252;6,91; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—12. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 470.—13. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91.

§207. *ta* has become *dha* through *ṭha* in AMg. *cimīḍha*=*cibīṭa* (§248); *vaḍha*=*vaṭa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105¹⁴); *saadha*=*śakaṭa* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but AMg. *sagada* (Āyār. 2,3,2,16;2,11,17; Sūyag. 350). S. *saadī*=*śakaṭikā* (Mṛcch. 94,15ff.), Mg. *śaala* (Mṛcch. 122,10; §238; *saḍhā*=*saṭā* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but M. *saḍā* (R.). Cf. also A. *khallihadaṇṇi* (§110). *-ta* appears as *tha* in *thimpai*=*ṭympai* (Vr. 8,22), *thippai* (Hc. 4,138; Ki. 4,46), *thēppai* (Ki. 4,46)=*ṭpyate*=**ṭympati*, **ṭpyāte*. Not identical with it is *thippai* (drops down; Hc. 4,175), which with *theva* (a drop; §130) belongs to *✓stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3,4). The suffix *-tha*, instead of Skt. *-ta* occurs in M. AMg. JM. *bharaha*=*bharata*

(Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; G.R.; Antag. 3; Uttar. 515,517; Ovav.; Sagara 2,6; Dvār.; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *dāhinaḍḍha bharahe*=*daḥṣiṇārdhabharate*¹ (Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyādh. §13.93); M. AMg. JM. *A. bhāraha*=*bhārata* (G.; Āyār. 2,25,2; Thān. 70,73; Vivāhap. 427,479; Uttar. 515,517,532,541; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,399); M. *bhārāhi* (G.). The form *bharatha*, to which *bharaha* goes back, as *bhāraha* to **bhāratha*², is attested by Unādis. 3,115 and Ś. *bharadha* (Mk.; Bālar. 155,3,310,9 [falsely *bharada* 55,17,150,21]; Anarghar. 316,15 [text °*da*]; but ed. Calc. Śāk. 1782, p. 237,4 correctly °*dha*; Pras. 91,12 [text °*da*], Mg. *bhālādha* (Mṛcch. 128,13 [STENZLER °*li*,° see v. l. in GODABOLE 353,12]; 129,3 [text °*de*]). Corresponding to the suffix *-tha* in Skt. *āvasatha*=AMg. *āvasaha* (e.g. Āyār. 1,7,2,1ff.; Ovav.), Skt. *upavasatha*, *nivasatha*, *pravasatha* etc., M. AMg. JM. have *vasahi*=**vasathi*=*vasati* (Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; Pāṇyāl. 49; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136,178,215; Vivāhap. 152,1123,1193; Nāyādh. 581; Uttar. 449,918 [beside *āvasaha*]; Dasav. N. 647,49; Ovav.; Āv. 27,25; Kk.); AMg. *kuvasahi*=*kuvasati* (Paṇhāv.)⁴. *-ha*, *-dha* in the second person plural imperative likewise go back to *-tha*, since the second person plural indicative is used as the imperative (§471).—*kāhala* (cowardly; fearful; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; cowardly scoundrel; Deśin. 2,58), that is equated by Grr. and P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵ as=*kātara* cannot be separated from *kāhala* (tender; weak; Deśin. 2,58), and *kāhali* (a tender young woman; Deśin. 2,26). *kāhala*, *kāhali* are used in Skt. also; perhaps they forced their way into it first from Pkt. and presumably belong to M. *tharatharei*, Ś. *tharatharedi* (throbs violently [from the heart]; trembles); §558), are, therefore,=*kā+thara*, *kā*, in Skt. *kāpuruṣa*, *kābhārṭṭ* etc. *kātara* becomes M. A. *kāara* (G.R.; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. *kāyara* (Nāyādh.), Ś. *kādara* (Śāk. 17,12,84,16; Vikr. 27,6; Mālav. 40,13), Mg. *kādala* (Mṛcch. 120,9). *kātara* and **kāthara* probably go back to the basic form **kāstara*.—According to Hc. 1,214 *mātulīṅga* becomes *māhulīṅga*, on the other hand *mātuluṅga* becomes *māulūṅga*, as AMg. Ś. hav: (Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Paṇnav. 482; Adbhutad 68,6 [read *mādu*]). *māhulīṅga* (also C. 3,12 p. 49) belongs to the same category as *madhukar-katīkā*, *madhukukkuṭīkā*, *madhujambīra*, *madhujambha*, *madhubijapūra*, *madhurāmbīra*, *madhurabijapūra*, *madhuravallī*, *madhuwallī*, *madhūla*, *ma'ūlaka*, all of which mean special kinds of citron. *māhulīṅga* is, therefore,=**mādhulīṅga*. In Paṇnav. 531 AMg. *māulīṅga* is emended. AMg. *vihatthi* (Sūyag. 280; Vivāhap. 425; Nandis. 168; Apuog. 384,413) is not=*vitasti* (C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214⁶), but in the root *tas* *s* will have dropped off, *vihatthi*, therefore, will stand for **vihatthi*=**vistasti*⁷.

1. The edition in the Granthapradarsanī at p. 93, for which reads *poḍo* [dodah] āṇo [dolā?]; see BB. 6,88ff.—2. WARREN, Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 106, note.—3. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473.—4. FISCHEL, BB. 6,92f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473.—5. GN. 1874, p. 473.—6. More probably it is an adaptation of one **vihatthi* (BB. 6,93).

§208. *pa* appears as *ph* in AMg. Ś. *phaṇasa*=*paṇasa* (Vr. 2,37; Hc. 1,232; Jiv. 46; Paṇnav. 482,531; Vivāhap. 1530; Ovav.; Bālar. 209,7,8 [°*pa*°]; Viddhaś. 63,2), beside M. *paṇasa* (Karp. 115,2), Mg. *paṇasa* (Mṛcch. 115,20); M. AMg. JM. *pharusa*=*paraṣa* (Vr. 2,36; C. 3,11; Hc. 1,232; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H. [so 344 to be read; see Index and the v.l. IS. 16,104]. R.; Āyār. 1,6,4,1,2,8,1,8; 1,8,3,5,13; 2,1,6,3; 2,4,1,1,6; Sūyag. 122 [text °*pa*°]. 172,485,517,527,729; Jiv. 273; Nāyādh. §135; p. 757; Paṇhāv. 393,394,396,516; Vivāhap. 254,481; Uttar. 92; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *aipharusa*=*aiparusa* (Kk.); M. *pharusattana*=**paraṣatvana* (R.); AMg. *pharusija*=*paraṣita* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,6,4,1 [see v.l.]); M. AM. JM.

phaliha=*parigha* (Vr. 2,30.36; Hc. 1,232.254; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāṭyā. 267; R.; Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,3,2,14; 2,4,2,11; 2,11,5; Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 416; Dasav. 628,22; Dvār. 500,30); M. *phaliḥā*=*parikhā* (Vr. 2,30.33; Hc. 1,232.254; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāṭyā. 240; R.), AMg. *phariḥā* (Nāyādh. 994.1001ff. 1006.1008.1012.1014.1023; Probably to be read as *phaliḥā*); *phāliḥadda*=*pāribhadra* (Hc. 1,232.254); AMg. *pharasu*=Pāli *pharasu*=Skt. *paraśu* (Vivāgas. 239); but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paraśu* (G.; Nāyādh. §135; p. 438 [text °ri°]. 1438; Paṇhāv. 198 [text °ri°]; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 29,19), Mg. *palāśu* (Mṛcch. 157,13), Ś. *parasurāma* (Mahāv. 55,12; 64,20; Bālar. 36,5,6); AMg. *phusiya*=Pāli *phusita*=*prṣata* (§101; AMg. JM. *phāsuya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,4.6; 2,1,2,1ff.; Paṇhāv. 497; Uvās.; ZDMG. 34,291,44; Kk.)=Pāli *phāsuka* is phonetically=*prāsuka*, which however, is certainly a false Sanskritism of the Pk. word¹; *aphāsuya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1.3.6.11ff.); *bahuphāsuya* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24ff.). *phāsuya* might belong to *Vsprś*=**sparsuka*² (§62). *phāḍei*, which Hc. 1,198 equates as *pāṭayati*=*sphāṭayati*.—Mk. fol. 18 has, moreover, *phalihi*=*paridhi* and *phalama*=*palama*, which probably ought to be *phanasa*=*paṇasa*. The first word may even be corrupt. In *rampai*, *ramphai* (hews; Hc. 4,194) whether *pa* or *pha* is original cannot be said; cf. *rampa* "section" (H. 119.120 with v.l. *rumpa*, *rumpha*³).—In AMg., more rarely in JM., medial *pa* in some words has become *bh* through *ph* (§200). So AMg. *kacchabha*=*kacchapa* (Jiv. 71.290.478; Nāyādh. 510; Paṇhāv. 18.119.170; Paṇnav. 47; Vivāgas. 49.186; Vivāhap. 248.483.1033.1285; Uttar. 1072), *kacchabhi*=*kacchapī* (lute, Paṇhāv. 512; Nāyādh. 1275.1378; Rāyap. 88); AMg. *kabhalla*=*kapāla* (§91; Uvās. §94; Antag. 27; Aṇuttar. 10 [text °va°, commentary *bha*°], beside *kavalla* (Sūyag. 275; Vivāhap. 270.383), *kavallī* (Vivāgas. 141), *kanāla* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4); to these add *kaphāda* (hollow; Deśin. 2,7); AMg. *thūbha*=*stūpa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 4,3,3,1; Sūyag. 26; Paṇhāv. 31.234.286; Anu. g. 387; Jiv. 546f.; Paṇnav. 369; Rāyap. 153f. 195f.; Vivāhap. 560.659.1249; Thān. 266), also JM. (Sagara 2,7; T. 5,11.13.16.6,13,15; 7,8; ZDMG. 34,291.47.49); AMg. *thūbhiyā*=*stūpikā* (Āyār. 2,10,17; Jiv. 492.495.506; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), and with doubled suffixes *thūbiyāgā*=**stūpikākā* (S. mav. 213; Paṇnav. 116; Rāyap. 116; Nāyādh. §122); AMg. *gothūbha*=*gostūpa* (Thān. 202.268; Jiv. 715f. 718ff.; Samav. 106.108.113.116f. 127.143ff. 233 [on account of metre also *gothubha*]; Vivāhap. 198). The more modern form occurs in *thūha* [battlements of a palace; ant-hill; Deśin. 5,32]. Cf. Lepa-dialect *thuba* (Arch. Survey of W. India 5,78,10).—AMg. *vibhāsā*=*vīpāśā* (Thān. 5.44).

1. JACOBI, Kk. s.v. *phāsuya* analyses it into *pra*+*asu*+*ka*. Skt. *prāsuka*, so far as I can see, is used by the Jains only.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. s. v. Not rightly CHILDERS s.v. *phāsu*, who will equate it as=*spārtha*.—3. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,378.

§209. More rarely occurs the aspiration of the medials. For *ga* occurs *gha* in *ghāṇa*=*gāyana* (singer; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,108; Triv. 1,3, 105=BB. 3,255); AMg. *siṅghādaga*=*śṛṅgātaka* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). *ghisai* is not=*grasati*, but=**ghasati* (§103.482).—*ja* appears as *jha* in *jhaḍila* beside *jaḍila*=*jaṭila* (Hc. 1,194); *jhattha* (annihilated; gone; Deśin. 3,61) from *Vjas*; cf., however, also *Vjhas*. AMg. *jhūstī* (ansol.; Vivāgas. 270f.; Antag. 69 [°jhu°]; Nāyādh. 383.388; Uvās.; Ovav.), *jhūsiya* [Thān. 56] [Commentary]. 187.274; Nāyādh. 382; Antag. 69 [°jhu°]; Jiv. 289 [°jhu°]; Vivāhap. 169.173; 321; Uvās.; Ovav.), mostly explained with *kṣiṇa* or *kṣapita*¹, *jhūsaṇā* (Nāyādh. 376, Vivāhap. 169.173; Thān. 56.187. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.), *parijhūsiya* (Thān. 202) belong to *Vjhūs*, that is mentioned beside *jūs*, *yūs*. (Dhātupāṭha 17,29)².—*da* becomes *dha* in *dhippai*

beside *dippai*=*dīpyate* (Hc. 1,223); *kāūha* (Hc. 1,225), dialectically *kakudha* (Triv. 1,3,105)=Pāli *kakudha*, a form parallel to *kakubha*³.—*ba* appears as *bha* in AMg. *bhimbhisāra*=*bimbisāra* (Thān. 523; Ovav. [so to be read for *bhambha*^o; cf. v.1.]); M. *bhisinī*=*bisini* (Vr. 2,38; Hc. 1,238; Ki. 2,44; Pāiyāl. 149; H.; Sāhityad. 79,1). *Ś.* has *bisiṇi* (Vṛṣabh. 39,3; Mālav. 75,8). According to Bh. on Vr. 2,38 and Hc. 1,238 the aspiration does not occur in *bisa* and so M. *bisa* (Pāiyāl. 256; G.H.; Karp. 95,12). Mk. fol. 18 teaches *bhisā*=*bisa* but quotes H.8, where stands *bhisinisaṇḍam*. AMg., like Pāli, has *bhisā* (Āyār. 2,1,8,10; Sūyag. 813; Jiv. 290.353; Paṇṇav. 35,40; Rāyap. 55). For *bysi* Bh. 1,28 and Hc. 1,28 teach *bisī*, the Pāiyāl. 215 *busi*. *bysikā* has aspiration: *bhisā* (Deśin.6,105), AMg. *bhisigā* (Sūyag. (726); *bhisigā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Nāyādh. 1279.1283; Ovav.). *bhukkai* barks; Hc.4,186), *bhukkijā* (barking; Pāiyāl.182), *bhukkāṇa* (dog; Deśin.6,110), beside *bukkai*=*garjati* (Hc.4,98), *ubbukkai* (speaks; Hc.4,2), *bukkāṇa* (a crow; Deśin.6,94; Pāiyāl.44). On *bhaassai*, *bhaappaī*, *bhaappaī* etc. see §212.—*bhibbhala*, *bhimbhala* (Hc. 2,58 with translation), M. *Ś. bhēmbhala* (R. 6,37; Cait. 38,9 [text. *bhemhaṇo*]), *Ś. bhēmbhaladā* (Cait. (44,9), *bhēmbhalida* (Cait. 55,13 [text *bhēmha*^o]) cannot, with Hc., be derived from *vibbhala*, *vēbbhala*=*vihala* (§332), since the aspiration of *v* would have given *ha* in the initial syllable as is shown by *vihala*. The words belong, with *bhambhala* (block-head; later stubbornness, Deśin. 6,110) to *Vbharbh himsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,71). It is, therefore, to be written with anusvāra, as the glosse on Hc. 2,58 tells us, and this is to be explained according to §74.

1. On the meaning see LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *jhūsiya*; HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 160.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. l.c. Overlooked by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *jhūs*, Incorrect is its association with AMg. *jhusira* (LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343). Cf. §211.—3. *kāūha* can naturally be derived from *kakubha* too. Cf. FISCHER, BB.3,257; v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40,660; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. §156,b. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874 p. 473.

§210. Aspiration of nasals and semivowels takes place in *ñhāvia*=*nāpita* (Hc. 1,230; Pāiyāl. 61), really=**nāpita*¹, as AMg. *ñhāvīyā*=*snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964) and other derivatives of *snā* (§313). *Ś. Mg.* have *ñāvida*=*nāpita* (Hasy. 28,19; Mṛcch. 113,10)².—M. *pamhusai*=**prasmṛsati*³=*pramṛsyati* (Hc. 4,75.184; G.), M. *pamhasijjāsu*=*pramṛsyeh* (H. 348), M. *pamhusia* (G.), *Ś. pamhasida* (Mahāv. 65,1; ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 161,8^o *pamusida*), M. JM. *pamhutṭha* (Hc. 3,105=R.6,12; Hc. 4,258; Āv. 7,31), A. *pamhutṭhai* (Hc. 4,396,3; so to be read), M. *pamhaṭṭha* (R.); according to Hc. 4,158 *pamhusai* is also=*pramuṣṇāti*, according to 4,258 *pamhutṭha* also is=*pramuṣita*; A. *bhumhaḍi*=*bhūmi* (Hc. 4,395,6) with the suffix *-aḍa*, fem. *-aḍi* (Hc.4,429.431).—AMg. *lhasuṇa*=*lasuṇa* (Āyār.2,7,2,6; Vivāhap. 609; Paṇṇav. 40; Jiyāk. 54), beside AMg. JM. *lasuṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,13; Sūyag. 337 [text *lasana*]; Āv. 40,18); *lhukkai* beside *likkai* (hides oneself; Hc.4,55), a denominative from M. *lhikka*=**ślikna* (Hc. 4,258; G.), cf. *śliku* “dependant” and §566.

1. WEBER, KB. 1,505.—2. Wrongly permits S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 7, note 3, Skt. *nāpita* to be derived from Pkt. *nāvia*. The dropping off of the initial *s* depends upon the accent=*nāpita*¹, like Vedic *paḍbhi*^h from *spaś* (FISCHER, Ved. Stud. I,239).—3. WEBER on Hala¹ 358;² 348; ZDMG. 28,425.

§211. A simple initial sibilant of Skt. is sometimes aspirated in Pkt. *śha*, *ṣha*, *sha*, then all become uniformly *cha*. The derivation of this *cha* from an original sound-group *kṣa* or *ska* is in not at all certain. *chamī*=*śamī* (Hc. 1,265); AMg. *chāva*=Pāli *chāpa*=*śāba* (Hc. 1,265; Ki. 2,46; Sūyag. 511)¹, *chāvaa*=*śābaka* (Vr. 2,41; Mk. fol. 18), but Mg. *sāvaka* (Mṛcch. 10,6); AMg. *chivāḍi*=*śivāḍi* (2,1,1,3,4);

M. AMg. *chēppa*, *chippa*=*śepa* (Deśin. 3,36; Pāiyāl. 128; G. H.; Vivāgas. 69)²; in addition to *chippālūa* (tail; Deśin. 3,29); but Ś. *suṇasseha*=*ṣuṇaśēpha* (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); *chippīra* (straw; Deśin. 3,28; Pāiyāl. 142) beside *sippīra* (straw; H. 330), *sippa* (straw; Deśin. 8,28); in addition to this probably also *chippīṇḍī* (flour; Deśin. 3,37) and *chippāla* (a bullock accustomed to corn; Deśin. 3,28); *chui* (a female crane; Deśin. 3,30=*śuciḥ*; *cha*=*ṣaṭ*, *chaṭṭha*=*ṣaṣṭha*, and *cha*^o, *chaḥ*^o in numerous compounds (§240.441)³; AMg. *chuhā*=*sudhā* (Hc. 1,265; Deśin. 2,42; Vivāhap. 658f.), in addition to *chuhia* (plastered; Deśin. 3,30); AMg. *chirā*=*sirā* (Hc. 1,266; Thāp. 55; Jiv. 271; Samav. 227; Vivāhap. 89.810), *chiratta* (Anuog. 12), beside *sirā* (Hc. 1,266). On M. AMg. *piucchā*, M. *māucchā*, Ś. *māducchā*, *māducchiā*=*pīṭṣvasā*, *māṛṣvasā*, *māṣvasā*, *māṛṣvasyā* see §148; on *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa*, presumably=*saptaparna* see §103. An initial sonant sibilant is presupposed by AMg. *jhusira* (full of holes; hole; Ayār. 2,11,4; 2,15,22 [p. 129,1], Paṇhāv. 137; Nāyādh. 752; Dasav. 620,30; Uvās.), *ajhusira* (Jiyak. 55), *antōjjhusira* (Nāyādh. 397)=**zuṣirā*=*suṣira* or **z'uṣira*=*suṣira*⁴. Perhaps *jhalā* (mirage; Deśin. 3,53; Pāiyāl. 232) also belongs to *śāl* (to prop up)=**z'alā*, and *jharua* (midge; cricket; Deśin. 3,54), *jhāruā* (cricket; Deśin. 3,57), from *Vśaro hūmsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,76), *śaru* (an arrow).⁵

1. PORT, Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien 2,181ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1875, p.627; on Hc. 1,265. Wrongly MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I.II (Wien 1874) p. 26.—2. JOHANSSON (IF. 3,213), with whom WACKERNAGEL (Altind. Gr. §230b, p.266) concurs, compares Latin cippus, Greek *σχοῖπρος*.—3. Hypotheses on the original form of *śaṣ* in HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 27,106; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29,576.—4. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343. Whether *suṣira* or *śuṣira* is the more correct form of writing still remains to be probed into. Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpaakośa 150 teaches *suṣi* and *śuṣi*. ZACHARIAE writes Śāsvata 185, against the best MSS. *suṣira*, but Hemacandra, Anekārthasaṃgraha 3,607 *śuṣira*, as is given by the derivative forms from *śuṣ* (Upādiganasūtra 416). Connection with AMg. *jhus* (§203) is out of consideration. Its derivation from *śuṣ* is quite uncertain. Wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 172.—Jiv. 273 has *suṣira*.—5. The word can be connected to *kṣāraka* also.

§212. Aspiration appears in some cases in Pkt. in a syllable of the word different from that in Skt. In isolated cases this may be explained by the fact that originally the initial and the final syllables of the word were aspirated, and dialectically the aspiration of a sound vanished in different ways. In most cases, however, there remains for us scarcely any assumption other than "turning-round of the breath." M. *iḥarā* from **iḥaratā*, **iḥaraā*=*itarathā* (§354); *uvaha*, M. *avaha* from **ubatha* for **ubhata*, deduced from M. *avahovāsaṃ*, *avahoāsaṃ*=AMg. *ubhaopāsaṃ*=**ubhatahpārśvaṃ* (§123) *keḍhava* from **kaiṭhaba* for *kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2,21.29; Hc. 1,196.240; Kī. 2,11.27; Mk. fol. 16.17); *gadhai* from **gaṭṭhati*=*ghaṭate* (Hc. 4,112), beside the usual *ghadaḥ*; M. AMg. JM. A. *ghēppai* from **ghṛpyati*=*grhyate* (§548), inf. M. *ghēttum*=**ghṛptum*=*grahitum* (§574), absol. *ghēttuānaṃ*, *ghēttuāna* (§584), M. AMg. JM. *ghēttūna*=**ghṛptuānaṃ*=*grhītvā* (§586), particip. nec. *ghēttava*=**ghṛptavya*=*grahitavya* (§570), fut. JM. *ghēcchāmo* (§534) belong to a root **ghṛp*, that is a root parallel to *grbh* (§107)¹; *dhāmkuna*, *dhēmkuna*, AMg. *dhimkuna* (bug) for **dhāmkhuna* belong to Marāṭhi *dhāmkhneṃ* (to bite, to sting), *dhāmkh* (bite, sting of a poisonous animal)=*daṃś* (§107.267); M. *dhajjai* (Jivān. 97,9), Ś. *dhajjadi* (Mālav. 28,8; Mallikām. 90,23 [text *ai*]), *dhajjadu* (Venis. 23,18; so to be read; see v.l.p.135), Mg. *dhayyadi* (Mr̥ch. 9,25) for **dajjhaḍi*, M. AMg. JM. *dajjhai* (§222)=*dahyate*, Ś. *viḍhajjia*=*vidahya* (Mahāv. 96,11), *dhajjanta*- (Mālatim. 79,2; so to be read with the v.l. and ed. Madras. 67,6; Rukminip. 20,7;35,9; Mallikām. 57,7;133,13); cf. v.l. *dhajjai* on H. 373; M. *dihī* from **dṛthi*=*dṛti* (Hc.2,131; Sāhityad. 219,14);

M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā*=**dhuktā*=*duhitā* (§ 65; 392); JŚ. Ś. Mg. A. *bahini* for **baghini*=*bhagini* (Hc. 2,126; Pāiyāl. 252; Kattig. 401,338; Mālatim. 31,5; Mg. Mr̥cch. 11,9; 113,19; 138,25; 140,1,7; A Hc. 4,351), mostly with *kaḥ svārthe*, Ś. *bahiniā*=*bhaginikā* (Mr̥cch. 94,4; 328,5; Śak. 15,4; 85,4,6; Mālatim. 130,3; Mahāv. 118,18; 119,3; Ratn. 324,23; 327,7,9,13; 328,20; Prab. 68,7; Cait. 88,12,92,15; Karp. 33,4,7; 34,3; 35,2 etc.), A. *bahinū* (Hc. 4,22,14). From *bṛhaspati* are found AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai*, Ś. *bahappadi*, *bahappai*, *bihapphadi* (§53). The grammarians mention these and numerous other forms: *bahassai*, *bihassai*, *buhassai* (C. 2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,69,137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahappai*, *bihappai*, *buhappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,53,137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 1,138; 2,53,69,137); Mg. *buhassadi* (Hc. 4,289), *bihassadi* (Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12); moreover with aspirated initial: *bhaassai* (C. 2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,69,137; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiassai*, *bhuassai* (C. 2,5 p.43); *bhaappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,137; Mk. fol. 38; Prākṛtamañjarī in FISCHER, De. Gr. Prācr. p. 15; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiappai*, *bhuappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43); *bhaapphai* (Vr. 4,30; C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69,137; Ki. 2,117; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiapphai*, *bhuapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43)².

1. FISCHER, KB. 8,148f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512; WEBER, IS. 14,73, note 2; JACOBI, KZ. 28,253f.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,447. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,493; WEBER on Hāla 286.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1,138. The forms with initial *h* in lieu of *bh* in Triv., Sr. and in the Prākṛtamañjarī are orthographical errors of the Dravidian manuscripts. The edition of Triv. has *hh*.

§213. Loss of aspiration occurs in AMg. JM. Ś. *saṅkalā*=*śṛṅkhalā* (Pan̄hāv. 183; Jiv. 503; Ṛṣabhap. 33; Latakam. 18,4). AMg. *saṅkala*=*śṛṅkhalā* (according to; Hc. 1,189; Pan̄hāv. 536), AMg. JM. *saṅkalyā*=*śṛṅkhalikā* (Sūyag. 296; Āv. 14,17), JM. *saṅkalīya*=*śṛṅkhalita* (Āv. 13,28). So also the modern Indian languages¹. But M. Ś. *saṅkhalā* (G.; Mr̥cch. 41,10); Ś. *ussaṅkhalā* (Mr̥cch. 151,17); M. Ś. *visaṅkhalā* (R.; Mālatim. 291,2); Mg. *saṅkhalā* (Mr̥cch. 167,6); M. Ś. *siṅkhalā* (R.; Acyutaś. 41; Mālatim. 129,1; Priyad. 4,5; Mallikām. 141,7; Anarghar. 265,2; 308,9; Vṛṣabh. 38,10; Viddhaś. 84,9 [text °saḥ]; 85,3,8)².—AMg. *ḍhaṅka*=Pāli *ḍhaṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*, for **ḍhaṅkha* (crow; crane; vulture; Deśin. 4,13; Pāiyāl. 44; Sūyag. 437,508; Uttar. 593), *ḍhinka*, (Pan̄hāv. 24), which as well as *ḍheṅki* for **ḍhinkī* (female crane; Deśin. 4,15), presupposes an accentuation **dhvāṅkṣā*. In the sense of a kind of plant, of which the bees are fond (cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *dhvāṅkṣa*), occurs in M. *ḍhaṅka* (H. 755)³.—AMg. *bīhaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (Pan̄hāv. 78), *bīhaṇaga*=*bhīṣaṇaka* (Pan̄hāv. 48,49,167,177), but M. Ś. *bhīṣaṇa* (G.R.; Vikr. 28,8; Mahāv. 12,1; Bālar. 54,7; Anarghar. 58,5; Mallikām. 82,18; 141,9), Ś. *adibhīṣaṇa* (Mallikām. 183,3). To *bhīṣ* belong also *bīhaṇ*, *bīhei* (§501). Cf. §263. *paṅguraṇa* (cloak; wrap; Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105) against Marāṭhī *pāṅgharūṇ*, *pāṅgharṇem*, *pāṅghurṇem*⁴.—AMg. *saṇḍeja*=**śaṇḍheya* (capon; Ovav. §1) is a false reading for *saṇḍheja*, as in Skt. too *saṇḍa* and *saṇḍha* are interchanged in the manuscripts. On secondary *kka*, *cca*, *tta*, *ppa* for *kkha*, *cca*, *ttha*, *ppha* see §301ff.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 1,189.—2. Cf. § 54.—3. In the stanza that was not intelligible to WEBER, there occurs *ḍhaṅkharasaso*=*dhvāṅkṣarasaiṣaḥ*, and the comma after *mukko* is to be erased.—4. FISCHER, BB. 3,247ff.

§214. WEBER¹ has assumed that in Pkt. “secondary aspiration, respective *h* direct” occurs through the influence of the preceding aspirates. The examples quoted by him *bhāraha*, *khīla* in *dharaṇikhīla*, *phalaha* have found their correct explanation in §206.207. On the other hand, WACKERNAGEL² has attributed to Pkt. a “disinclination to the succession of two aspirates.” His only example is *majjhaṇṇa*, which he wrongly

equates as=*mādhyaḥna*, while it is=*madhyamāna* (§148). In any case, the example would prove nothing, as *majjhaṇḍa* is quite common (§330). The reference to E. KUHN, Beiträage p. 41 proves nothing. For Pāli *majjhatta*=*madhyastha*, Pkt. says, in all the dialects, from which we can get examples, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhattha* (H.R.; Āyār. 1,7,8,5; Sūyag. 97; Nāyādh. 1274; T. 5,16; Rṣabh. 49; Kk. 275,45; Pav. 389,3; Mrcch. 68,21; Bālar. 238,8; Karpas. 31,10; Mallikām. 250,2,3), for Pāli *majjhattatā*, Ś. *majjhatthadā* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 39,9; Adbhutad. 4,10). That even in Pāli the reason for the loss of aspiration is not the disinclination, presupposed by WACKERNAGEL, is shown by Pāli *indapatta*=*indraprastha*, *maṭṭa* beside *maṭṭha*=*mṛṣṭa*, *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṣṭa*, *atṭa*=*asta*, *bhaddamutta*=*bhadramusta* etc. (E. KUHN, Beiträage p. 41.53), Pkt. *samatta* beside *samattha*=*samasta* (§307). From cases, like M. *takkhaṇṇukkhaaharihathukkhittabhambhalā* (R. 6,37), *khandhukheva* (G. 1049), AMg. *majjhabhāgattha* (Nāyādh. §92), JM. *hatthikkhandha* (Āv. 25,39), JŚ. *mohakkhohavihūṇa* (Pav. 380,7), Ś. *phalihatthambha* (Mālav. 63,1), words, like *khambha*, *khuḥā*, *jhajjhara*, *jhantikkaḥā*, *jhujjhaḥā*, *bhippha*, *bhibbhalā*, and the numberless examples, like *ghaṭṭha*, *bhaṭṭha*, *hattha*³, *hittha*, *ḍajjihii*, *duhihi*, *bujjihii* etc. it results that Pkt. does not have the disinclination attributed to it, and cannot have it according to its phonetic law. On the other hand, some of the dialects, particularly AMg., are proud of the succession of two aspirates, as in *khinkhinī*, *khahacāra*, *thūbha*, *kacchabha* (§206.208). That the examples adduced by JACOB¹ cannot be brought forward in defence of a disinclination of two successive aspirates is shown by §312ff.

1. Bhag. 1,411.—2. KZ. 33,575f.; Altind. Gr. § 105, note.—3. With WACKERNAGEL, I include here, among the aspirates, *ha* also, for the sake of brevity.—4. Erz. XXXII, note 3; XXXIII, note 2.

§215. Dialectically gutturals interchange with labials (§230.231. 266.286). In place of palatals, dialectically, occur dentals as well *ta* for *ca*, *da* for *ja*. AMg. *teicchā*=**cekitsā*=*ckitsā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,8,4,1; 2,13,22; Kappas. S. §49), *tigicchā* (Thān. 313; Paṇhāv. 356; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 106), *tigicchaya*, *tigicchaga*=*ckitsāka* (Thān. 313; Nāyādh. 603.605; Ut. ar. 620), *tigicchaḥā*, *tigicchiya* (§ 555), *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā* (Thān. 191; Āyār. 2,1,3,5; Sūyag. 189.401.445.514.533; Utar. 468ff.), *vitigimchā*, *vitigimchāḥā*, *vitigimchiya* (§ 74.555), *vitigicchāmi* (Thān. 245.), *niivitigiccha* (Sūyag. 771; Ut. ar. 811; Vivāhap. 183; Ovav. §124).—AMg. *digicchanta*, *digimchā*=*jighatsat*, *jighatsā*, AMg. JM. *dogamchā*, *dugumchā*, AMg. *dugumchāṇa*, *dugamchāṇijja*, *dogamchi*, *dogumchi*, *paḍidugamchi*, *dugumchāḥā*, *dugumchamāṇa*, *augamchamāṇa*, *adugucchiya* (§ 74.555), beside the usual *jugucchā* (Bh. 3,40), *juucchāḥā*, *jugucchāḥā* etc. (§ 555).—AMg. *dosinā*=*jyotsnā* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3.250; Thān. 95; Paṇhāv. 533; Sūriyap. in Verzeichniss. 5,2,574.577), *dosinābhā* (Nāyādh. 1523); *dosinī*=*jyautsnī* (Deśin. 5,50), Ś. *vaṇadosinī*=*vanajyautsnī* (Śak. 12,13); *dosāṇia* (1 right; clear; Deśin. 5,51).—In secondary *ja*, originating from *ya* according to §252. the change could have occurred in *dōgga* (pair; Deśin. 5,49; Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3.241), when it is to be equat. d as=*yugma*. It can, however, be referred also to AMg. JM. *duga*, *dvika* (§451)¹.

1. AMg. *pāḍinam*=*prācinam* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1) is either a false reading or a printing mistake for *pāṇam*, as it rightly stands in Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3; 2,2,2,8. The ed. Calc. has *pāṇam*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,413; IS. 14,255f.; E. MÜLLER; Beiträage p. 25; FISCHER; BB. 3,241.250; 5,100f.

§216. Like dentals for palatals (§215), palatals have conversely taken the place of dentals in a number of cases. So *cacchāḥā* from **yachchāḥā*

beside *tacchāi=takṣati* (Hc. 4,194). M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhāi*, Ś. A. *ciṭṭhadi*, Mg. *ciṭṭhadi=tiṣṭhadi* from *sihā* (§483).—*cuccha* beside *tuccha* (Hc. 1,204), according to Hc. also with an aspirated initial sound *chuccha*.—A. *vijjajjhara=vidyādhara* (Vikr. 59,5). On AMg. *ci yatta=tyakta*, *ciccā, cēccā=tyaktoā* see §280.

§217. According to Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22 (p.240) ed. STENZLER=26,8 (p.500), ed. GOPABOLE, in the dialect of Śākāra, there was pronounced a weak *ya* before *ca*, which did not make position: *yciṣṭha=tiṣṭha*. According to Mk. fol. 75.85 this *ya* appeared in Mg. and in Vṛācaḍa A. also before *ja*: M. *ycilaṃ=ciraṃ*; *yyāā=jāyā*; *ycalaā=caraka*; A. *ycalai=calati*, *yyalai=jvalati* (§24,28). Perhaps the rules given for Mg., Vr. 11,5 and Ki. 5,88, refer to this. On account of bad transmission of the text, the meaning cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. COWELL, Vr. p. 179, note 1; LASSEN, Inst. p. 393.396 §146.1.

§218. Dentals of Skt. are represented often by cerebrals in Pkt. The reverse transformation in some dialects (§225) proves that it was a matter of dialectically differing pronunciation and that the assumption of some other influence is erroneous. Initially *ta* appears for *ta* in *ṭagara=tagara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭūpara=ṭūbara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭimbaru=tumburu* (Deśin. 4,3), *ṭimbaru'a=tumburuka* (Pāiyāl. 258) to which should belong also *ṭimburiṇi* (Sukasaptati 122,15). Cf. §124. Medially *ta* appears for *ta* in CP. *paṭimā=pratimā* (Hc. 4,325), for which the other dialects, according to §198, say *paḍimā*. The words, in which *da* appears for *ta*, have been collected in the gaṇa *pratyādi* by Hc. 1,206; Ki. 2,29 and Mk. fol. 15. In Hc. it is an ākṛtigāṇa. Ki. mentions only *pratibaddha*, *prābhṛta*, *vetasa*, *patākā* and *garta*; Mk. collects seven words in a verse: *prati, vetasa, patākā, haritakī, vyāpṛta, mṛtaka, prākṛta* for which *prābhṛta* is to be read. Transition from *ta* to *da* in *prati* is especially frequent in all the dialects, except P. CP. So M. AMg. JM. Dh. *paḍimā=pratimā* (C.3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 217; G.H.R.; Thān. 266; Āyār. 2,2,3,18ff.; 2,6,1,4ff.; 2,7,2,8ff.; 2,8,2ff.; 2,8,2ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,11.16,17); AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍipunṇa=pratipūrṇa* (Nāyādh. 449.500; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 387,13); M. Ś. Mg. *paḍivaṇa=prativacana* (H. R.; Mṛcch. 37,8; Vikr. 18,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. Ś. *paḍivaḍkha=pratipakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 35; G.H.R.; Erz.; Vikr. 23,7; Prab. 7,9,12,5); M. AMg. Ś. *paḍibaddha=pratibaddha* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,3; 68.20.25; Uvās.); JŚ. *appaḍibaddha* (Pav. 387,25). Ś. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12), AMg. *paḍibandhana* (Dasav. 643,16); M. A. *paḍihāi*, Ś. *paḍihādi*, *paḍihāadi=pratibhāti* (§487), and so very many others.* Cf §163.220. In P.C.P., according to Hc.4,307; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa. Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12, the transition does not find place: *patibimba* (Hc 4,326); an exception is *paṭimā* (Hc.4,325). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. A. *paḍai=patati* (Vr. 8,51; Hc. 4,219; G.H.R.; Nirayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagara 3,10; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. *paḍadi* (Mṛcch. 31,10; 158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. *paḍaū=patatu* (H.; Āyār. 2,4,1,12), JM. *paḍāmo=patāmaḥ* (Āv. 8,50), Mg. *paḍemi* (Mṛcch. 127,12), M. A. *paḍia=patita* (G.H.R.; Hc. 4,337). JM. *paḍiya* (Erz.), Ś. Mg. *paḍida* (Mṛcch. 54,3; 81,9,95,13; 120,7; Mudrār. 104,8; Ratn. 314,27; Mṛcch. 10,1; 133,10; 169,5; 170,16), Ś. *niḍaḍida=nipatita* (Śak. 35, 10; 77,11), AMg. *paḍaḍiṇa=prapatet*, *paḍaḍemāṇa=prapatamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2, 1,7; 2,2,3,2,23; 2,3,2,15), and so throughout in the root *pat* and derivatives from it, like M. JM. Mg. *paḍana=patana* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,23), but CP. *nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326).—M. Ś. *paḍāā=patākā* (Grr.; G.R.; Mṛcch. 68,17), AMg. JM. *paḍāgā* (Thān.284; Jiv.483; Nāyādh. §122; p. 1318; Paṇhāv. 160; Rāyap.59.68.70; Vivāhap. 276.833; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); JM. *paḍāyā* (Pāiyāl. 68; Erz.); AMg. *sapaḍāga*

(Rāyap. 128), but P. *patākā* (Hc. 4,307). -*pahudī*=*prabhṛti* (Hc. 1,206), but Ś. Mg. *pahudī* (Mṛcch. 23,15,23;73,10; Śak. 52,5; 85,7; Vikr. 15,8,9;45,20; Mudrār. 253,8; Prab. 9,5;28,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 13,25;21,11;133,21; Venis. 35,5), Ś. *pahudīa*=*prabhṛtika* (Mṛcch. 71,1).—AMg. JM. *pāhuda*=*prābhṛta* (Grr.; Pāṇal. 236; Āyār. 2,2,2,10ff.; Vivāgas. 128,132; Nāyādh. 439,539,540,774ff.1375f.1431, Rāyap. 226, Aṇuog. 558; Erz.), *pāhudiṇi*=*prābhṛtikā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1; Aṇuog. 558).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. D. *vāvaḍa*=*vyāpṛta* (Hc.; Mk.; H.R.; Uttar. 496; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,24;29,21;104,8), JM. also *vāula* (Kk.), AMg. *vāuṇya* (Ovav.), Ś. *vāvuda* (Mālav.72,7), *vāvudaḍa*=*vyāpṛtatā* (Mṛcch. 325,19).—M. *veḍisa*, but P. *vetasa*, Ś. *vedasa*=*vetasa* (§101).—*haraḍai*=*haritakī* (§120).

§219. Cerebralization has a wider range in AMg., partly in JM. too (Hc. 1,206), than in the other dialects. It appears especially in these dialects in the past passive participles of certain roots in *r*. So: AMg. *kada*=*kṛta*, *akada*=*akṛta*, *dukkaḍa*=*duṣkṛta*, *sukaḍa*=*sukṛta*, *vigaḍa*, *viyaḍa*=*vikṛta*, *paḍaḍa*=*prakṛta*, *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta*, *āhakaḍa*=*yathākṛta*, beside M.A. *kaa*, AMg. JM. *kaya*, PG.P. *kata*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *kada*, Ś. Mg. A. *kida*, A. *akia* (§49; cf. §306).—AMg. *paṭṭhaḍa*=*prastṛta* (Thān. 197), *viṭṭhaḍa*=*vistṛta* (Jiv. 253; Ovav. §56), *saṁṭhaḍa*=*saṁstṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,3,9;2,1,6,1), *asaṁṭhaḍa* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14), *ahāsaṁṭhaḍa*=*yathāsaṁstṛta* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14).—AMg. *maḍa*=*mṛta* (Vivāhap. 13; Uttar. 985; Jiv. 255; Kappas.), AMg. JM. *maḍaya*=*mṛtaka* (Hc. 1,206; Pāṇal. 158; Āyār. 2,10,17; Āv. 24,4), beside AMg. JM. *mayā* Vivāhap. 16,104,1,1042; Dvār. 503,5,7;504,4,17), JM. *mu'a* (Āv. 28,8), (G.), M. *maa* (G.), *mua* (H. R.), JŚ. *mada* (Pav. 387,18), Ś. *muda* (Mṛcch. 72,20; Karp. 22,9).—*vuda*=*vṛta* in AMg. *abhinivvuda*=*abhinivṛta* (Sūyag. 110,117 [°ni°]. 371), *nivvuda*=*nivṛta* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3; Sūyag. 550), *pāuda*=*prāvṛta* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 134,170), *parinivvuda*=*parinivṛta* (Kappas.) beside °*ya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *parivuda*=*parivṛta* (Ovav.), *saṁparivuda*=*saṁparivṛta* (Vivāhap. 186,830; Nāyādh. §4,130; p. 431,574,724,784, 1068,1074,1273,1290,1327; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *saṁvuda*=*saṁvṛta* (Āyār. 1,8,3,13;2,1,9,1; Sūyag. 81,117,144; Vivāhap. 942; Kappas.), *asaṁvuda* (Sūyag. 108,115), *susaṁvuda* (Sūyag. 141), beside *nivvua*, JM. *nivvuyā*, Ś. *nivvuda* (§51), M. *pāua* (H.), Dh. Ś. *pāvuda* (Mṛcch. 34,12; 72,2,9), Ś. *avāvuda*=*apāvṛta* (Mṛcch. 16,3,5,9), Ś. D. *parivuda*=*parivṛta* (Mṛcch. 6,6;106,1), Ś. *saṁvuda* (Mṛcch.15,7), AMg. *saṁvuyā* (Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *haḍa*=*hṛta* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *avahaḍa*=*apahrta* (Hc. 1,206), *abhihaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1,2;2,1,11;2,2,1,2), *ahaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,4;2,1,9,2; Sūyag. 382), *asamaḥaḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,5), *nihaḍa*=*nirhṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11;2,1,9,7;2,10,2,4), beside M. *hida*=*hṛta* (H.R.), Ś. *avahaḍa*=*apahrta* (Mṛcch. 52,13,21;53,2,21;55,16;74,12;78,2;89,9;147,17;154,13; Vikr. 41,12). According to Vr. 11,15 the cerebralization occurs also in Mg. in *kada*=*kṛta*, *maḍa*=*mṛta*, *gaḍa*=*gata*. So are found Mg. *kada* (Mṛcch. 17,8;32,5;127,23,24;132,10,11,12;149,24;154,20;164,10); *maḍa* (Mṛcch. 119,15), *maḍaa* (Caṇḍak. 63,11), *gaḍa* (Mṛcch. 10,6;13,8;20,16;36,13), beside *kada*, *kida* (§49), *gaḍa* (Mṛcch. 39,20;116,7;128,2;171,11; Prab. 50,6; Caṇḍak. 70,14; Venis. 34,9 etc.). *kada* occurs also in PG. 7,51 (cf. EI, 2,485) beside *adhikade*=*adhikṛtān* (5,5). *maḍa* is treated as provincial in Deśin. 6,141. On *kala*, *maḷa* see §244. Other examples of cerebralization from AMg. are: *dukkaḍi*=*duṣkṛtin* (Sūyag. 295); *uvakkhaḍei*=**upaskṛtiyati*, *uvakkhaḍāvei* (§559); *purēkkhaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (Paṇṇav. 796ff.); *niyaḍi*=*nikṛtin* (Dasav. 635,7), *niyaḍilla*=*nikṛtimat* (Uttar.990), *niyaḍillayā*=*nikṛtimattā* (Thān. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.); *saṁkhaḍi*=*saṁskṛti* (Āyār.

1,8,1,18), *pagadi*=*prakṛti* (Thān. 216; Vivāhap. 74), JŚ. *payadi* (Kattig. 399,308), beside *pagai* (Ovav.; Kappas.), M. *paai* (H.R.), Ś. *paidi* (Śak. 35,8;66,8;117,11;153,14; Vikr.73,12;75,4); *vaḍimsa*, *vaḍimsaga*, *vaḍimsaya*=*avataṁsa*, *avataṁsaka* (§ 103); *vejāvadīya* beside *vejāvacca*=*vaiyāpṛtya* (LEUMANN, Ovav. s.v. *vejāvacca*). Doubtful is the meaning of Mg. *viḍaitta*, *ppaḍavadi* (Mṛcch.165,11). Lalitadikṣita's explanation by *viṭaṭṭa*, *pratapati* in GODABOLE p. 448 is forced. Presumably we should read: *viḍhatte cede kiṁ na pḥalavadi*=*viḍagḍhaśceṭaḥ kiṁ na pralapati*. On *viḍhatta* cf. M. *dhajjai*, Ś. *dhajjadi*, *viḍhajjia*, Mg. *dhayyadi* (§212), on *ppalavadi*, the v.l. *ppatabadi* in GODABOLE.

§220. In some cases the cerebralization does not take place as a rule: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paṭṭhā*=*pratiṭhā* (Hc.1,206; G.R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mālav. 66,18;69,5), beside AMg. *apaḍinna*=*apratijña* (Āyār.1,8,1,19,22; 1,8,2,5.11.16;1,8,3,9.12.14;1,8,4,6.7.14); AMg. JM. *paṭṭhāna*=*pratiṭhāna* (Thān. 513; Nāyādh. 623; Vivāhap. 418,447; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also in the proper name of the town JM. Ś. *paṭṭhāna* (Āv. 21,1; Kk. 269,44 [so to be read in place of *payā*]; Vikr. 23,14;73,11 [so to be read with all the MSS. (p.255), the Indian editions and the Dravidian recensions]), as also in the Leṇa-dialect *paṭhāna* beside *patiṭhāna* (Arch. Survey of Western India 5,76,8); AMg. *paṭṭhā*=*pratiṭhā* (Hc.1,206); AMg. JM. *paṭṭhiya*=*pratiṭhita* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), beside M. *paḍiṭṭhiya* (G.R.), AMg. *paḍiṭṭhiya* (Ovav.); AMg. *paṭṭhāvaya*=**pratiṭhāpaka* (Ovav.), JM. *paṭṭhāvīya*=*pratiṭhāpita* (T.7,2; Erz.), beside M. *paḍiṭṭhāvīya* (R.), Ś. *paḍiṭṭhāvehi*=*pratiṭhāpaya* (Ratn. 295,26); JM. *paḍiṇaṁ*=*pratiḍinam* (Erz.; Kk.), *paḍiṇaṁ*=*pratiḍivasam* (Kk.), *paṭṭhāvaṇa*=*pratiṭhāvaṇa* (Hc.1,206), *paṭṭhāvaṇa*=*pratiṭhāvaṇa* (7,1); also in independently standing *prati*, JM. *paṭ* (Kk.), Ś. *paḍi* (Cait.88,12;90,4.5); *paṭṭhā*=*pratiṭhā* (Hc.1,206; Pāyāl.154), beside Mg. *viḥpaḍiṭṭhā*=*viḥpaṭṭhā* (Mṛcch. 29,23), Dh. *viḥpaḍiṭṭhā* (Mṛcch. 30,11.12; cf. GODABOLE p. 86,1.2); M. JM. *samṭhā*=*samprati* (Hc.1,206; Pāyāl. 67; G.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), JM. *samṭhāvaṇa*=*samprataṁ* (Pāyāl. 67; Erz.; Kk.), beside Ś. Dh. *samṭhāvaṇa* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; 36,9;42,9; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12; Vikr.26,12;27,21;46,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *samṭhāvaṇa* (e.g. Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2.4.5;38,19;99,11;119,11; 153,22; Prab. 58,17).

§221. *tha*, through *ṭha*, becomes *dha* initially in M. *dhakkai*, *dhakkei* (covers; disguises; closes; Hc.4,21; H.), JM. *dhakkemi* (T.7,9), *dhakkeṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 499,8), Ś. *dhakkehi* (Mṛcch. 36,3); Mg. *dhakkida*, *dhakkedha* (Mṛcch. 79,17;164,14), also with infixed nasal *dhāṁkissam* (Prab. 58,10; so to be read; BROCKHAUS *ṭāṁkissam*, ed. Bomb. P. *dhāṁkissam*, (ed. M. *thagatissam*=Pāli *thaketi*¹, *dhāṁkai* (cover; Deśin. 4,14); *dhakka* (covetous; Erz.); cf. §309. Medially in M. *kadhā*=*kvathati* (Vr.8,39; Hc.4,119.220; Ki. 4,46), *kadhāmaṇa* (G.), *kadhāsi*, *kadhāsu* (H. 401; so to be read), *kadhā* (Karp. 40,2), Ś. *kadhāmaṇa* (Anarghar. 270,1; text *ṛija*), *kadhā* (Karp. 82,7), AMg. *sukadhāya* (Jiv. 823,860f.); AMg. *gadhiya*=*grathita* (Āyār.1,2,3,5.4.2.5,4 [text *ṛadh*]; 1,4,4,2;1,6,5,5;1,8,1,9;2,1,8,2; Sūyag. 84,601.699.751; Thān. 156; Vivāhap. 450.1128; Nāyādh. 433.606; Vivāgas.87 [text *ṛadh*].92), *agadhāya* (Āyār.2,1,5,5; Panhāv.359.370); *niṣidha* beside *niṣiḥa*=*niṣiṭṭha* (Hc.1,216). In Ś. occurs *niṣidha* (Mallikām. 201,6; 209,18) as well as *niṣiḥa* (Kāleyak. 26,2) falsely for *niṣidha*. AMg. *nijjūḍha*=*nirjūṭha* (expelled; singled out; Nāyādh. 323; Vivāhap. 134; Dasav. 631,11;644,12.19.21.22.24), *anijjūḍha* (Vivāhap. 134), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*=*yūtha* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 42,7; Erz.; Vikr. 56,21), Ś. *jūḍha* (Caṇḍak. 17,12), M. *jūhiā*=*yūthikā* (G.), AMg.

jūhiyā (Kappas.), Ś. *jūdhiā* (Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 16,2; 17,2; 21,14 [text everywhere °hi^o]), AMg. *nijjūhūhaga* = **niryūthaka*, *nijjūhiya* = **niryūthita* (Dasav. 644, 16, 17), JM. *nijjūhiyāi* (Āv. 42, 15); *paḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *puḍhuma* beside P. *puḍhuma* = *prathama* (§104); *puḍhavi* beside *puḍhavi*, *puḍhai* = *prithvi* (§51)²; AMg. *puḍho* = *prthak*, beside *puḍhita*, *puḍhatta* = *prthakto* (§78); AMg. *meḍhi* = *methi* (Hc. 1,215; Nāyādh. 630; Uvās.); *saḍhila*, *pasadhila*, *siḍhila*, *pasidhila* = *sihila*, *prasithila* (§115).

1. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 2f. The word presupposes one Skt. **sthak*, Cf. § 309. Not quite correct FISCHER, BB. 15, 125. — Artificial and false BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 164f.

§222. Initially *da* has become *ḍa* in M. AMg. JM. in the roots *daś* and *dah* and their derivatives (Hc. 1,217,218; Mk. fol. 17). Vr. 2,35 mentions *daśana* only, Ki. 2,42 besides also *dahana*, for which they, like Mk., require the change compulsorily, whilst Hc. 1,217 permits it optionally in *daśana*, *daṣṭa*, *dagdha*, *dāha*, but for the roots themselves he always prescribes it. We find JM. *ḍasāi*, but AMg. *dasamāṇa* (cf. v.l.), *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); M. *ḍaṭṭha* (H.) and M. JM. *ḍaṭṭha* (R.; Kk.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍakka* (§566); AMg. *saṃḍāsa* = *saṃdamśa* (Uttar. 593); *uḍḍasa* (bug; Deśin. 1,96); *uḍḍasa* (pain; Deśin. 1,99); but AMg. JŚ. *damśa* = *damśa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28; Ovav.; Kattig. 401,353); Dh. *ḍaṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 39,8); M. *dasana* (G.), and so always in Ś. according to Vr. 12,31, which retains the dental initially even in the root: *dasanādasani* (Latakam. 7,6), *damśaḍi* (Śak. 160,1), *ḍaṭṭha*, *damśida* (Mālav. 53,17; 54,6). So also *dāḍhā* = *damṣṭrā* (§76). — *dah* forms *ḍahai* (H.), JM. *ḍahe* (Erz. 38,18), AMg. *ḍahaha* (Sūyag. 596), *ḍahejjā* (Dasav. 634,5), *ḍahijjā* (Sūyag. 783); M. *ḍahiūṇa* (H.R.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhai* (Hc. 4,246; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2; 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 273; Uttar. 282,284), M. *ḍajjhasi*, *ḍajjhasu* (H.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhanti* (G.; Paṇhāv. 381; Dvār. 498,26), M. *ḍajjihisi* (H.); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,35); JM. *ḍajjhae* (Dvār. 498,22); AMg. *ḍajjhantu* (Paṇhāv. 127; M. AMg. *ḍajjhanta* (G.R.; Karp. 87,9; Jiv. 591; Paṇhāv. 63; Paṇnav. 99; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), JM. *ḍajjhinti* (Dvār. 499,23); AMg. JM. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270,286; Paṇhāv. 59,217; Uttar. 446; Dvār. 498,25), °*ni* (Uttar. 284; Dvār. 498,28; 499,7); AMg. *viḍajjhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. *aḍajjha* (Thān. 146); M. *ḍaddha* (H.R.), but only R. 3,48 in *ḍaddhaa* without a v.l., everywhere else with v.l. *ḍaddha*, as also AMg. JM. have (G. 3,16; Sūyag. 288,783; Paṇhāv. 176; Paṇnav. 848; Vivāhap. 13,16,617; Āv. 9,16,20; 19,13,15; Dvār. 499,21,22,500,16; 501,34), M. without v.l. only R. 7,52. Cf. Ki. 2,17. In M. the cerebralization is so preponderant, that certainly also at R. 15,58 with v.l. should be read *ḍahium*¹, in spite of JM. *dahium* [Erz. 24,25). In compounds the dental seems to prevail: *viḍaddha* (Ki. 2,17); M. *viḍaddha* = *viḍagdha* (G.H.; Anarghar. 20,3); JM. *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17), AMg. *niddahejjā* (Uttar. 363), JM. *niddaddha* (Dvār. 504,9,10); AMg. *saṃḍadhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); otherwise, except in *ḍaddha*, it is testified to with outright uncertainty, as *ḍahiyai* (Hc. 4,246), AMg. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 13,16,617), probably under the influence of the adjacent *ḍaddha*, as JM. *ḍahai* (Erz. 3,18), through the preceding parallel *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17). In Ś. the dental remains, except in the cases of transimposition of breath (§212), throughout: *dahidum* (Śak. 72,12); *ḍaddha* = *dagdha* (Anarghar. 150,4; text *daddha*; cf. also ed. Calc. 89,2); *viḍaddha* = *viḍagdha* (Mālatim. 76,6; 250,3; Hāsy. 25,8; 22,31,17). In derivatives the cerebralization is found e.g. in M. AMg. *dāha* (Pāiyal. 46; H.; Āyār. 2,10,17), M. JM. *dahana* (Pāiyal. 6; G.; Erz.) beside JM. *dahana* (Erz.; Kk.). So also *ḍaddhāḍi* (way of the forest fire; Deśin. 4,8) from *dagdha* + *vāḍi* (way) with contraction according

to §167. For *da* appears *ḍa*, further in the anlaut in JM. *ḍaṇḍa*=*daṇḍa* (Vr. 2,35; C.3,16; Hc. 1,217 Ki. 2,42; Mk. fol. 18; Āv. 47,26ff.), beside the common *daṇḍa* of all the dialects (e.g. M. G.H.R.; AMg. Āyār. 1,8,1,7 [v.l. *ḍa°*]. 8; 1,8,3,7,10; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; JM. Erz.; Kk.; JŚ. Kattig. 401,345ff.; Ś. Vr. 12,31; Mrcch. 41,6; 155,5; Śak. 125,1; 130,4; Mālav. 71,6,78,7; Prabh. 4,3; Mg. Mrcch. 154,10; 155,5); *ḍabbha*=*darbha* (Hc. 1,217), beside M. AMg. *dabbha* (G.; Śak. 85,2; Uvās.); *ḍambha*, beside *dambha*=*dambha* (Hc. 1,217), to which *ḍambhia*=*dāmbhika* (gamester; Deśin. 4,8) also belongs; AMg. JM. *dahara*=*dahara* (young; Deśin. 4,8; Pāiyāl. 58; Āyār. 2,11,18; Sūyag. 100.113.472.515; Antag. 55; Dasav. 623,20; 633,28 32.35; 636,14; 637,7; Āv. 42,16); *ḍolā*=*dolā* (Grr.; Deśin. 4,11; Pāiyāl. 232), beside M. Ś. *dolā* (Vr. 12,31; Hc.; Mk.; G.; Karp. 23,5; 54,10; 55,4; 57,2 5,7; Mālav. 32,12; 34,12; 39,7,15; 40,5; Karp. 54,5; 58,1; Viddhaś. 117,1), M. *ḍolāia*=*dolāyita* (under H. 966), beside Ś. *dolāamāna* (Mrcch. 68,14); in addition also *ḍola* (eye; Deśin. 4,9; Triv. 1,3,105), *ḍolia* (antelope; Deśin. 412)²; AMg. JM. *ḍohaḷa*=*dohada* (Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; Nāyādh.; Erz.), beside the common M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḷa* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; H.R.; Vivāgas. 116; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Mālav. 30,13; 34,13; 36,2; 40,6; 48,14; Karp. 20,2,6; 64,9; 66,1; Ratn. 297,32), M. Ś. *dohaḷaa*=*doholaka* (H.; Karp. 62,9; Viddhaś. 121,5; Ratn. 300,17). Cf. §244.436. In AMg. the anlaut of reduplication is cerebralized in *āḍahai*=*ādadhāti* (Ovav. § 44), *āḍahanti*=*ādadhāti* (Sūyag. 286)³. Cf. §223.500. *dara* becomes *ḍara* in the meaning "fear", (Hc. 1,217), as *darati* in the meaning "fears", "trembles", *ḍarai* (Hc. 4,198)⁴; on the other hand, the dental remains in the meaning "something", "a little", "half": M. JM. Ś. (Hc. 1,217; 2,215; Deśin. 5 33; Pāiyāl. 212; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,14; 56,7; 66,11; Erz. Mālaūm. 118,5; Uttarar. 125,4; Caṇḍak. 16,16; Viddhaś. 117,4; 126,3). *dara* "fear" with a dental in R. 6,56 stands for the sake of rhyme with *kandara*. In the inlaut *da* appears for *da* in *kaḍaṇa* beside *kaṇa* (Hc. 1,217); M. *khudīa*, Ś. *khudida*=**kṣudita*=*kṣuṇṇa*, M. *ukkhudīa*=**utkṣudita* (§ 568); AMg. *tudiya*=**tudita* (§ 258); Mg. *hadakka*=**hrdaka* (§ 194). *saḍai* belongs according to Hc. 4,219, to *saḍ*, according Vr. 8,51 and Ki. 4,46, to *śad*. Probably it is to be rightly connected with *śaṭ*, in favour of which are AMg. *paḍisaḍenti*, *paḍisaḍittā* (Āyār. 2,15,18), JM. *paḍisaḍaṇa* (Kk. 268,22)⁵.

1. FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 327. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho p. 322, note 5, who completely overlooks the dialectal distinction.—2. FISCHER, BB 6,89.—3. JACOBI (SBE. 45,45,283), with the commentary, falsely derives the form from *dah* "to burn".—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1,217; 4,198.—5. So probably more correctly than Hc. 4,219.

§223. In the anlaut *dha* has become *ḍha* in M. *ḍhaṅkha*, AMg. *ḍhaṅka*, *ḍhinka*=Pāli *ḍhaṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*, *ḍhēṅkī*=*dhvāṅkṣī* (§ 213); in the inlaut in AMg. *niṣaḍha*, *niṣaḍha*=*niṣadha* (Hc. 1,226; Mk. fol. 17; Thāp. 72.75.176; Samav. 19.161.162; Jiv. 583; Nāyādh. 668; Nirayāv. 79ff.; Paphāv. 243; Rāyap. 177), but *niṣaha* (Sūyag. 313); *osaḍha* (Hc. 1,227; Ki. 2,1; Mk. fol. 17), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha* (C. 2,8; Hc. 1,227; H.; Vivāhap. 516; Uttar. 602. 918; Sūyag. 771; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,362; Mālav. 26,15) and Ś. *osaḍha* in *laddhosadha* (Śak. 56,16)=*auṣadha*¹. To it belongs also AMg. JM. *āḍhāi*=**ādhāti*=*āda-dhāti* (§ 500)², causative *ādhavaṭi*, *viḍhavaṭi*, passive causative *ādhappai*, *ādhavaṭi*, *viḍhappai*, *viḍhaviṭṭai* (§ 286), participles M. AMg. JM. *ādhatta*, M. *samādhatta*, M. JM. Ś. *viḍhattaṭi*, A. *viḍhatta* (§ 565). The derivation, going back to Hc. 2,138, of *ādhatta*, from *ārabdha*³, is linguistically impos-

sible. To *dhā*, not to *dr*, belongs also *ādhia* (desired; fit to be set; attractive; stable; Hc. 1,143; Deśin. 1,74), JM. *ādhiya* (Āv. 43,25) = **ādhiya* = *āhita*. For cerebralization one may compare *saddhā* = *śraddhā*, *saḍḍha* = *śraddha*, *saḍḍhi* = *śraddhin* (§ 333) and AMg. *āḍahāi*, *āḍahanti* (§ 222).

1. Wrongly connects E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57, *ādhāi* to *ārādhati*, and HOERNLE, Uvās., Transl. note 306, to *ardhayati* or to *ārdayati*.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57; WEBER, Hāla s.v. *ādhatta*; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512, note*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *rabh*; ZDMG. 29,494. Falsely also JACOBI, KZ. 28,253.

§224. In all the dialects, except PG. VG. AMg. JM. JŚ. P.CP., in the anlaut, as in the inlaut, *na* is always changed into *ṇa* (Vr. 2,42; Hc. 1,228; Kī. 2,106; Mk. fol. 18); M. *ṇa* = *na*; *ṇaṇa* = *nayana* (G.H.R.)¹; *ṇaliṇi* = *nalini*; *ṇāsana* = *nāsana* (R.); *ṇihana* = *nidhana* (G.R.); *ṇihāṇa* = *nidhāna*; *ṇihvaṇa* = *nidhuvana* (H.); *ṇūṇaṃ* (H.), *ṇūṇa* (G.R.) = *nūṇam*. Likewise Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā.D.A. In AMg. JM. JŚ. single *n* in the beginning of words and doubled *n* within words may be retained. Kī. 2,107 generally permits dental *n* in the anlaut: *ṇai* or *ṇai* = *nadi*. In the palm-leaf MSS. even in AMg. and JM. generally, and in Kī. throughout, *ṇa* is written, while the paper manuscripts, in the anlaut, and often also in the doublings, retain *n*². In the particle *ṇaṃ* = *nūṇam*, always *ṇ* is written, which is explained by the fact that *n* originally stood in the inlaut and that *ṇaṃ* is enclitic (§150). The Jainas transfer this orthographical device also to other dialects, so that it, sometimes wrongly also in M., e.g. in Gaṇḍa-vaho, has been retained by the editors according to the MSS. The statement, that in AMg. even a medial simple *na* is sometime retained as in *āranāla*, *anila*, *anala* in Hc. 1,228, probably is based purely upon false readings. Epigraphically *na* is written falsely in Ś. *nomālie* = *navamālike* (Lalitav. 560,9.17 beside *ṇomālie*) and Mg. *nijhala* = *nirjhara* 566,9 whilst *niram̐tara* (561,2) and *nia* (567,1) are printing mistakes³. In PG., with the exception of *madena* (6,40), *na* in the inflectional endings undergoes cerebralization throughout: *ṇallavāṇa* (5,2), *vaṭṭhavāṇa* = *vāstavyāṇam* (6,8) *baṃhaṇāṇaṃ* = *brāhmaṇāṇam* (6,8.27.30.38), *kātūṇaṃ* = **kṛtvāṇam* (6,10.29), *nātūṇaṃ* = **jñātvāṇam* (6,39), *likhiteṇa* (7,51), otherwise the simple *na* in the inlaut is partly retained, as *senāpati* (5,3), *vadhanike* = **var-dhanikān* (6,9), *aneṇa* (6,10), **ṇpadāyino* = **pradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *sātāhani* (6,27), *vinesi* (26,31), partly it becomes *ṇa*, as in *maṇuṣāṇa* = *maṇuṣyāṇam* (5,7), *dāṇi* = *idāṇim* (5,7), *appaṇo* = *ātmanah* (6,8), *sāsaṇassa* = *sāsanaṣa* (6,10), *nivataṇaṃ* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *anu*^o = *anu*^o (7,45). In the anlaut, on the other hand, as well the doubled one in the inlaut, the dental *na* always remains: *neyike* = *naiyikān* (5,7), *kumāraṇaṃdi* (6,17), *naṃdiṇasa* = *nandi-jasya* (6,21), *nāgaṇaṃdisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *nivataṇaṃ* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *saṃvinayika* (6,32), *nigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41), *narādhamo* (7,47), *anne* = *anyān* (5,6; 7,43). So the inscription distinguishes also in the case of the secondary simplified nasal, derived from *jña*: *āṇataṃ* = *ājñāptari* (7,49), where *jña* is taken as in the inlaut, beside *nātūṇaṃ* = **jñātvāṇam* (6,39). The inscription thus agrees on the last two points generally with the more modern Jaina manuscripts⁴. So also in VG.: *ṇallavāṇaṃ* (101,2); *nārāyaṇassa* (101,8), *vaddhaṇiyaṃ* (101,8), *kātūṇa* (101,9), *nātūṇa* (101,10; cf. EI. 1,2 note 2). In P. CP. *na* remains throughout: P. *dhana*, *matana* = *madana*, *satana* = *sadana*, *vatanaka* = *vadanaka*, *cintayamāni* = *cintayamānā*, *gantūṇa* = **gantvāṇa*, *naṭṭhūṇa* = **naṣṭvāṇa* etc., also *sināna* = *snāna*, *sināta* = *snāta*, *sunuṣā* = *snuṣā*: CP. *matana* = *madana*, *tanu*, *nakara* = *nagara* etc. (Vr. 4,7.13; Hc. 4,304.307.310.312.313.314.325.328; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kavyālaṃ-kāra 2,12).

1: Cf. §186, note 1.—2. LEUMANN, *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* p. 6, note 4. On the flexibility of the manuscripts see WEBER, *Bhag.* 1,402f.; E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge* p. 29f.; JACOB, *ZDMG.* 34,181, according to whom even in the oldest manuscripts *ṇa* appears not rarely; STEINTHAL, *Specimen* p. 3.—3. KONOW, *GN.* 1894,480.—4. Not quite correctly BÜHLER, *El.* 1,3.

§225. Very rarely and that only dialectically the cerebrals of Skt. become dentals. In P. *tu* can become *ṭu* (Hc. 4,311); *kutumbaka* beside *kuṭumbaka*. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na*: P. *gunaganayutta*=*gunagaṇayukta*; *gunena*=*gunēna*; *talunī*=*taruṇī*; *visāna*=*viṣāṇa*; *gahana*=*grahāṇa* (Vr. 10,5; C. 3,38; Hc. 4,306.309.323; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, *Kāvya-lāmākāra* 2,12); CP. : *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *paṇaya*=*praṇaya*, *nakhataṭṭapanesum*=*nakhadarpaṇeṣu*, *pātukkhēpeṇa*=*pādotkṣēpeṇa* (Hc. 4,325.326). According to Sīmḥadevagaṇin on *Vāgbhātā-lāmākāra* 2,12 *ṇa* should become *na* also in Mg.: *taluna*=*taruṇa*. S. has confused Mg. with P. In AMg. JM. JŚ., the manuscripts write *ṇna* for *ṇa* of the other dialects, except that of P.CP., just as for the dental *ṇna* (§ 224). *niṣanna*=*niṣaṇṇa*; *paḍipunna*=*pratipūrṇa*; *vanna*=*varṇa*; also in the case of the secondary *ṇna*, as *anna*=M. Ś. *aṇṇa*=Skt. *anya* etc.

§226. Dentals could have occurred for cerebrals to a greater extent if the grammarians, with whom the North Indian manuscripts agree, were correct, in saying that *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ṇa* could become *la* (Vr. 2,22.23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,197.198.202.203, Ki. 2,12.13; Mk. fol. 16). In lieu of *la*, however, *ṭa* should always be written, as in similar cases in Pāli¹. The North Indian manuscripts know *la* as little as the *anunāsika* (§ 179), even not in the cases, as Hc. 4,308, where for P. transition of *la* into *ṭa* is required². Trivikrama's *grantha*-manuscripts write in this place 3,2,48 (MS. B. 39) throughout *ṭa*, in the rules corresponding to Hc. 1,197.202, in the *sūtras*, it is true, they write *la*, and in the examples, with a some exceptions, that are scribe's errors, as is shown by the variation of the manuscript³, only *ṭa*. The edition in the *Granthapradarśanī* has only *ṭa*. It is so in the *sūtra* 1,3,24, peculiar to Trivikrama : *ṭor baḍiśāḍau laḥ*. The manuscripts of the texts and the impressions fluctuate; e.g. in Hc. 1,202 stands *kīlāi*=*kriḍati*; in Triv. 1,3,30 the manuscript has A. *kīlāi*, B. *kīlāi*; Śak. 155,1, the Bengali and Nāgari MSS. have *kīlaṇaam*=*kriḍanākam*, 155,12 *kīliṣam* or wrongly *kīliṣam*=*kriḍiṣyāmi*. Of the South Indian manuscripts the *Grantha*-manuscript L⁴ reads *kīlaṇijjam*=*kriḍanīyam*, but *kīliṣam*, the Telugu-manuscript F *kīlaṇijjam* and *kīliṣam*, P. *kīlaṇam*, but *kīliṣam*, the Malayālam-manuscript V *kīlaṇīyam*, but *kīliṣam*, the Telugu edition, Madras 1874 p. 304 *kīlaṇaam* and p. 305 *kīlaṣam*; Vikr. 41,7;52,9 has for *kīḍiṣam* *kīlāmāṇā*, in the South-Indian recension 643,1;650,17 *kīliṣam*, *kīlāmāṇā*, 31,17 for *kīlāpavvadaperante*=*kriḍāparvataparyante*, 636,17 *kīlāpavvade*=*kriḍāparvate*; Mālav. 60,11 even the Telugu manuscript of the India Office has *kīliṣam*; in Mālatīm. 142,1 the Telugu edition 123,8 reads *kīlaṇādo* for *kīlaṇādo* etc. Similar is the case with other words. The South-Indian texts mostly have *ṭa*, which they employ in Skt. too in the same cases in which they use *ṇa*, so that they, e.g. write *tarāṭa*, *marāṭa*, *sarāṭa*, etc. The Bhaṭṭiprolu- Inscription I,A⁵, writes *phāḷiga*=*sphāḷika*, while PG. has *pīlā*=*pīḍā* (6,40), for which *pīlā* was expected⁶. In agreement with Pāli *ṭa* is to be assumed for Pkt. when it stands for *ṭa*, *ḍa*. Therefore, there has not occurred a transition from one class to another. When *ḍa* and *ṭa* are mentioned to be of a similar sound by Hemacandra on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 258 (p. 322 ed. BÖHTLINGCK), *Sarasvatik.* p. 98, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Alamkāratilaka* p. 14, *Sāhityadar-*

pana 261,11, and Kālidāsa, Raghuv. 9,46 permits *bhujalatām* to alliterate with *jaḍatām* (*ḍalayarabhedah* says Mallināth on it), this is explained by the fact that in Classical Skt. of the North *ḷa* had vanished in writing and speaking, but it proves nothing for Pkt.⁷ in relation the modern Indian languages. Cf. §238.240.

1. E. KUHN p. 36f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 27.—2. See the critical note to this rule.—3. So writes, e.g. in 1,3,30 A. *valahāmuham*, B. *valāmuham*; A. *galulo*, B. *garulo*=*garuḍaḥ*; A. *talāam*, B. *taḷāam*=*taḷākam*; in 1,3,24 A. *valisaṃ*, B. *baḷisaṃ*=*baḷisaṃ* etc.—4. On the notation of the manuscripts see GN. 1873,190f.—5. EI. 2,324.—6. On the inscriptional occurrences of *ḷa* see BÜHLER, EI. 2,368; FLEET, CII. 3,4,269.—7. FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 50; on Hc. 1,202; 4,326.

§227. Except in Dh. and Mg. *śa* and *ṣa* have become *sa* in Pkt., so that most of the dialects have the dental sibilant only (Vr. 2,43; Hc. 1,260; Ki. 2,103; Mk. fol. 18). PG. *śivakhaṃdavamō*=*śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *visae*=*viṣaye* (5,3), *peṣaṇa*=*prīṣaṇa* (5,6), *yaṣo*=*yaśaḥ* (6,9), *sāsaṇassa*=*sāsanaṣya* (6,10), *sata*=*śata* (6,11), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6,16), *sāka*=*śāka* (6,34), *visaya*=*viṣaya* (6,35) and others; M. *asesa*=*aśeṣa* (G.H.), *āśivisa*=*āśviṣa* (R.), *kesa*=*keśa* (G.H.R.), *ghosa*=*ghoṣa* (G.H.), *paṣu*=*paśu* (G.), *maṣi*=*maṣi* (H.R.), *mahisa*=*mahiṣa* (G.H.R.), *rosa*=*roṣa* (G.H.R.), *sisira*=*śisira* (G.H.R.), *sisu*=*śisu* (G.); Ś. *kidavisesaḥ*. *sohadi*=*kṛtaviśeṣakā*... *sobhate* (Mṛcch. 2,21), *pariśilīdāśesadesamtaravavahāro*=*pariśilītaśeṣadesāntaravavahārah* (Lalitav. 560,19), *śasiseharavallabhā*=*śaśisekharavallabhā* (Lalitav. 561,9), *sussūsīdāpuruvvo* *sussūsīdavo*=*śuśrūṣitāpūrvah* *śuśrūṣitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23). Likewise AMg. JM. JŚ. P. CP. Ā.D.A.

§228. In Dh. *śa* has become *sa*, but *śa* has been retained: *esa*, *esu*, *eso*=*eśaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,10;31,8;34,17;35,15;36,23); *puliso*=*puṛuṣaḥ* (34,12); *mūśido*=*mūṣitaḥ* (38,18;39,1); *samaviṣamam*, *sakaluṣakam* (so to be read!)=*samaviṣamam*, *sakaluṣakam* (v. l. *aḷkasaraṃ*=*atīkṛṣṇam*; 30,8,9); however, *ādamśāmi* (so to be read!)=*ādarśayāmi* (34,25); *jaśam* [so to be read]=*yaśaḥ* (30,9); *daśasuvanna*=*daśasuvārṇa* (29,15;30,1;31,4 etc.); *śalanam* (to be read so!)=*śaraṇam* (30,4); *śunṇu*=*śūnyaḥ* (30,11); *śela*=*śaila* (30,17). See § 25.

§229. In Mg., according to Mk. fol. 85 also in Vṛcāḍa Apabhraṃśa, and as it appears, in Kaikeyapaiśācika too, *śa* and *ṣa*, when not conjoined, become *śa* in the inlaut and in the anlaut; *śa* itself is retained (Vr. 11,3; C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Ki. 5,86; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12). The rule is valid also when the sounds are combined with *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* or when they are in a consonant group split up by a separation vowel or are otherwise resolved through the phonetic laws of Pkt.: *īdiśaśśa* *akayyaśśa*=*īdrśayākāryasya* (Śak. 113,5); *avaśaśvaśaḥpaṇṇa*=*avasaroḥpaṇṇa* (Śak. 115,10); *keśeśu*=*keśeṣu* (Mṛcch. 122,22; Venis. 35,19); *duśśaśaśśa*=*duḥśāśanasya* (Mṛcch. 12,15; Venis. 35,12), *puliśa*=*puṛuṣa* (§ 124); *bhūśaśaśadda*=*bhūṣaśaśabda* (Mṛcch. 14,23); *mahiśamahāśula*=*mahiṣamahāśura* (Candak. 68,16); *mānuśamaśśa*=*mānuṣamāśa* (Venis. 33,3); *māśaśāśi*=*māśarāśi* (Mṛcch. 14,10); *lāeśi*=*rājārṣi* (Venis. 34,1); *lośaggi*=*roṣāgni* (Mṛcch. 123,2); *lośamalīśa*=*palavvaśa*=*roṣamaṣapaṇaśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); *valīśaśada*=*varṣaśata* (Venis. 33,4); *viśakaṇṇa*=*viśakanyakā* (Mudrār. 193,3;194,6); *viśeśa*=*viśeṣa* (Mṛcch. 38,13); *viśśavaśśa*=**viśvāvasuśya*=*viśvāvasoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9); *śalīla*=*śalila* (Mṛcch. 136,11;158,13); *śalīla*=*śarīra* (Mṛcch. 124,21;127,5; 140,10;154,10; Venis. 34,1); *śaśaśśa*=*sahasra* (§ 448); *śamaśśaśadu*=*samāśvaśitu* (Mṛcch. 130,17); *śamāśśaśi*=*samāśvāśyate* (Venis. 34,13);

śilasi=śirasi (Mṛcch. 116,15); *śilīsomeśalaeṇa=śrīsomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); *śivīṇaniveśa=śibīraniveśa* (Lalitav. 565,6); *śoṇidavaśāsamuddaduś-samcāla=śoṇīṭavaśāsamudraduśsamcara* (Venīś 34,5); *śośāvedum=śośayitum* (Mṛcch. 140,9).

2. RELATING TO PARTICULAR CONSONANTS.

§230. *ka* becomes *ca* in *kirāta*: M. *cilāa* (Vr. 2,33 [Bh. here and under 2,30 *cilāda*]; Hc. 1,183,254; Ki. 2,35,41; Mk. fol. 17 [*cilāda*]; R.), AMg. *cilāya* (Paṇhāv. 42; Paṇṇav. 58), femin. *cilāi* (Ovav.), *cilāiyā* (Vivāhap. 791; Rāyap. 288; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); cf. *cilātīputra* (commentary upon Rṣabhap. 38). In the meaning “Śiva” *ka* remains according to Hc. Mk. So M. *kirāa* (G. 35.) In Ś., according to Mk., *ka* remains in tribal names: *kirāda* (Bālar. 168,2; Karp. 90,8). *kirāya* occurs in Pāiyāl. 273.—*ka* is represented by *va* in *ovāsa=avakāśa* (Pāiyāl. 261; G.H.R.), beside *oāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.H.R.), M. Ś. *avaāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.; Mṛcch. 44,19; Vikr. 41,8, Prab. 46,2), JM. *avagāsa* (Erz.), AMg. *avagāsiya=*avakāśika* (Uvās.); *ovāsa=avakāśate* (Vr. 8,35; Hc. 4,179); M. *antovāsa=antaravakāśa* (G. 848; § 383)¹. Further in AMg. *jūva=yūka* (Jiv. 356), beside *jūā, ūā*, AMg. *jūyā* (§ 335); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. *thova=stoka* (Hc. 2,125; G.; Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 950; Thān. 238; Jiv. 798; Vivāhap. 26,423; Uttar. 311,959; Dasav. 621,13; Jīyak. 92; Ovav.; Kappas; Āv. 41,9; 43,3,5; Dvār. 504,8; Erz.; Kattig. 400,335 [text *thū*]; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. JM. *thovaya=stokaka* (Nāyādh.; Erz.), AMg. *thovayaram* (Jīyak. 92), JM. *thovāthovam* (Āv. 43,7), beside M. Ś. Mg. *thoa* (Hc. 2,45,115; G.H.R.; Karp. 10,6; 37,5; Ś. Karp. 45,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 157,6), *thōkka* (§ 90)²; AMg. *divadāha=dvīkārāha* (§ 450). *va* will have, according to § 199, originated from *pa*, therefore, it may be a case of interchange between gutturals and labials. Cf. § 231.266.286. On *paṭṭha*, supposed to be=*prakoṣṭha* see § 129; on *candimā*, supposed to be=*candrikā* § 103; on AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. A. *ga* for *ka*, § 192.202; on *kha, ha* for *ka*, see § 206.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. It is difficult to explain *v*, here, as in other cases, with FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1322, from the velar *k*. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 112, note 1, wrongly thinks that it was brought in to prevent hiatus, that is avoided in none of the dialects.

§ 231. *ga* appears as *va* in *ovāhai* beside *ogāhai=avagāhate* (Hc. 4,205)¹; AMg. *juvala=yugala* (Vivāhap. 962), *juvalaya=yugalaka* (Vivāhap. 82), *juvaliya=yugalita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); cf. § 286 *juppai*; AMg. *talāna=tadāga* (Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *talāga* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,2; Paṇhāv. 31,246,437,520; Paṇṇav. 84; Uttar. 884; Ovav.; Āv. 11,44,45; Erz.), AMg. *talāya* (Ovav.), *tadāga* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3); M. *talāa* (Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21 p. 50; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16; G.H. v.l.); Ś. *tadāga* (Mṛcch. 37,23; 151,15); M. *dūhava=durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115,192; Karp. 86,2), and according to its analogy with a lengthened vowel *sūhava=subhaga* (Hc. 1,113,192), according to Mk. fol. 39 also *duhavi, suhavi=durbhagā, subhagā*. Reversely *ga* occurs for *va* in AMg. JM. *agaḍa=avaṭa* (2,1,2,3; Ovav.; Erz.), beside *ayaḍa* (Deśin. 1,18; Pāiyāl. 130) and common *avaḍa*; AMg. *ninhaga=*nāhnava*² (heretic; Ovav. § 122), beside AMg. *ninhavējja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *ninhave* (Dasav. 631,31), *aninhavemāṇa* (Nāyādh. 883); cf. § 473; AMg. *anhaga=āsrava* (Paṇhāv. 324), beside *anhaya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6; Paṇhāv. 7; Ovav.)³, *pañhaya=prasava* (Vivāhap. 794), AMg. *mahānubhāga=mahānubhāva* (Bhag.; Ovav.)⁴. Cf. also AMg. *pariyāga, niyāga* (§ 254).—M. *puṇṇāma=puṇṇāga* (Hc. 1,190; R.), beside AMg. *puṇṇāga* (Āyār. 2,10,21; Nāyādh. 699. [°ṇṇā]), Ś. *puṇṇā* (Mallikām. 116,9), and *bhāminī=bhāginī* (Hc. 1,190), beside M. Ś. *mandabhāinī* (H.; Mṛcch. 22,25; 120,6; 170,3,25; Vikr. 84,21 and often) presuppose

the process of development *punṇāga*, **punṇāva*, *punṇāma* (§ 261)⁵. Skt. *puṇnāman* is a borrowing from Pkt. — *chāla* supposed to be = *chāga*, and *chā'i* = *chāgi* (Hc. 1,191) hav⁶, according to § 165, arisen from *chāgala*, *chāgali*. For Mg. *cheliā* (Laṭakam. 12,14) we have to read *chāliā*. Ś. has *chāgala* (Mr̥ch. 17,15). On *gha* for *ga* see § 209. Cf. § 230.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 216, note 35 — 2. So the word is not to be equated as = *nihava* (LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*). *i* stands for *ai* according to § 84. — Not correctly, LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.* — 4. So correctly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. anubhāga*. WEBER, *Bhag.* 2,290 thinks of Skt. *anubhāga*. To me the equation of AMg. *pūsamānaga* = Skt. *pūyamānava*, given by LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*, is not clear. The word *vaddhamānaga*, in *Ovav.* § 55, mentioned earlier, makes it probable that the word is to be equated as *pūyamāna* + *ka*. In no case, with LEUMANN, we can assume dropping off of *v*. — 5. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 15; Rāvanavaho, *Index* p. 172^a, note 1, who, rather wrongly, explains *va* as having been brought in to stop the hiatus. Cf. § 230, note 2.

§ 232. AMg. *āunṭana* is not, with Hc. 1,177, to be equated as = *ākuñcana*, but as = **ākuñṭana* from *Vkuta kauṭilye* (Dhātupāṭha 28,73), that is identical with *Vkuṭi vaikalye* (Dhātupāṭha 9,37). Hence it is derived from the present stem *ākuñṭa*, which occurs in AMg. *āunṭiya*, *āunṭijjā* (Vivāhap. 1151,1152)¹. To the same root belong Skt. *kuṭila*, Pkt. *kuḍilla kudillaa* (crooked; Deśin. 2,40; Pāiyāl. 155), *koḍila* (bad; Deśin. 2,40) and *kuṇṭi* 'bundle; Deśin. 2,34). — *khasia*, according to Hc. 1,193 = *khacita*, is rather = *kasita*, in conformity with Hc. 1,181; cf. § 206. — AMg. *pisalla* (Panhāv. 79 v. l.), *sapisallaga* (Panhāv. 525), that Hc. equates as = *piśāca*, will be = *piśācālaya*, according to § 150.165.194. *piśāca* becomes regularly M. Ś. *pisāa* (H.; *Prab.* 46,2; *Mudrār.* 186,4 [°ca]; 191,5 [°ca]), AMg. JM. *pisāya* (Thān. 90.138.229; Panhāv. 172.230.312; *Uvās.*; *Ovav.*; *Erz.*).

1. *āunṭāvēmi* (sic; Nāyādh. 603; commentary *āunṭāvēmi*), *āunṭēha*, *āunṭēhi* (sic; Nāyādh. 605) is a false reading for *āunṭāvēmi*, *āunṭēha*, *āunṭēnti*, as e. g. *āunṭai* (Thān. 152; *Sūyag.* 403), *āunṭāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2), *āunṭittas* (Kappas. Ś. § 49), *viunṭāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *viunṭana* (*Sūyag.* 476) are found. The forms belong to *Vṛtt*.

§ 233. *cha* remains unchanged in the anlaut. In the inlaut it becomes *ccha* after vowels, as in Skt., and after nasal vowels and nasals it remains *cha*, whether it be original or secondary. Thus M. *chala* (G.H.); *chavi* (G.R.); *chāā* = *chāyā* (G.H.R.); *chea* = *cheda* (G.H.R.); *icchaī* = *icchatī* (H.R.); *ucchaṅga* = *utsaṅga* (G.H.R.); *gacchaī* = *gacchatī* (H.); *puccaī* = *prcchatī* (R.); *mucchā* = *murchā* (R.); *pincha* = *piccha*, *puṁcha* = *pucca* (§ 74); *puñchaī* = *proñchatī* (Hc. 4,105). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. — AMg. *milakku* beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*, AMg. *micca* = *mleccha* (§ 84.105.136) are explained from the common basic form **mlaska*¹. In Mg. original as well as secondary *ccha* becomes *śca* (Hc. 4,295; Nāmisādh. on Rudrāṭa, *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 2,12); *īściadi* = **icchyate* = *isyate* (Śak. 118,6); *gaśca* = *gaccha* (Hc.; *Lalitav.* 566,18; Śak. 115,4), *gaścamha* = *gacchāma* (Śak. 118,7); *puścamde* = *prcchan* (*Lalitav.* 565,20); *maśca* from the usual Pkt. *maccha* = *matsya* (Mr̥ch. 11,11.12 [so to be read]; Śak. 114,2.9), *maścali* (fish; Śak. 118,2) = Gujarāṭi *māchalī*, Hindi *machalī*, Sindhi *machadī*²; *āvannaśca* = *āpannaśatsala*, *piścala* = *picchila* (Hc.; *Namis.*); *uścaladi* = *ucchalati*, *tiliści pēśkadī* = M. *tiricchi pēcchāi* = *tiryak prekṣate*, *puścadi* = *prcchatī* (Hc. 4,295); *yīvantavaśca* = *jīvadvaśā* (Hc. 4,302). The texts mostly have *ccha*: nevertheless there are distinct vestiges of this rule found in the MSS. So some MSS. have *gaścasi*, *gaśchasi*, *gaśca* for *gacchaśi*, *gaccha* (Mr̥ch. 20,14); Pṛthivīdhara in STENZLER p. 241 has *maścāśikā* for *macchāśikā* (Mr̥ch. 10,23); for *gaccha* (Mr̥ch. 132,16) there occur *gaśca*, *gaśsa*; for *āacchāmi* (Mr̥ch. 132,17), *āaścāmi*, *āaśvāmi*; for *āgacchadi* (Mr̥ch. 133,8), *āgaścadi*.

āgaśchadi etc.³ In the anlaut *cha* remains: *chāla* (Hc. 4,295), *chāā*=*chāyā* (Mudrār. 267,2). The *cha* of *chedaa* in *ganṭhichedaa*=*granṭhichedaka* (Śak. 115,4,12) may also be regarded as in the anlaut. The v. l. °*chedaā* in R, however, makes here the reading **ścedaa* more probable. See also §327.

1. E. KUHN, KZ. 25,327.—2. FISCHEL on Śakuntalā p. 199, note 1.—3. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881 p. 1319.

§234. In place of Skt. *ja* an old *ga* has been retained dialectically in the root *añj* and its derivatives in conjunction with certain prefixes: AMg. *abbhañgei* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8; 2,15,20), *abbhañgējja*=*abhyañjyāt*, commentary=*abhyañgyāt* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *abbhañgēttā*=**abhyañjitvā* (Āyār. 2,6,1,9; Thān. 126), *abbhañgāvei*=*abhyañjayati* (Vivāgas. 235; text °*bbhi*°); JM. *abbhañgijjaha*=*abhyañjayadhve* (Erz. 59,30), *abbhañgium* (Erz. 57,10); AMg. JM. *abbhañgiya* (Ovav. [°*bbhi*°]; Kappas.; Nāyādh. [°*bbhi*°]; Erz.); AMg. JM. *abbhañgaṇa*=*abhyañjana* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *abbhañgida*=*abhyakta* (Mṛcch. 69,7); AMg. *nirañgaṇa* (Ovav.) against M. *nirañjana* (G.H.). The guttural is found also in Skt. *abhyañga*=AMg. *abbhañga* (Ovav.). Sūyag. 248 has edited *muhabbhīmjāe*. In the simple root and its derivatives, in all the dialects, there occurs only *ja*.—AMg. *omugganimuggiya*, explained by the commentator with *majjanonmajjana*, is=**avamagnanimagnita*, as *ummaggā*, *ummuggā*=**unmagnā* (§ 104).

§ 235. Hc. 4,229 teaches that *j* in the root *srj* becomes *r*. His examples *nisirai*, *vosirai*, *vosirāmi*=*vyavasrjati*, *vyavasrjāmi* occur very frequently in AMg. JM. So AMg. *nisirāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), *nisirai* (Paṇṇav. 384f.; Vivāhap. 120f. 212,254,1217,1271 Nāyādh.), *nisirāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2,2,10); *nisirinti* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1; 2,5,2,3; 2,6,1,11; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 590 [°*ri*°]), *nisirāhi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1), *nisira* (Dasav. 632,28), *nisirinta*- (Sūyag. 680), *nisirittā* (absolutive: Vivāhap. 1251), *nisirijjamāna* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirāvēnti* (Sūyag. 680), substantive *nisiraṇa* (Dasav. N. 658,33); AMg. *vosirāmi* (Āyār. p. 132,2; 133,6,134,3; 136,5; Nāyādh. 1165; Vivāhap. 173; Dasav. 614,19; 616,20; Ovav.); JM. *vosirai* (Erz. 50,37); AMg. *vosirējjā* (Āyār. 2,10,1ff), *vosire* (Āyār. 1,7,8,22; Sūyag. 214; Uttar. 737,923; Dasav. 619,14); JM. *vosirasu* (Erz. 42,33); AMg. *vosirittā* (absol.; Āyār. 2,10,22); JM. *vosiriya* (Āv. 11,19; Erz. 50,36); AMg. *viosire* (Āyār. 2,16,1). The reference of these forms to *srj*¹ is impossible. Rather the AMg. JM. participle, *samosariya*=*samavasṛta* (Vivāgas. 151; Uvās. § 2.9.75.189; Nirayāv. §3; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 565) beside the more frequent *samosadha*=*samavasṛṣṭa* (§ 67), further AMg. *samosarējjā*, *samosariukāma* (Ovav.), *samosaraṇa* (Bhag.; Ovav.), shows that in AMg. JM. the roots *srj* and *sr* have coincided. *sr* forms *sarai*=*sṛati*, in the meaning "to go", "to run", but *sirai*=**sarāti* in the meaning "to cause to go", "to cause to run", "to let go" and so on. The coincidence of both the roots is proved, for example, also by AMg. *nisirijjamāna* beside *nisittā* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirai* (Vivāhap. 254) beside *nisittā* (Vivāhap. 257).

1. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 65; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vosir* and *viosagga*; JACOBI² Erz. s.v. *vosirai*.

§236. In Mg. *ja* becomes *ya* (Vr. 11,4; Hc. 4,292; Kī. 5,90; Nāmisādh on Rudratā, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12); *yānidavaṇam*=*jñātavyam*, *yāñiś-samha*=*jñāsyamah*, *yā[ne]*=*jāne*, *yāñiyy*.di=*jñāyate*, *yāñidam*=*jñātam*, *yampideṇa*=*jalpitena* (Lalitav. 565,7,9,13; 566,1,8,12); *yāñadi*=*jānāti* (Hc.; Namis.); *yaṇavada*=*janapada* (Hc.; Namis.); *yalahala*=*jaladhara* (Hc. 4,296); *yāyade*=*jāyate*, *yāā*=*jāyā* (Hc.). The MSS. of the dramas, with quite rare exceptions, write in Mg. too only *ja*, since in the North-Indian dialects *ya* and *ja* have in many cases coalesced together.¹ That is

simply a contribution of the scribe², and for *ja*, according to the grammarians, we have to substitute *ya* throughout, as has been done in this grammar. Therefore, e.g. one has to write for *jāla* (Śak. 114,2) *yāla*, with the MS. R; for *jamadaggi* (Mr̥chh. 12,12), *yamadaggi*; for *jādi* (Mr̥chh. 12,20), *yādi*; for *jāṇāsi* (Venis. 34,18), *yāṇāsi*; for *joisa* (Mudrār. 177,4), *yoisa*=*jyotiṣa*; for *jina* (Prab. 46,12), *yina*; for *janehim jammantala*^o (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *janehim yammantala*^o=*jñānairjanmāntara*^o etc. In the interior of the word simple *ja* drops out between vowels according to §186. Corresponding to *ya* for *ja*, *yha* will have to be written in cases like *yhaṇṇayyaṇanta*- for *jhaṇṇajjhaṇanta*- (Mr̥chh. 11,6), *yhatti* for *jhatti*=*jhaṭṭi* (Mr̥chh. 29,21; 114,21; 168,19) and in conjunct consonants, as in *niyyhala* for *nijjhala*=*nirjhara* (Lalitav. 566,9), *uyyha* for *ujjha*=*ujjhivā* (Mudrār. 178,6); *jjh* also in Hc. 4,302). Cf. § 217.280. In PG. VG., where *ja* otherwise remains (§ 189), it has become *ya* in PG.; *bhāradāyo*, *bhāradāya*^a, *bhāradāyasa*=*bhāradavājah*, *bhāradavāja*^o, *bhāradavājasya* (5,2; 6,16.19); VG. *bhāradāyassa* (101,2; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). Cf. § 253.—*uvvivaī*, according to Vr. 8,43; Hc. 4,227; Ki 5,46=*udvijate* is rather=**udvipate*=*udvepate*, as *uvvea* is not=*udvega* (Hc. 4,227), but=**udvepa*, from *Vviṣ*, *vepate*. On AMg. *murava*=*muraja* see §254.

I. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. § 23; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 17.—2. So correctly already LASSEN, Inst. § 154,3. Cf. above § 23.

§237. Independent *ña* occurs in CP. in the declension of the word *rājan*, when the sound-group *jñ* is separated by a separation-vowel according to § 133 and becomes *ciñ* according to § 191 (cf. note 1): *rāciñā*, *rāciño*=*rājñā*, *rājñah* (Hc. 4,304; § 399). In Bh. 10,12 *rācinā*, *rācino*, *rācini* are read with dental *n*. Further *ñ* stands in A. *vuñāi*=**vrajñāti*=*vrajati*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppinu* (Hc. 4,392)=Mg. *vaññadi* (§ 488).

§238. As a rule *ṭ* becomes *ḍ* in the inlaut between two vowels (§ 198). *ṭa* becomes *ḷa* in lieu of *ḍa*, in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *phaṭṭha*=*sphaṭṭha*, AMg. *phāṭṭha*=*sphaṭṭha* (§ 206). In M. *phaḍḍha* (R. s.v.; the better recension C has °li°), certainly, and in Ś. *phaḍḍha* (§206) probably are false.—*phālei* (causes to burst; splits) is not to be traced back to *vpaṭ* with Hc. 1,198, but to *vphal*, *sphal*.—*capetā* forms also M. AMg. *caviḍā*, *caviḷā* (Hc. 1,146.198) besides *caveḍā* (Hc. 1,146; H.; Uttar. 596). Cf. §80. Dialectically *ṭa* becomes *ḷa* also, for which the North Indian MSS. write *la* (§ 226). So M. AMg. *kakkoḷa*=*karkoṭa* (G.; Pāṇhāv. 527); AMg. *kaḷitta*=*kaṭṭira* (Ovav. §10); AMg. *khēḷa* (saiiva)=*khēṭa* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,2,1,7; Thāp. 483; Pāṇhāv. 343.503; Antag. 23; Vivāhap. 164; Uttar. 734; Kappas.), *khēḷei*=*khēṭayati* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *piḷāga*=*piṭaka* (Sūyag.208); Mg. *yūḷaka*=*jūṭaka* (Mr̥chh. 136,15); Mg. *saḷa*=*sakaṭa* (Mr̥chh. 122,10), beside Ś. *saḍḍiā*=*sakaṭikā*, AMg. *sagaḍa*, dialectical *saḍḍha* (§ 207). This sort of sound-change is especially frequent in the A. of Piṅgala: *nāḷa*=*nikāṭa* (1,127^a.129^a; 2,84); *paaḷa*=*prakāṭa* (1,72; 2,97.272); *paaḷia*=*prakāṭita* (2,264); *phuḷa*=*sphuṭa* (2,48); *phuḷe*=*sphuṭati*, in the sense of *sphuṭanti* (2,230); *makaḷa*=*markaṭa* (1,91.99); *vahuḷiā*=*vadhūḷikā* (2,84). Beside *balamoḷa*=*balamoṭita* (1,140^a), for *moḷiā*=*moṭitaḥ* (2,112) we have to read *moḍiā*, or for *choḍiā*, that stands in rhyme with it, (so S. GOLDSCHMIDT for *loḍiā*) we have to read perhaps *choḷiā*=*choṭitaḥ*. In M. stands *balāmoli*^o (R. 10,64; but the v.l. has °ḍi°), and so we have to read, since *Vmuṭ* has *ḍa* constantly. So M. *balamoḍi*^o (H.); M. JM. Ś. *balāmoḍi* (Deśin. 6,92; Pāyāl. 174; Triv. 2,1,30; Kāvya prakāśa 72,10 (cf. § 589); Kk. 260,35; Malikām. 122,8); Ś. *balāmoḍia* past passive participle; Mālatim. 76,4; 128,8; 253,7; absol.

Mālatīm. 235,3; Rukminīp. 15,13;21,6)¹, *pacchāmodia* (absol.; Śak.144,11); M. *āmodaṇa* (G.); Mg. *modaiśśam*, *modaiśśāmi* (Mṛcch. 113,1;128,14), *modemi*, *modia* (Mṛcch. 128,2;137,1). To it belong also *āmoda*, *moda* (braid of hair; Deśin. 1,62;6,117) and Ś. *mōṭṭima* (Anarghar. 152,9; Rucipati: *mōṭṭimaṃ* balātkāre deśi), probably also *mōṭṭāi*=*ramate* (Hc. 4,168).—For *kaḍasi* (cemetery; Deśin. 2,6)=**kaṭasi* from *kaṭa* (corpse; e.g. Viṣṇupurāṇa 3,13,10)=Pkt. *kaḍa* (vanished; dead; Deśin. 2,51)+*śi* (to lie), the MSS. in Hc. 2,174 have *karasi*, hence a change of *ṭa* to *ra* through *ḍa*. The same transition of *ṭa* into *ra* takes place in AMg. *purabheyaṇi* (city; Uttar. 618)=Pāli *putabhedana*². On *ḍha* for *ṭa* see § 207.

1. In *balā* we should not, with PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 331f.; WEBER, Hala¹ p. 210; BÜHLER, Päiyāl. s.v. *balāmoḍi*, look for the ablative *balāi*. Rather the prefix *ā* has to be assumed, as *āmoda*, *āmodana* indicate.—Very false JACOB, SBE. 45,102, note 2. *puṭa* is wrongly Sanskritized into *putra* (cf. Vr. 12,5) in *pāṭaliṭputra*. Cf. §292.

§239. In the inlaut *ṭh* becomes *ḍh* between vowels (§ 198). Dialectically very rarely it becomes *h*: AMg. JM. *kuhāḍa*=*kuthāra* (Sūyag. 274; Uttar. 596; T. 6,16.17.18), JM. *kuhāḍaya* (T. 7,1); *pihaḍa*=*piṭhara* (Hc. 1,201), AMg. *pihaḍaga* (Jiv. 251), *pihaḍaya* (Uvās. §184), beside *piḍhara* (Hc. 1,201; Päiyāl. 172), AMg. *piḍharaga* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5). On the interchange between *ḍa* and *ra* see 241.258.

§240. As a rule *ḍ* becomes *l*, when it stands in the inlaut between vowels not joined together. The North Indian MSS. and presses write *l* (§ 226; Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,202; Kī. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16). Vr. C. Mk. prescribe *ḷa* for *ḍa* as necessary; Bh. makes the rule optional and permits *ḍa* in *dāḍima*, *baḍiṣa*, *nibiḍa*; Hc. requires *ḷa* for *vaḍavāmukha*, *garuḍa*, *taḍāga*, *kriḍati*, allows optionally *ḷa* and *ḍa* for *baḍiṣa*, *dāḍima*, *guḍa*, *nāḍi*, *naḍa*, *āpiḍa*, and teaches *ḷa* as necessary for *nibiḍa*, *gaḍa*, *piḍita*, *nīḍa*, *uḍu* and *taḍita*. With him agrees Triv., who splits the rule into two 1,3,24 (*baḍiśāḍau*) and 1,3,30. Kī. has, like Triv., the gaṇa *baḍiśāḍi*, but he limits it to *baḍiṣa*, *nibiḍa* and *jaḍa*, which must have *ḍa* according to him. The dialects do not make any strict distinction. One says, for example: AMg. *āmelīya*=*āmreḍita* (Ānuog. 37); AMg. *gaveḷaga*=*gaveḍaka* (Ovav.); AMg. JM. *guḷa*=*guḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav.; Erz.), Mg. *guḷodaṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,20), also *guḍa* (Hc. 1,202), Mg. *guḍāha*=*guḍaka* (Mṛcch. 116,25); M. Mg. *niḷaḷa*=*nigaḍa* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 109,16;132,20;162,17), AMg. *nigala* (Jiv. 349; Ovav.); M. *niḷaḷa*=*nigaḍita* (G.R.), JM. *niḷaḷiḷa* (Päiyāl. 197); M. *niḷāḷia* (H.); Ś. *nigalaḷavadi* (Mālav. 51,21); AMg. *eḷaḷa*=*eḍaka* (Uttar.226; Paṇṇav. 366f.; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *garuḷa*=*garuḍa* (Hc. 1,202; Päiyāl. 25; G.; Thāp. 71.85; Sūyag. 317.771; Āyār. 2,15,12.13; Paṇḥāv. 235.311; Vivāhap. 183.964 [°ḍa]; Paṇṇav. 97; Jiv. 485.488; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Dvār. 507,37); beside them M. has *garuḍa* (R.), JM. *garuḍavūha* beside *garuḷa-sattha* (Erz.); Ś. *garuḍa* (Nāgān. 66,10;71,12;99,1), Mg. *galuḍa* (text °ru°; Nāgān. 68,4.13); in M. stands *galuḍa* (Acyutaś. 2.29.34; AMg. *chaḷaṃsa*=*ṣaḍaśra* (Thāp. 493), *chaḷaṃsiya* (Sūyag. 590), *chaḷāyayaṇa*=*ṣaḍāyatana* (Sūyag. 456), *chaḷaṃsi*=*ṣaḍaṣiṭi* (Vivāhap. 199; Samav. 143); cf. §211.441; AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha*=*soḍaśa* (§ 443); *vaḍavā* (Päiyāl. 226); M. *vaḍavāmuha* (R.), A. *vaḍavāṇala* (Hc. 4,365,2.419,6), beside M. *vaḷavāmuha*, *vaḷaṇāmuha* (R.), *vaḷaṇāṇala* (R. 2,24;5,77), JM. *vaḷayāmuha* (Erz.); Ś. *dāḍima* (Bh. 2,23; Hc. 1,202; Viddhaś. 15,2), M. *dāḍimī* (G.), beside AMg. *dāḷima* (Hc. 1,202; Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Vivāhap. 1530; Paṇṇav. 483.531; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *āmelā*, M. *āmelīa*, AMg. *āmelaga*, *āmelaya*=**āpiḍya* (§122), beside *āveda* (Hc.1,202), Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatīm.207,4); AMg. *taḷāga*, *taḷāva*

beside *tadāga*=*taḍāka* (§ 231); M. *kīlei* (G.), AMg. *kīlanti* (Rāyap. 138; Uttar. 504), *kīlāe* (Uttar. 570), *kīliya* (Āyār. p. 135,17; Samav. 23), JM. *kīlāi*, *kīlanta-*, *kīlanti*, *kīliūna* (Erz.), Ś. *kīlasi* (Mṛcch. 54,3;95,11), *kīla* (Mṛcch. 95,23), *kīlamha* (Ratn. 293,25); Ś. Dh. Mg. *kīlēma* (Mṛcch. 94,15;30,18;131,18); Ś. *kīlissam* (Vikr. 41,7;47,11 [so to be read both the times with the Dravidian recension and the v.l. to 47,11 instead of °di°; Mālav. 60,11), *kīlissasi* (Mṛcch. 94,19;95,12); Mg. *kīlissam* (Mṛcch. 30,23; Śak. 155,12; Mg. Ā. *kīlidum* (Mṛcch. 100,21;140,7;148,13); Ś. *kīlida* (Mṛcch. 95,7; Ratn. 293,29); Ś. *kīlamāna* (Vikr. 52,9); A. *kīlāi* (Vikr. 64,5), *kīladi* (Hc. 4,442,2), *kīlanti* (Vikr. 63,5) from *krid*; M. Ś. *kīlā*=*kridā*; Ś. *kīlānaa*, AMg. *kīlāna*, *kīlāvaṇa*, beside AMg. JM. *kīdā*, *kiddā* (§90), as well as Ś. *kheḷadī*, A. *kheḷanta*, AMg. *kheḷāvaṇa*, JM. *kheḷāveṇa*, *kheḷla*, A. *kheḷlanti*, beside AMg. JM. *kheḍda*, A. *kheḍdaa*; *kheḍdai* (§ 90. 206); AMg. *tālei*=*tādayati* (Nāyādh. 1236.1305), *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālyanti* (Uttar. 360.365), *tālējīā* (Uvās. § 200), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *tālemāna* (Vivāgas. 102), *tālijjāmāna* (Paṇhāv. 196), *tāliya* (Nāyādh. 1236), *tālana* (Paṇhāv. 535; Uttar. 582; Ovav.), Mg. of Śākāra. *tālīa* (absol.; Mṛcch. 167,6), but elsewhere M. Mg. *tādāna* (G.H.R.; Karp. 1,7,65,9; Mṛcch.122,20); M. *tādīumaṇā* (Karp. 70,7), *tādīa* (R.); JM. *tādīya*, *tādījāmāna* (Erz.); Ś. *tādedi* (Mṛcch. 79,22), *tādīa* (absol.; Mṛcch. 155,4), *tādīda* (Mṛcch. 69,23), *tādāidum*, *tādāissam* (Mālav. 44,16;65,20), *tādīadi* (Mālatīm. 267,6), *tādīanta-*, *tādīamāna* (Mudrār. 211,5;212,2;203,1); Mg. *tādhedha* (Mṛcch. 166,24;169,22), *tādāissam* (Mṛcch. 80,5); Mg. Ā. *tādīda* (Mṛcch. 29,19;105,2;148,10). In agreement with Hc. M. AMg. have *udu* (Pāiyāl. 96; Karp. 36,3; Jiv. 351); M. *gaiḍa* (G.), AMg. A. *goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41; Piṅgala 2,112.138; cf. §61^a); M. *niḍa* (G.; on H.996; Karp. 49,11), *niḍīa* (G.); JM. *niḍīa* (Erz.); M. *niḍa*, *nēḍda* (§ 90); M. JM. *taḍi* (Pāiyāl. 98; G.; Erz. 14,22;71,23), AMg. *taḍīyā* (Vivāhap. 943), but A. *taḷi* (Vikr. 55,2); M. *piḍīa* (G.R.), AMg. JM. *piḍīya* (Pāiyāl. 190; Uttar. 577; Erz.), Ś. *piḍīda* (Mṛcch. 22,13; Śak. 11,1), also M. *nippīdīa* (R.), *sampīdīa* (G.), *piḍijjanta-* (H.R.), *piḍana* (H.), M. JM. Ś. *piḍā* (Pāiyāl. 161; G.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 22,13; Śak. 29,9; Vikr. 18,5), Ś. *piḍīadi* (Mṛcch. 72,15), *piḍedi* (Vikr. 16,17). In AMg. however, *la* prevails: *pīliya* (Uttar. 590); *pīliyaga* (Ovav.); *pīlei* (Dasav. 631,37; Uttar. 927.935.940.945.950); *avīlāe*, *pavīlāe*, *nippīlāe* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1); *uppiḷaṇējja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13); *paripīlējja* (Sūyag. 208); *ovīlemāna* (Vivāgas. 102; text u°); *avīliyāna*, *paripīliyāna* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *pīlā* (Paṇhāv. 394.402.426; Uttar. 675); *sampīlā* (Uttar. 926.934.940.945.950); *pīlāna* (Paṇhāv. 537; Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). In Uttar. 620 stands *piḍai* beside *avīliijja*. In Piṅgala 1,145^a we have to read *pīliya* with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, what is required also by the rhyme with *mīliya*. AMg. *edei*=*edayati* (Vivāhap. 248), *edanti* (Vivāhap. 236), *edēnti* (Ovav.), *editṭā* (Vivāhap. 236.248) have always *ḍa*. Beside *viḍḍā*=*viḍā* (§ 90), AMg. has an adjective *viḍḍa* (Vivāhap. 1258); but the commentary reads *veda*, that will be correct and is connected to AMg. *velānaṇa* (Āṇuog.333), that according to Deśin. 7,65 is also a substantive and regulates dialectical *velūnā* (Deśin.7,65). *e* is to be explained according to §122. M. has *viḍīa* beside *viḷīa*=*viḍīta*, AMg. *saviḷīya* (§81). *viḍḍūnā*, *vedūnā* (Deśin.7,65) are also adduced.

§241. *ḍa* has become *ra* in M. Ś. *verulīa*, AMg. JM. *verulīya*=*vāidūrya* (§ 80). Bh. 4,33 has *veluria*, by which *velūria* is meant, as by *velulīa* (Deśin. 7,77), *velulīa*. According to Hc. 2,133 occurs also *vedujja*. Further in AMg. JM. *birāla*=*bidālā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇnav. 367.369; Nāyādh. 345; Uttar. 918; Āv. 42,20), A. *birālaa* (Piṅgala 1,67; ed. Bombay. °ḍā°), femin *birālī* (Nandis. 92; Paṇnav. 368; Āv. 42,42), AMg. *birālīyā* (Sūyag. 824), also as a name of a plant *chīrabirālī*=*kṣīrabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532),

birāḷiḷa (Āyār. 2,1,8,3). For *viḍāla* (Jiv.356) is to be read *birāla*. Ś. has *biḍāla* (Mālav. 50,16; v.l. *vi*°; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 94,7, where the South Indian MSS. and presses waver between *biḍāla*, *biḍāla*, *biṭāḷa* and *vilāḷa*, feminine *biḍāḷi* (Hāsy. 25,7), *biḍāḷiā* (Mālav. 67,9; v.l. *viāriā*, *bilāḷiā*, *vuḍāḷiā*); Pāli *biḷāla* and *biḷāra*.

1. Excluding Nandis. 92 and Sūyag. 824, the texts everywhere have *vi*°. For Skt. the only authentic transcription is *bi*°, that is valid for Pkt. also.

§242. *ḍha* remains unchanged in all the dialects : AMg. JM. *ādhaja*=*ādhaka* (Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *āsāḍha*=*āsāḍha* (Āyār. 2,15,2; Kappas.); M. JM. Ś. *gāḍha*=*gāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.H.; Karp. 64,7; Erz.; Ś. Karp. 15,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *daḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; Āyār. 1,6,2,2; Sūyag. 161,544; Mr̥cch. 69,11; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 16,16;30,3; Mg. Mr̥cch. 116,8), JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha* (Kattig. 400,329.330.336;403,370; Mr̥cch. 44,5; Vikr. 12,20;22,14; Mallikām. 225,11; Priyad. 42,4;43,6; Prab. 18,1; Piṅgala 1,86°)=*dyḍha*; M. JM. *bāḍha*=*bāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.; Erz.). On A. *khallihadañ* cf. § 110.207. —Secondary *ḍha*, originating from *ṣṭa* (§ 66.67.304) becomes *ḷha* (written *lha*) in *koḷhua* (jackal; Deśin. 2,65; Pāiyāl. 152) from **koḍhua*=*kroṣṭuka*¹, to which belongs also *kuḷha* for **koḷha* (jackal; Deśin. 2,34) = **kroṣṭa* for *kroṣṭr*; *koḷhāhala* (fruit of momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,39) = **kroṣṭāphala*; cf. *kroṣṭuphala*. Likewise *gōḷhā*=*gūḍhā* (momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,95), *gōḷhāphala*=*gūḍhaphala* (Pāiyāl. 255)².

1. LEUMANN, GSAI. 6,117 note.—2. Pkt. shows that we should not be sanguine about *gūḍhaphala* with BÖHTLINGK s.v. It is assumed that *ṭha* makes a position.

§243. *ṇ* in *veṇu* may become *ḷ* : AMg. *veḷu* (Hc. 1,203; Pāiyāl. 144; Sūyag. 197.248; Paṇṇav. 33; Rāyap. 33.89.184), beside *veṇu* (Āyār. 2,11,4; Sūyag. 197.248; Vivāhap. 1526; Paṇṇav. 40), *venudeva* (Sūyag. 317); likewise *veḷugā*, *veḷujā*=*veṇuka* (amomum; Āyār. 2,1,8,14; Vivāhap. 1526; Dasav. 623,4; Paṇṇav. 43). Since Pāli has *veḷu*, *ḷ* is to be assumed probably also in Pkt. Probably *veṇu* and *veḷu* go back to the basic form **velnu*, which belongs to the root *vel*, *vell* that is much used and has widely branched off in Pkt. (§107). From this even the other meanings of *veḷu* "thief" and "pestle" (Deśin. 7,94) could be well explained; cf. *thūna* "thief" § 129. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na* (§ 225). Ki. 5,107.108 teaches that *la* enters : *phalati*=*bhaṇati*, *thvalati* [sic]=*dhvanati*, *phalitām*=*bhanitam*, *thvalitām* [sic]=*dhvanitam*, *palām*=Pkt. *vaṇam*=*vanam*; *phalaha* [sic]=*bhaṇata* (5,113); *phalāmo*=*bhaṇāmaḥ* (5,114). In the examples *kakaṇa*=*gagaṇa* (5,102), *jajaṇa*, *cacaṇa*=*pajana* (5,103), *calaṇa*=*caraṇa*, *usaṇa*=*uṣṇa*, *paṣaṇa*=*pṛaṣṇa*, *sināṇa* [sic]=*snāna* (5,109) the edition writes *ṇa*, and since *nā*, *na*, and *la* very often interchange in the Bengali script in the MSS., the hypothesis is, that in agreement with the other grammarians *na* is to be read for *la*. According to Ki. 5,110 *na* and *ṇa* could become also *nā* in P.: *kaṇaka*=*kanaka*; *vaṇṇa*=*varṇa*.

§244. Sometimes *ta* and *da* become *la*, and through the intermediate grades *ṭa*, *ḍa* (§ 218.219) they become *ḷa* (§ 226.238.240), that the North Indian MSS. likewise indicate by *la*, so that it cannot always be said with certainty whether *la* or *ḷa* is to be written : Ś. *alasī*=*ataṣī* (Hc.1,211), Mallikām. 87,15; but AMg. *ajṛisī* (Vivāhap. 41.1526; Paṇṇav. 34.526; Uttar. 592; Ovav.); AMg. *āsila*=*asita* (Sūyag. 203); *palila* (Hc. 1,212) beside M. *palia*=*palita* (Hc. 1,212; G.H.); M: *vijjulā*=Pāli *vidyutā*=*vidyut* (Hc. 2,173; Mk. fol. 37; R.), *vijjuli*=**vidyutī* (Vr.4,26; Mk. fol. 37), M.Ś. A. *vijjuliā*=**vidyutikā*¹ (H.584 v.l.; Vikr.27,13; Piṅgala 1,142°). *vijjuā*, that Vr.4,9; Hc.1,15; Ki. 2,129; Mk. fol. 33 forbid for M., stands in H. 584, hardly rightly, as otherwise M. has only *vijjulā* and *vijju* (G.H.R.); Ś. has *vijjudā*

(Mṛcch. 91,19; Venis. 60,17); M. *sālāvāhaṇa*, *sālāhaṇa*=*sātāvāhana* (Hc.1,8. 211; H.; cf. §167), yet JM. beside *sālīvāhaṇa* also *sāyāvāhaṇa* (Kk.); Mg. *śūla*=*sūta* (Mṛcch. 97,3). — AMg. *salilā* (stream; Sūyag. 317.460; Uttar. 342; perhaps also Vivāhap.479) is not, with JACOBI², to be equated as=Pāli *sarītā*=Skt. *sarīt*, which always retains *r*, but is a feminine of the adjective *salila* (Āyār. 2,16,10=Sūyag. 468) of which Skt. *salila* (water) is neuter,—*la* is to be read in Mg. *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11,1;40,4), *maḷa* (Mṛcch. 118,14.15.24; 132,21) beside *kaḍa*, *maḍa*=*krta*, *mṛta* (§ 219), JM. *vāḷa*=*vyāpṛta* (Kk.; §218), A. *paṭai* for *paḍai* (§ 218)=*paṭati* (Piṅgala 1,78.116.120^a.123.125. 125^a.133.135;2,60.135.202.231.261). — *da* has become *la* in M.AMg. *kalamba*=*kadamba* (Vr. 2,12; Hc.1,222; Ki.2,20; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl.255; G.H.R.; Panhāv. 60; Thān. 321), beside *kaamba* (Hc. 1,222), AMg. *kajambaga* (Nāyādh. 354.1045), *kajambaya*, (Kappas.; text falsely °*bu*°; v.l. *kalam-baya*, *kalamba*, *kajamba*); AMg. *kālamba* (Thān. 505), M. *kāmba* (G.R.)=*kādamba*.—M. *goḷa*=*godā* (Hc. 2,174; Mk. fol. 39; Deśin. 2,104; Pāiyāl. 132; Triv. 1,3,105; H.), also introduced into Skt.³ The MSS. of Triv. write *la*, which is attested by the v.l. *goḍā* in H.—M. AMg. *ṇōllai*, *nullai*=*nuddati* with doubling according to § 194 (Vr. 8,7; Hc. 4,143; Ki. 4,46 (text *ṇōṇṇa*); Mk. fol. 53); M. *ṇōllei* (H.R.), *ṇōllēnti* (G.), *ṇōllia* (R.), *paṇōllia* (G.R.); AMg. *ṇōllāvehinti*, *ṇōllāviya* (Vivāhap. 1280), *paṇōlla* (absol.; Sūyag. 360), *viṇaṇōllai* (Āyār. 1,5,2,2), *paṇullemāṇa* (Nandis. 146; commentary °*ṇo*°).—JM. *palivei*=*pradīpayati* (Hc. 1,221; Āv. 9,13), *palivesi*, *palivehi* (Āv. 9,19;32,21); JM. *palivai* (Hc. 4,152; Mk. fol. 15; Erz.); M. *palivesi*, *palivium*, *palippamāṇa* (H.), *palivei* (R. 5,67)⁴; M. AMg. *palitta* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,221; Ki. 2,20; H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117); M. *paliva* (H.), JM. *paliviya* (Pāiyāl. 16; Āv. 9,15;32,22.26); AMg. *āliviya* (Vivāgas. 225); *ālivaṇa*=*ādīvaṇa* (Deśin. 1,71); JM. *palivaṇaga* (Āv. 19,9); but without prefix M. *dippanta*- (R.), *dippanti*, *dippamāṇa* (G.), A. *divia*=*dīpita* (Vikr. 60,19), and with prefix Ś. *uddivanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22), *paḍivesi* (Uttarar. 83,2; ed. Calc. 1831, p. 55,19 has °*li*°).—AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādāsa* (Panhāv. 347; Vivāhap. 168.173.249.608; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *duvālasaṅga* (Hc. 1,254; Samav. 3; Thān. 569; Sūyag. 616; Nandis. 388.394), *duvālasaviha* (Vivāhap. 159.524; Panpav. 30.374; Jiv. 44), *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699).—AMg. JM. *ḍohaḷa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḷa*=*dohada*, M. Ś. *dohaḷaa* (§222). according to the information given by Pāli, to be written with *la*, as is shown also by Mg. *haḷaka* (Mṛcch.9,25), *haḷaa* (Mṛcch. 163,24) beside the usual Mg. *haḍakka* (§ 194). Cf. § 436.—M. *maḷai*=*mrādate* (Vr. 8,50; Hc. 4,126; R.), *maḷesi* (H.), *maḷei* (R.), *maḷia* (G.H.R.), *parimaḷasi* (H.), *parimaḷia* (H.R.), *vimaḷai* (G.), *vimaḷa* (G.R.), *omaḷia* (R.), *maḷaṇa* (G.), *parimaḷana* (H.), with *la* as in Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭi⁵.—AMg. *elisa*=*idrśa*, *aṇelisa*=*anidrśa*, *elikhha*, *elikkhaya*=*idrśka*, *idrśaka* (§121).—*sōllai* (cooks; Hc.4,90)=*sūddyati*, with doubling according to §194, AMg. *sōlla* (cooked; roasted; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), *sōllaya* (Uvās.)=*sūd+na*, *sūd+na+ka* (§566)⁶ and from the present stem (§ 565) *sōlliya*=*sūḍita* (Ovav.).—*veḷūṇā* beside *bedūṇā*, *viddūṇā* (§ 240); AMg. *vibhelaya*=*vibhedaka* (§121).

1. So correctly BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 27,13 p. 279. Not correctly, thinks WEBER on H. 584 with regard to *vidyullatā*.—2. SBE. 45,68, note 1. Even JACOBI's explanation of *kulala* is wrong; see §80.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3,237f.—4. The text has *paḍivei*, in the same stanza with *palitta*, for which 1,5;5,87 *paḍitta*, 15,73 perhaps *paṭita* stands. Forms with *da* are not attested elsewhere.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,126.—6. Wrongly equated by HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. as=*śūlya*, *śūlyaka*, an explanation, that is not tenable in places like as Ovav. §74 *ingālasōlliya*.

§245: *ta* becomes *ra* through *ḍa* (§ 218) in *sattari*=*saptati* (Hc.1,210);

AMg. JM. *sattariṃ*, *sattari*, JM. also *sayari* (70); AMg. *egūṇasattariṃ* (69), *ēkkasattariṃ* (71), *bāvattariṃ* (72), JM. also *bisattari*; AMg. *tevatariṃ* (73), *covattariṃ*, JM. *caūhattari* (74) etc., A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76). See §446. More frequently *da* has become *ra*, Mg. *la* through *ḍa* : AMg. *urāla*=*udāra* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9; 2,15,14,15 [text o^o]¹; Sūyag. 95.392.408.639; Thāp. 177; Nāyādh. §4; p. 369.566; Antag. 57; Vivāhap. 10.155.168.170.231.248.942. 1039.1228f.; Uttar. 1052.1058; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. s. v. *orāla*); *orāliya*=*audārika* (Paṇṇav. 397 [u^o]¹. 461ff.; Uttar. 881; Vivāhap. 111.146. 528ff.620; Thāp. 54.55; Ovav.). — *karali*=*kadalī* in the meaning “elephant flag”, but *kaali* in the meaning “musa sapientum” (Hc. 1,220). False is *Ś. kaṇaakeriā* (Bālar. 131,14)=*kanakakadalikā* against M. *Ś. kaali* (Karp. 46,14; 102,6), *Ś. kadaliā* (Prab. 66,2), AMg. JM. *kajali* (Pāyāl. 254; Āyār. 2,1,8,12 [so to be read]; cf. v.l.). — *gaggara*=*gadgada* (Vr. 2,13; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). — *daśa* becomes *rasa*, *raha* in the numerals 11-13, 15, 17-18 (Vr. 2,14; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). So : AMg. *ēkkārasa*, A. *eāraha*, *ēggāraha*, *gāraha*, but also A. *ēkkadaha*, CP. *ekātasa* (11); AMg. JM. *bārasa*, A. *bāraha*, beside AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244) (12); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13); AMg. JM. *paṇṇarasa*, A. *paṇṇaraha* (15); AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (17); AMg. JM. PG. *aṭṭhārasa*, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (18). See §443. Likewise the ordinals (§ 449). Further *aa* becomes *ra* in the adjectival and pronominal compound words formed with *-dṛś*, *-dṛśa*, *ḍṛkṣa*, like M. AMg. JM. *Ś. erisa*, AMg. JM. *erisaya*, A. *erisa* beside AMg. *elisa*, *anelisa*, P. *etisa*, *Ś. idisa*, Mg. *idisa*=*idṛśa* (§ 121); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. kerisa*, JM. *kerisaya*, Mg. *keliśa* beside *Ś. kidisa*=*kidṛśa* (§ 121); JM. *annārisa*=*anyāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; Erz.), *Ś. aṇṇārisa* (Vikr. 52,19; Mālatim. 89,7; 138,10; 217,4; Mahāv. 128,7; Bhartṛharinirveda 4,1), but P. *aññātisa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *aṇṇāisa* (Hc. 4,413); M. JM. *Ś. amhārisa*=*asmāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,16.17.21; 18,3; Mudrār. 36,4; 241,8; 259,1; Karp. 92,8; Viddhaś. 25,8), feminine *Ś. amhārisi* (Viddhaś. 71,9; 116,5), but P. *amhātisa* (Hc. 4,317); M. JM. *Ś. tumhārisa*=*yuṣmāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; G.R.; Erz.; Viddhaś. 51,12; 121,9; Karp. 93,9), but P. *yumhātisa* (Hc. 4,317); *eārisa*=*etāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142), *Ś. edārisa* (Viddhaś. 102,2; so to be read); feminine *edārisi* (Prab. 44,13; so to be read), AMg. JM. *jārisa*=*yāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; Ki. 1,29; Uttar. 794; Erz.), AMg. *jārisaya* (Nāyādh. 1284), but P. *yātisa* (Hc. 4,317), *Ś. jādisa* (Viddhaś. 29,3; 32,1.2), feminine *jādisi* (Śak. 51,11.12; Prab. 16,10), A. *jaīsa* (Hc. 4,403.404); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. tārisa*=*tāḍṛśa* (Bh. 1,31; Hc. 1,142; Ki. 1,29; R.; Karp. 115,4; Sūyag. 365.429; Uttar. 794; Dasav. 633,19=Hc. 4,287; Āv. 27.2.6.25; Erz.; Vikr. 52,19; Mahāv. 126,7; Prab. 44,12 [read *tārisie*, AMg. *atārisa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *tārisaga* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), Mg. *tāliśa* (Mṛcch. 37,11), but *Ś.* also *tādisa* (Śak. 32,5; Vikr. 52,7; 53,11; Prab. 16,10), feminine *tādisi* (Śak. 51,12; Viddhaś. 32,1.2), Mg. *tādiśi* (Mṛcch. 140,12; Prab. 62,7), P. *tātisa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *taīsa* (Hc. 4,403); AMg. A. *sari*=*sadrk* (Hc. 1,142; Nāyādh.; Piṅgala 1,42); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś.D.A. sarisa*=*sadrśa* (Bh. 1,31; Hc. 1,142; Mk. fol. 11; G.H. R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Kattig. 399,316; Mṛcch. 17,18; 24,16; 55,4; 95,11; 134,18; 152,21; Śak. 132,1; 134,8; Vikr. 6,1; 8,13 [so to be read]; 39,12; Mālav. 6,20 etc.; D. Mṛcch. 102,23; 105,4; A. Piṅ. gala 1,10), AMg. *sarisaya*, feminine *sarisiyā* (Nāyādh.), Mg. *śaliśa* (Mṛcch. 154,20; 164,20; 176,5), A. *sarisima*=**sadrśīman*=*sādrśya* (Hc. 4,395,1); M. *Ś. sariccha*=*sadrkṣa* (Hc. 1,44.142; H.; Viddhaś. 23,4), also M. JM. JŚ. *sāricchā* (§ 78), and *Ś. sārīkkha* (Karp. 108,2), *sāriccha*=**sadrkṣya* (Hc. 2,17; G. G. 852; see v.l.), AMg. A. *sārīkkha* (Hc. 2,17; 4,404); *Ś. sārīkkhadā*

(Karp. 109,7,10). Cf. also *bhavārisa* (Hc. 1,142) against A. *avarāisa* = **aparādṛsa* (Hc. 4,413).

1. *orāla* is likewise false, as *urāliya*. Both the words are substituted by one another in the anlaut in the MSS. and the printed editions.

§246. Sometimes *va* has taken the place of *ta* and *da* just seemingly. *āvajja* is not = *āloḍya* (Hc. 1,156), but = **āvāḍya* (§ 130). AMg. *ujjovemāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 100,102,112; Uvās.; Ovav.), *ujjoviya* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *ujjoventa-* (Nāyādh.) are not = *uddyotayamāna*, *uddyotita uddyotayant* with the infixed *v*¹, but belong to *Vdyu*, that occurs in Skt. *dyu* (day), *didyu* (thunderbolt; lightening), perhaps also in A. *joedi* (sees; Hc. 4,422,6 and Wortverzeichniss zu Hc) and certainly in the modern Indian dialects². M. *ruvai*, M. JM. *rovai* do not belong to *rud*, but to *ru* (§ 473). *kavaṭṭa* is not = *kadarthita* (Hc. 1,224;2,29), but = *kava* in the sense of *kad* = *ku* + **ārtita* = *ārta* (§ 289,428). Certain other sound changes assumed by the grammarians are also not tenable. *erāvaṇa* is not = *airāvata* (Vr. 2,11; Bh. 1,35; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *airāvaṇa* (Hc. 1,148,208; §60). *gabbhiṇa* is not = *garbhita* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *garbhin* with a transition to the *a*-declension (§ 406). *atimuktaka* form, according to Hc. 1,26,178,208, *aṇṇumṭāa* beside *aṇṇumṭāa*; in AMg. it regularly becomes *aṇṇumṭāya* (Hc. 1,26; Ovav. §8), in Ś. *adimōṭṭāa* (Mycch. 73,10), as *atimukta*, JM. *aṇṇumṭa* (Pāyā. 256), Ś. *adimutta* (Vikr. 21,9; Vṛṣabh. 15,17;47,15; Mallikā. 97,6;128,15). In Mk. fol. 34 *aṇṇumṭa* is to be read for *aṇṇumṭa*, which is explained by *abhimukta*. Where comes *aṇṇumṭāa* is not clear. On *ta* erroneously used in AMg. see §203; on *da* for *ta*, §192,203, 204; on *ta*, *da* for *ta*, § 218,219; on *ta* for *da*, § 190,191; on *da* for *da*, § 222.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *ujjov*. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,322.

§247. *tha* may become *dha* (§221), *dha* may become *dha* (§223), in CP. *tha* (§ 191). AMg. *samīlā* (Uttar. 592,788) is explained by JACOB¹ with *samidh*. That is phonetically impossible and against the sense. The explanation of the commentators by *kilikā*, *yugakilikā* points to **samitā*; cf. *samit*, *samiti*. — *na* becomes mostly *ṇa* (§ 224). In *nimba* it may become *la*: *limba* (Hc. 1,230) = Marāṭhi *limba*, A. *limbaḍaa* (Hc. 4,387,2) = Gujarāṭi *limbaḍa*, beside M. *nimba* (Hc. 1,230; H.), AMg. *nimboliyā* = *nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152,1173; cf. §167). — On *ṇhāvā* = *nāpita* see § 210.

1. SBE. 45, p. 94, note 4.

§248. For *pa*, which as a rule becomes *va* (§ 199), dialectically also *ba* (§ 192) and *bha* (§ 209), there may appear sometimes also *ma*: M. AMg. JM. *āmeḷa* = *āpīḍya*, *āmeḷaa*, AMg. *āmeḷaga*, *ameḷaja* (§ 122); *ṇimeḷa* = **nīpīḍya* (§ 122); M. *numajjai* = *nīpadyate*, *numaṇṇa* = *nīpanna* (§118); AMg. *āṇamaṇi* = *āṇāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363ff.369) beside *āṇavaṇi* (Paṇṇav. 364f.); AMg. *cimīḍha* = *cīpīṭa* (Nāyādh. 751; commentary *cimīṭṭha*) against. *civīḍha* (Nāyādh. 7+5; text *civīṭṭha*, commentary *cimīṭṭha*, in the text, therefore, to be read *cimīḍha*, as for example in 751; cf. § 207); AMg. *kunīma* = *kunāpa* (Sūyag. 225, 282, 483, 811; Thāp. 338; Paṇhāv. 179; Jiv. 255; Ovav.); AMg. *talīma* = *talpa* (Dāsīn. 5,20; Pāyā. 117,122; Nāyādh. 1192f.); AMg. *nīma*, *nīma* = *nīpa* (Hc. 1,234; Dāsīn. 623,5; Paṇṇav. 31; Ovav.; cf. Ovav. § 6 note 12), beside AMg. *nīva*, A. *nīva* (Hc. 1,234; Ovav.; Pāyā. 1,60^a; 2,82); AMg. *bhīṇḍimāla* = *bhīṇḍipāla* (Jiv. 257,279; Paṇhāv. 61,158; Ovav.), beside *bhīṇḍivāla* (Vr. 3,46; Hc. 2,38 [also FISCHER], 89; Ki. 2,65; Mk. fol. 26; AMg. *maṇāma* = *Pāli maṇāpa* (Thāp. 65,66,527; Samav. 94; Vivāhap. 162,480; Nāyādh.; Nīrayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.), feminine *maṇāmī* (Vivāhap. 196), *amaṇāma* (Sūyag. 630; Vivāgas. 40f.; Samav. 227; Jiv. 256; Vivāhap. 89,117,254); AMg. *vaṇimaga*,

°ja=*vanīpaka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 13; 2, 1, 5, 1; 2, 2, 2, 8ff.; 2, 3, 1, 2; 2, 5, 1, 9ff.; 2, 6, 1, 7; 2, 10, 23; 2, 15, 11; Paṇhāv. 492; Thāp. 397; Nāyādh. 1086; Dasav. 622, 31.35; 626, 29; Kappas.), *vanīmayajīe*=*vanīpakatayā* (Paṇhāv. 358; text *vanīmayāe*); AMg. *viḍima*=*viṭa* (twig; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 12; Paṇhāv. 437; Jiv. 548f.; Dasav. 628, 28; Ovav. §4; tree; Dasav. N. 645, 4; Rhinoceros; Deśin. 7, 89; Ovav. §37. [37]; young roe; Deśin. 7, 89), but M. Ś. *viḍava* (Bh. 2, 20; Ki. 2, 10; G.H.R.; Śak. 67, 2; 137, 5; Vikr. 12, 17; 22, 12; 31, 1); *viḍavi*=*viṭapin* (Pāṭyā. 54); AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* beside *suviṇa*, JM. *sumiṇaga* beside *suviṇaga*; *simiṇa* beside M. *siviṇa*, Ś. AMg. *sivinaa*=Pāli *supina*=Skt. *svapna* (§ 177). The transition, that is almost wholly limited, is explained by the interchange of *ma* and *va* (§ 251.261).

§249. Ś. *pāraddhi* (hunting; Viddhaś. 23, 9), which is equated by Hc. 1, 235 and Nārāyaṇadīkṣita on Viddhaś. 23, 9 as=*pāpardhi*, is=*prāraddhi*; its synonym *pāraddha* (Deśin. 6, 77), that means also "compensation for an act done in a former life", "oppressed" and "tortured", is=*prāraddha*.

§250. Like *pa* (§ 248), *ba* also sometimes becomes *ma*: *kamandha*=*kabandha* (Vr. 2, 19; Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16). Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16; Prākṛtamañjari in PISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 14 teach also *kayandha*, that will originate form AMg. JM. or JŚ. and, therefore, will be=*kayandha*. We find in the texts also M. JM. A. *kavandha* (§ 201), which according to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. too always has.—*samara*=*śabara* (Hc. 1, 258), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *savara*, M. AMg. *savarī* (§ 201). AMg. JM. *māhaṇa* with WEBER¹, E MÜLLER², JACOBI³, LEUMANN⁴, Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵, ASCOLI⁶, HOERNLE⁷ to be equated as=*brāhmaṇa*, is linguistically impossible. Corresponding to AMg. JM. *bambha*=*brahman*, *bambhayāri*=*brahmacārin*, *bambhaṇaṇa*=*brāhmaṇyaka*, *bambhaloṇa*=*brahmaloka* etc. (§ 267) the word must be pronounced as *bambhaṇa*, as is the case also, AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (Uttar. 748.753f.; Āv. 18, 15; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *subambhaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 448). Sometimes both the words occur beside one another, as Erz. 1, 7 *māhaṇassa*, but 1, 8 *bambhaṇaṇa*; Kk. 276, 25 *bambhaṇarūva*, but II, 508, 19 *māhaṇarūva*. AMg. employs almost exclusively *māhaṇa*⁸ (e.g. Āyār. 2, 1 1, 12, 2, 1, 3, 11, 9; 2, 2, 1, 2, 8, 9; 2, 6, 1, 1; 2, 7, 2, 15, 2, 4, 11; Sūyag. 17.56.74. 105.106.113.118.373.419.495.553.620.642f.; Vivāhap. 115.119 343; Vivāgas. 152f.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *maḥāmāhaṇa* (Uvās.), femm. AMg. JM. *māhaṇī* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Nāyādh. 1151; Vivāhap. 788; Kappas.; Āv. 12, 1), *māhaṇatta*=*brāhmaṇatva* (Uttar. 756). I derive the word from Skt. *makha* (sacrifice), *mākha* (pertaining to a sacrifice), and equate it, therefore, as=**mākhana*="sacrificial priest."

1. Bhag. 1, 410, note 5.—2. Beiträge p. 29.—3. Kalpas. und Erz. s.v.—4. Aup. S. s.v.—5. Prākṛtica p. 15.—6. Kritische Studien p. 221 with note 8.—7. Uvās., Translation p. 120, note 273.—8. Cf. Uttar. 748 je loe bambhaṇo utto...tañ vayanā buma māhaṇaṇa.

§251. In A. *ma*, in the inlaut, may become *va* (Hc. 4, 397); *kāvala* beside *kaṃala* (Hc. 4, 397); *bhaḍara* beside *bhamara* (Hc. 4, 397); *niśāvaṇa*=*niśāmāṇa* (Hc. 4, 341, 1); *paḍāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (Hc. 4, 419, 3); beside *paṃāṇa* (Hc. 4, 399, 1); *bhaḍai*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4, 401, 2); *vajjāva*=*vajramaya* (Hc. 4, 395, 5); *sāva*=*sama* (Hc. 4, 358, 2); *suḍarahi* beside *sumari*=*smara* (Hc. 4, 387). This sound-transformation has become obscure in the other dialects and partly in A. itself, as either *v* has vanished behind the *anunāsika* or more frequently the *anunāsika* has disappeared before *v*, so that only *~* or *v* has remained. Thus according to Hc. 1, 178 the *anunāsika* takes the place of *m* in *aṇiṃṇṭaa*=*atimuktaka* (§ 246); *kāua*=*kāmuka*; *cāuṇḍā*=*cāmuṇḍā*; *jāuṇā*=*yamunā*. According to Vr. 2, 3; Ki. 2, 5; Mk. fol. 14 *m* drops off in *yamunā*, and so has M. AMg. JM. *jauṇā* (G.; v.l. on H. 671; Kāmsav. 55, 5; Pra-

bandhac. 27,2; Thāp. 544; Vivāgas. 208; Dvār. 495,20; T. 4,8). Most of the MSS. have in H. 671 *jamunā*, as also Ś. (Vikr. 23,13;41 3). The correct ecriture in M. AMg. JM. will be *jāūnā* (§ 179). For *kāua* M. Ś. have *kāmua* (H.; Mrcch. 25,21;71,6; Vikr. 21,18; 31,14), JM. *kāmuya* (Erz.); for *cāuṇḍā* Ś. has *cāmuṇḍā* (Mālatim. 30,5; Karp. 105,2;106,2; 107,1). Erroneous is M. *kuari*=*kumārī*=*kumārī* (H. 298) and the similar v.l. in other words in WEBER, H.² p. LXI on strophe 298. The same sound-change is to be assumed in A. in *thāu*=*sthāman* (Hc. 4,358,1; text *thāu*), in the sense of *sthāna*, as the scholiasts explain. Ki. 5,99 has *thāma sthāne*. Further in *bhōhā* from *bhamuhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *bhohā*, S. GOLDSCHMIDT *bhaumhā*; cf. § 124.166) and *haṇuā*=*hanumān* (Piṅgala 1,63^a; text *haṇuā*).—*va* has taken the place of *ma* in AMg. *aṇavadagga*, AMg. JM. *aṇavayagga*=Pāli *anamatagga*=*anamadagra*¹ (Sūyag. 456 [°no]. 787.789.867; Thāp. 41.129; Paṇhāv. 214.302; Nāyādh. 464.471; Vivāhap. 38.39.160.848. 1128.1290.1324; Uttar. 842; Erz.) from *ṇnam*, which in M. JM. A. also has sometimes *va*: *ṇavai* (Hc. 4,226); M. *ṇavia*=**avanamita*=*avanata* (H. 637); JM. *navakāra*=*namaskāra* (Erz. 35,23.25.27.29); AMg. *vippanavanti*=*vipraṇamanti* (Sūyag. 472); A. *ṇavahi*=*namanti* (Hc. 4,367,4), *ṇavantiā*=*namatām* (Hc. 4,399). In all the dialects, however, *nam* mostly retains its *m*. *ahivayṇu* (Hc. 1,243), beside Mg. Ś. *ahimayṇu* (Hc. 1,243; Venis. 34 12; 64,16); A. *raṇayṇa*=*ramanya* (Hc. 4,422,11); AMg. *vāṇavantara*² beside the usual *vāṇamantara* (Nāyādh. 1124; Thāp. 222; Bhag.; Ovav., Kappas.).—In the anlaut too *ma* has sometimes become *va*: AMg. *vimaṇsā*=*mimāṇsā* (Sūyag. 59; Thāp. 332f.; Nandis. 351.381.383.505), *vimaṇsaya*=*mimāṇsaka* (Paṇhāv. 109)³; *vaṇjara* (Hc. 2,132) beside *maṇjara* (§ 81.86); M. JM. A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (Vr. 2,39; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,242; Ki. 2,45; Mk. fol. 18; G.H.R.; Karp. 38,11;47,16;57,6; Viddhaś. 24,12; Dhūrtas. 3,13; Unmattar. 2,19; Erz.; Piṅgala 2,88), also in Mg. in verses (Mrcch. 10,13; text *ba*°; cf. GEPABOLE 28,4 with note), but in Ś. only *mammadha*⁴ (Śak. 53,2; Hāsy. 22,15;25,3.14; Karp. 92,8; Mālatim. 81,2;125,2;266,3; Nāgān. 12,2; Pras. 32,12;36,18;84,3; Vṛṣabh. 29,19;38,11;42,11;49,9;51,10; Pārvatip. 24,15;26,23;28,5;30,17; Bālar. 135,10; Kārṇas. 30,5; Anarghar. 270,8 etc.). On *va* from *ma* in consonant groups see § 277.312. Cf. also ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 200f.—M. A. *bhasala* (bee; H.; Karp. 10,7.8; 64,5; Hc. 4,444,5) is to be derived neither with Hc. 1,244.254; Deśin. 6,101 from *bhramara*, nor with WEBER⁵ from *ṇbhramś*, but it belongs with *bhasman* (ashes), *bhasad* (the hinder part), *bhastrā* (bellows) to *ṇbhas* “to blow”, and therefore designates the bee as “the humming creature.”⁶ The word has also gone over into Skt. too.⁷

1. The correct explanation of this t.t., which, except in Vivāhap. 991, is an adjective of *samsāra*, probably means “whereof the beginning is not bent off”=“what does not change”=“endless.” The root *ṇnam* has correctly been recognized by JACOBI, Erz. s.v.; his other explanation is, however, wrong. False also FISCHER, BB. 3,245. The scholiasts explain the word by *ananta*, *aparyanta*, *aparyavasāna* and mostly consider *avadagga*, *avayagga* as Deśi words used in the sense of “end”, and, therefore, analyse the words as *ap*=*avadagga*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vāṇamantara*.—3. The scholiasts explain the words by *vimarśa*, *vimarśaka*.—4. The Indian editions always write *mammaha*. Falsely they sometimes have also *vammaha* in Ś. (Bālar. 24,11;242,4; Viddhaś. 23,9.99,8; Rukmiṇip. 19,10;20,7;28,6;30,14; Mallikām. 122,18;124,3;153,19 etc.), as conversely *mammaha* in M. (Acyutaś. 58; false also H. 327-576 [cf. v.l.]). P. GOLDSCHMIDT (Speciman. p. 10) desired to write it wrongly as *vammaha*.—5. On H. 444.—6. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,63.—7. FISCHER, on Hc. 1,244.

§252. Except in Mg. P. CP. *ya* becomes *ja* in the anlaut (Vr. 2,31; C. 3,15; Hc. 1,245; Ki. 2,38; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D.

(Mr̥cch. 101,9; 102,21; 103,15; 105,7). Dh. A. jāi, Ś. also often, Ā. (Mr̥cch. 105,3) *jadi*=*yadi*, but Mg. *yai*, *yadi*; M. AMg. JM. Ā. (Mr̥cch. 100,12). A. *jaha*, JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. D. (Mr̥cch. 105,21) *jadhā*=*yathā*, but Mg. *yadhā* (§ 113); M. AMg. JM. *jakkha*=*yakṣa* (G. H.; Karp. 26,1; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; Sūyag. 674; Paṇṇav. 75; Thāp. 90,229; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Āv. 13,25ff.; Erz.; JŚ. *jadi*=*yati* (§ 221); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jūha*, Ś. *jūdhā*=*yūtha* (§ 221); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jārisa*, but P. *yātisa*=*yādṛsa*, Ś. *jādisi*=*yādṛsi* (§ 245). So also in the inlaut when it is, according to § 91, doubled in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A. (Vr. 2,17; C. 3,25; Hc. 1,248; Ki. 2,36,37; Mk. fol. 16), as M. JM. A. *dijjai*, JŚ. *dijjadi*=*diyate*, but P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi* (§ 545); AMg. JM. *hōjjā*=*bhūyāt*, AMg. *dejjā*=*deyāt*, *ahitthējjā*=*adhiṣṭheyāt*, *pahejja*=*braheyāt* (§ 466); M. AMg. JM. *karaniija*=*karaniya*, but Ś. *karaniya*; AMg. *vandanaiija*, but Ś. *vandanīa* (§ 571); AMg. *aṅgulijjaka*=*aṅguliya* (Nāyādh. [°l°]; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañcuija*=*kañcukiya* (chambelain; Vivāhap. 792.800.963.966; Rāyap. 289; Nāyādh. §128; Ovav.; Āv. 8,8); AMg. *koṣejja*=*koṣeya* (Ovav.); AMg. *gevejjā*=*grāveya* (Uttar. 1086; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. [°vi°]); AMg. JM. *nāmadhejja*=*nāmadheya* (Āyār. 2,15,11,15; Nāyādh. §92,116; p. 1228.1351 [°dhi°]; Pāṇhāv. 303.327; Ovav. § 16,105,165; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 10,2). As a rule *y* drops off in the inlaut according to §186. In Mg. P. CP. *y* remains in the anlaut and inlaut, in Mg. in the inlaut only when doubled (Hc. 4,292): Mg. *yuga*=*yuga* (Hc. 4,288); *yādi*=*yāti*, *yadhāsalūva*=*yathāsavarūpa*, *yāṇavatta*=*yāṇapattrā* (Hc. 4,292); *yutta*=*yukta* (Hc. 4,302); *yaska*=*yakṣa* (Nāmiśādhū on Rudratā, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12); *yadhā*=*yathā*, *yam* *yam*=*yad* *yad*, *yahastaṃ* [read °dha°]=*yathāstham* (Lalitav. 566,5.8.9); in the inlaut: *alaksiyyamāna*=*alakṣyamāna*, *peṣkiyyamdi*, *peṣkiyyasi* [read °si°]=*prekṣyante*, *pr kṣyase*; *yāniyyadi*=*jñāyate* (Lalitav. 565,7.13.15; 566,1). As in the case of *ja* (§236) in this case too the manuscripts do not falsely establish the rule. P.: *yutta*=*yukta*, *yātisa*, *yumhātisa*, *yad*=*yādṛsa*, *yusmāḍṛsa*, *yad* (Hc. 4,306, 317.323); in the inlaut: *giyyate*=*giyate*, *tiyyate*=*diyate*, *ramiyyate*=*ramyate*, *paḍhiyyate*=*paḥyate*, *huvejja*=*bhavet* (Hc. 4,315.320.323): CP. *niyocita*= (Hc. 4,325; cf. 327). On *dōgga*=*yugma* see §215, on *jeva*=*eva* § 336.

§253. As in the case of treatment of *na* (§ 224), so in that of *ya* too PG. shows an extraordinary variation. In the anlaut it is retained in °*yāji* (5,1); °*ṭpayutte*=°*prayuktān* (5,6); °*yaśo*=°*yaśas* (6,9); °*yōllaka* (? 6,31); °*yo*=°*yah*; (7,46), on the contrary it becomes *ja* in *jo* (7,44) and °*saṃjutto*=°*saṃyuktah* (7,47). VG. has *yuvā*° (101,2). In the inlaut simple *ya* remains unchanged in PG. VG.: PG. °*vājapeyā*° (5,1); *visae*=°*viṣaye* (5,3); *neyike*=°*naiyikān* (5,6); °*āyu*=°*āyus*°, *viṣayavejayike*=°*viṣayavajayikān* (6,9); °*ppadāyino*=°*pradāyinaḥ* (6,11); *ātteya*=°*ātreya*° (6,13); °*saṃvinayikaṃ* (6,32); *visaya*=°*viṣaya*° (6,35); *āpiṭṭiyam*=°*āpiṭṭiyām* (6,37); *bhūyo*=°*bhūyāḥ* (7,41); *vasudhādhipataye*=°*patin* (7,44); *ajātāe*=AMg. *ajjattāe* (Kappas. Th. 2; Ś. 6,7)=°*adyatvāya* (7,45)¹; °*sahassāya*=°*sahasrāya* (7,48); VG. *viṣaya* (101,1.3); *nārāyanaṣa*, °*āyūṃ*, *vaddhanāyam* (101,8); *gāmeyikā* (101,10; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2); *pariharayam* (101,11; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). In PG. the same variation is found in the case of duplicated *ya* as in the anlaut: at 6,40, beside one another, there stand *karēyja*, *kāraṇējjā*=*kuryāt*, *kārayet*; 7,1 *karēyyāma*=*kuryāma*, but 7,46 *vaṭṭeja*=°*vartayet* and 7,48 *hoja*=°*bhūyāt*². As usual (§ 280). As usual *dya* becomes *jja* in *ajātāye*; likewise *rya* would correctly and regularly become *jja* in *golasamajasa*, *agisamajassa*, *dattajasa*, *dāmajasa*, *sālasamajasa*, *agisamaja*° (6,12.13.21.23.27.37), if BÜHLER were right in equating °*aja*° as=°*ārya*°. But *naṃdijasa* and *sāmijasa* (6,21.26) cannot be equated phonetically with BÜHLER as=°*naṃdīāryasya* and

svāmīyasya, but are=*nandījasya*, *svāmījasya*. Also for the rest, therefore, °*ja* has to be assumed.

1. This is the correct explanation of LEUMANN; false FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211.—2. Cf. BÜHLER, EI, 1, 2f. —3. I.c. 1, 2.

254. In the place of *ya*, apparently *ga* has entered into AMg. *pariyāga*=*pariyāya* (Āyār. 2, 15, 16; Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 135. 173. 220. 223. 235. 249. 796. 845. 968. 969; Nāyādh. 1225; Uvās.; Ovav.), beside *pariyāya* (Uvās.; Ovav.). To equate *pariyāga* as=*pariyāyaka* by contraction, according to § 165, with HOERNLE (Uvās. s. v.), in the case of a t. t. of prose, is improbable. I suspect that *pariyāga* stands for **pariyāva* with *ga* for *va* according to § 231. In support of this view stands AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya*, which ought to be mentioned at the same time. Likewise AMg. *niyāga* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 1; Sūyag. 665 [ni°])=**nyāva* will stand for *nyāya* (commentary=*mokṣanārga*, *saṁyama*, *mokṣa*).—Interchange of *ya* and *va*, as in Skt.¹ and in Pālī², occurs in *kaṭavaṁ*=*kaṭipayam* (Hc. 1, 250); AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya* (§ 81); AMg. *tāvattisā*=*trayastrimśat*, AMg. JM. *tāvattisagā*, °*yā*=*trayastrimśakāh* (§ 438); A. *āvā*=*āyāti* (Hc. 4, 367, 1. 419, 3), *āvahi* (Hc. 4, 422, 1), *āva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *āu*]=*āyāti* (Piṅgala 2, 88)³; A. *gāva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *gāu*]=*gāyanti* (Piṅgala. 2, 88), *gāvanta* (Piṅgala 2, 230); further in the participia necessitatis in A. -*evā*, -*ēvā*, -*īvā*, like *soevā*=**svapeyya* (§ 497), *jaggevā*=**jāgreyya* (§ 556), *karīevā*=**kareyyakam* of the passive stem (§ 547), *sahevā*=**saheyyakam* (§ 570). In AMg. *murava* for **muraya*=*muraja* (Paṇhāv. 512; Vivāhap. 1102; Ovav.; Kappas. [so to be read]), *muravi*=*muraji* (Ovav.), beside M. Ś. *muraa* (Pāyāl. 266; H.; Mṛcch. 69, 23) *va* has entered for the secondary *ya*. *murava* might rest also upon the popular etymology=*mu*+*rava*. The *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya*, *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (§ 191) goes back to a secondary *va* for *ya*, whilst *va* has become *pa*, as in *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava* (§ 191).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 188c.—2. E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 42f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Pālī Grammar p. 30f.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4, 367, 1; cf., however, also *vav* (to go) and Ved. Stud. 1, 1. vi

§ 255. Corresponding to Pālī *nahāru*, Greek νῆρον, Latin *nervus* AMg. JM. have *nhāru*=*snāya* (Thāp. 55; Paṇhāv. 49; Vivāhap. 89. 349. 810; Jiv. 66. 271; Erz.), AMg. *nhāruṇi*=**snāyuni* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 676). There occurs *nhāu* twice (Samav. 227).—In *yaṣṭi ya* becomes *la* (Vr. 2, 32; C. 3. 17a p. 49; Hc. 1, 247, 2, 34; Ki. 2, 39; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. *laṭṭhi*, *laṭṭhi* (H.; R.; Karp. 44, 3, 49, 12, 58, 5, 69, 8, 73, 10, 80, 10; Viddhaś. 64, 4; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 5, 2, 4, 2, 11; Sūyag. 726; Paṇhāv. 282; Nāyādh. § 135. 136; p. 1420; Vivāhap. 831; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. has *jaṭṭhi* only and so stands Vṛsabh. 37, 2 and is so meant in Mallikām. 129, 19, where the text has *taṇuyatṭhi*, and at 192, 22, where it has *hārayatṭhi*. Rājasekhara, however, uses *laṭṭhi* (Karp. 110, 6; Viddhaś. 42, 7, 97, 11, 122, 3 [hāralatṭhi]; Bālar. 305, 10) and *laṭṭhiā* (Viddhaś. 108, 3) in Ś. too, corresponding to M. *laṭṭhiā* (C. 3, 17a p. 49), AMg. *laṭṭhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 2). False is *jaṭṭhi* in M. (Sāhityadarpaṇa 73. 5). Pālī has *laṭṭhi* and *yaṭṭhi*.—*kaṭivāham*, according to Hc. 1, 250=*kaṭipayam*, is=Pālī *kaṭipāham*=Skt. *kaṭipayāham* according to § 167.—M. *chāhā* (shade; shadow; Vr. 2, 18; H.), Ś. *sacchāha* (Hc. 1, 249; Mṛcch. 68, 24) and M. *chāhi* (shade, shadow; sky; Hc. 1, 249; Mk. fol. 19; Deśin. 3, 26; Pāyāl. 236; H. R.) are not=*chāyā*, but=**chāyākhā*=**chāyākā*; they stand, hence, for **chākhā*, **chākhī* with contraction according to § 165 and with aspiration according to § 206. In the sense of “beauty” only *chāā* is used according to Hc. 1, 249, as generally *chāyā* occurs in M. Ś. Mg. only as *chāā* (G. H. R.; Karp. 69, 5; Mṛcch. 9, 9; Śak. 29, 4, 51, 6; Vikr. 51, 11; Karp. 41, 2; Mg. Mudrār. 267, 2), in AMg. JM. as *chāyā* (Pāyāl. 113. 236; Kappas.; Erz.).

§256. *ra* always becomes *la* in Mg. (C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Kī. 5,87; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12; Simhadeva-gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra 2,2) and Dh. (§ 25). Thus Mg.: *laḥaśavaśaṇa-miśaśula śilavialidamandālāyī; dāmhiyuge vilayine=rabhasavaśanamrasuraśirovicali-tamandārārājīṭāmhrīyugo vīraṇiṇaḥ* (Hc. 4,288); *śāyambhaśiśalaśivila=sākam-bharīśvaraśibira, viggahalāṇaśeśalaśilīṇam=vigraharājanareśvaraśrīṇam* (Lalitav. 565,6.11); *ṇagalantala=nagarāntara, dalidda cāludattāha aṇulattā=daridrācā-rudattasyānuraktā, andhaālapūlida=andhakārapūrīta, ovāḷidaśalila=apavārīta-śarira* (Mṛcch. 13,8.25; 14,22; 127,25); *mahāladanabhāśula=mahāratnabhāśura, dalabbhantala=udarābhyantara* (Sak. 113,3; 114,10); *śamale piabhattālam luhi-lappiam=samare priyabhartāram rudhiraṇṇīyam* (Venis. 33,8); *bahūṇalakaduk-khadūḷuṇapaliṇāme dukkale=bahūnarakaduḥkhadārūṇapariṇāmo duṣkarah* (Caṇḍik. 42,6). — Dh. : *ale le=are re; luddhu=rudhah; ḷaliveida=pariveṇṇita; kulu=kuru; dhāledi=dhārayati; ḷulisa=puṛuṣa* (§ 25). — According to C. 3,38; Kī. 5,109; Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra 2,3 in P. too *ra* becomes *la*: *ale ale duṭṭhalakkhaśā=are are duṣṭarākṣaśāḥ* (C); *calaṇa=carāṇa* (Kī. 5,109); *chaṅkāla=jhaṅkāra* (Kī. 5,102); *hali=hari* (Kī. 5,111); *ludda=rudra* (S.). Undoubtedly in C. Kī. S., P. has again been interchanged with CP. (§ 191 note 1). The examples from P. in Hc. 4,304.307.314.316.319.320.321.323.324 have throughout *ra*, as also Kī. 5,109 *usara=uṣṭra, kāria=kārya*. On the other hand Hc. 4,326 teaches that in CP. *la* may enter for *ra*: *golicalana=gauricarāṇa, ekāṭasatanuthalam luddam=ekāḍasatanudharam rudram, hala=hara* (Hc. 4,326); *nala=nara, sala=saras* (Triv. 3,2.64). Likewise Śr. fol. 65. Most of the examples from CP. have, however, *ra*, as *nagara, kiritaṭa, rāca-, caccara, nicchara, chacchara, ṭamaruka, tāmotara, maṭhura* etc. (Hc. 4,325), so that the examples in Hc. 4,326 certainly originate from a third Pāṣācī dialect, which Mk. calls Pāñcāla (§ 27). Presumably the transition of *ra* into *la* in it was just as necessary as in Mg. and in Dh.

§ 257. In dialects other than Mg. Dh. Pāñcāla (§ 256) the change of *ra* into *la* is isolated and fluctuating. Vr. 2,30; Hc. 1,254; Kī. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17; Pkl. p. 52 have collected the words which take *la* under the ākṛtiṅgaṇa *haridrāḍi*. The information supplied by them, however, does not hold equally good for all the dialects. They say: *haladdā, haladdi* (Grr.), M. AMg. JM. *haliddā, M. haliddi, AMg. hāḷidda* (§ 115); M. JŚ. S. *dalidda=daridra* (Gr.); G. 859 [so to be read: v.l.]; H.; Kattig. 404, 387; Mṛcch. 18,9; 29,1.3; 54,3; 55,25; 70,7), S. *daliddadā* (Mṛcch. 6,8; 17,18; 54,1), but M. also *dariddattapa* (Karp. 16,2), S. *dariddadā* (Mālav. 26,15), AMg. JM. *daridda* (Kappas.; Erz.), JM. *dariddi=daridrin, dariddiṇa* (Erz.); *jahiṭṭhila* (Grr.), *jahuṭṭhila* (Hc.), AMg. *juhiṭṭhila*, but S. A. *juhiṭṭhira=yudhiṭṭhira* (§ 118); M. JM. S. *muhala=mukhara* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Erz.; Prab. 39,8); AMg. JM. *kaluṇa=karuṇa* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 225.270.273.282.286.288.289.291; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Sagara 5,15; Erz.; everywhere adverb *kaluṇam*), beside JM. S. A. *karuṇa* (Erz.; Śak. 109,9; Vikr. 67,11) and always M. AMg. JM. *karuṇā* (pity; G.; Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,15 [text here false *kaluṇa*°]; Sagara 5,18; Kk.); M. *karuṇa=karuṇaka* (pity; G.); M. *cilā, AMg. cilāya=kirāta, AMg. cilāi=kirāti, cilāiṇā=kirātikā*, beside S. *kirāda, JM. kirāya, and M. kirāa* in the meaning “Śiva” (§ 230); M. AMg. JM. *phaliḥa=parigha, M. AMg. phaliḥā=parikhā* (§ 208); *phāḷihadda=paribhadda* (§ 208); *valuṇa=varuṇa* (Hc. 1,254), but M. *varuṇa* (H.), S. *vāruṇi* (Bālar. 134,13); AMg. *antalikkha=antarikṣa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,7; 2,4,1,13; 2,5,1,20.21; 2,7,1,7; Sūyag. 294.708; Uttar. 456.651; Dasav. 629,33; Nāyādh. §93; Uvās.), but S. *antarikkha* (Pāñcāl. 27; Mṛcch. 44,19;

Mālav. 25,14); AMg. *ruila*=*rucira* (Sūyag. 565; Samav. 25 [°lla]. 59; Paṇhāv. 269.285; Paṇnav. 116; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *lūha* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,5,3,5; 1,6,5,5; 1,8,4,4; Sūyag. 165.185.578.665; Paṇhāv. 348f.; Vivāhap. 279.838; Thān. 198; Uttar. 56.106; Ovav.), *sulūha* (Sūyag. 497) and *lukkha* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 1,8,3,3; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 198; Vivāhap. 1470ff.; Paṇnav. 8.11.12.13.380; Anuog. 268; Jiv. 28.224; Uttar. 1022; Kappas.)=*rūkṣa*, *lukkha* (Uttar. 1028), *lukkhatta* (Thān. 188; Vivāhap. 1351), *lūhei*, *lūhittā* (Jiv. 610; Nāyādh. 267; Rāyap. 185), *lūhi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), falsely *rukkha* (Sūyag. 239), that in AMg. too always is=*rukṣa* (tree; § 320); but A. *rukkha* (Piṅgala 2,98), and so also JM. in the word-play with *rukkha* "tree" (Rṣabhap. 29), AMg. shows *la* also in *lādhā*=*rādhā* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2) and=*rādhāh* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6.8; Paṇnav. 61; Vivāhap. 1254)=Ś. *rādhā* (Karp. 9,4)=Skt. *rādhā*; further in *pariyāla*=*parivāra*¹ (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 724.784.1273.1290.1327.1460 [°ra]. 1465; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), beside *parivāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.); further in *sūmāla*, *sukumāla* beside M. *sonāra*, also *soṃāla*, *suṃmāra*, Ś. *suṃmāra*, *sukumāra*, JM. *sukumārayi* (§ 123); in the numeral AMg. JM. *cattālisam*, AMg. *cattālisā*, JM. *cāyālisam*, *cālisā*², A. *cālisā*=*catvāriṃśat* and in combinations with other numerals, as AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42), *caūyālisam*, *cojālisam* (44) and others (§ 445). Often in AMg. *pari* becomes *pali*, especially in the oldest dialect; e.g. in *paliuñcayanti*=*parikuñcayanti* (Sūyag. 489), *paliuñciya*=*parikuñciya* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *paliuñcana*=*parikuñcana* (Sūyag. 381), *apaliuñcamāna*=*aparikuñcamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,4,1; 2,5,2,1); *paliyanta*=*paryanta* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4; Sūyag. 108.172); *palei*=*paryeti* (Sūyag. 495), *palinti*=*paryanti* (Sūyag. 95.134); *paliyanka*=*paryanka* (Āyār. 2,13,19.20; Sūyag. 386; Ovav.); *paliikkhiṇa*=*parikkhiṇa* (Sūyag. 978); *paliicchinna*=*paricchinna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2; Sūyag. 560), *paliicchindiya*=*paricchiḍya* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 2,5,2,3,5), *paliōcchinna*=*paryavacchinna* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3); *paliibhindiya*=*paribhidiya* (Sūyag. 243); *paliicchāsi*=*paricchādayati* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6); *palimadējjā*=*parimardayet* (Āyār. 2,13,2); *paliucchūḍha*=*paryuḍṣubdhā* (§ 66); *saṃpūlimajamāna* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3). Therefore, AMg. has *la* for *ra* more frequently than the other dialects have. In this respect it approximates to Mg. and is removed from M. (§ 18). According to Hc.1,254 there is said beside *jadhara*=*jathara*, *vaḍhara*=*vaṭhara*, *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* also *jadhala*, *vaḍhala*, *niṭṭhula*. Upto this moment the forms to be found in the text are M. Ś. *jadhara* (Pāiyāl. 112; G.; Mṛcch. 72,19); M. *niṭṭhura* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *niṭṭhura* (Pāiyāl. 74; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 400,333 [ni°]). Hc. 1,254 and Triv. 1,3,78 teach that *carāṇa* becomes *calaṇa* in the sense of "foot", and that otherwise it remains. *carāṇa*. Bh. Mk. Pkl. have *calaṇa* without limitation. So *calaṇa* "foot" in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. (Pāiyāl. 109; G.H.R.³; Karp. 46,8; 56,1,60,1; 62,8; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.³; Rṣabhap.⁴; Mṛcch. 41,4,12; Śak. 27,9; 62,6; 84,14; Mālav. 34.12; Karp. 22,15; Hc. 4,399). AMg. has *carāṇa* in the meaning "way of life" (Nāyādh.), A. in the meaning "foot of a metre" (Piṅgala 1,2.13.79.80 etc.), but also in the meaning "foot" (1,4,22.85^a. 116; 2,186). In stead of *sakkāla*=*sakkāra* (Hc. 1,254) only M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sakkāra* is to be pointed to (G.R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 23,8; 27,6; Mālav. 44,4; 70,2; 72,2). — On *ingāla* beside *angāra* see § 102, on *kāhala* beside *kāra* see § 207, on *bhasala* see § 251.

1. The form conformably is *pariyāla*, rather=*paricāra*, the meaning, however conformably is=*parivāra*. — 2. R. 6,7; 8,28 is with the v.l. to be read as *calaṇa*, 6,8; 13,49 is to be corrected as *calaṇa*. — 3. Kappas. § 36 stands *carāṇa* behind *calaṇa* of the preceding line. One corrects it to *calaṇa*. — 4. Rṣabhap. 28 is with the ed Bombay to be read as *calaṇa*. — 5. Vikr. 53,9; 72,19 in BOLLENSSEN has *carāṇa*, the v.l. excepted. The Dravidian recension, in the first place, does not have the word; in the second

place Paṇḍit, with his MSS., reads *carana* (127,1), however, PISCHEL *calaṇa* (658,18). It is to be corrected as *calaṇa*.

258. AMg. *tuḍiṇa* (Āyār. 2,11,14; Paṇhāv. 513; Nāyādh. 870; Rāyap. 20.21.60.80; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.) is not, with the commentators, JACOBI¹, E. MÜLLER², WARREN³ and LEUMANN⁴, to be equated as=*tūrya*, but is=*tudita*=*tunna* from *tudai* (Hc. 4,116)=*tudati* with cerebralization according to § 222. Cf. Skt. *tuḍ*, *toḍi*, *toḍikā* (name of a musical mode), *toḍya*, *ātodya* (cymbal). — *kiḍi*, *bheḍa*, presumably=*kiri*, *bhera* (Hc. 1,251) are=Skt. *kili*, *bheḍa*⁵. AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* (saddle; Hc. 1,252) is not with Hc. to be assumed as=*ṣaryāṇa*, but as=**pratyā-dāna* according to § 163; cf. Skt. *ādāna* (decoration of a saddle). For *ra* has entered *ḍa* in AMg. JM. *kuhāḍa*=*kuṭhāra* and *piḥaḍa*=*piṭhara* (§ 239). — AMg. *kaṇavīra*=*karavīra* (Hc. 1,253; Pāiyal. 146; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52 ff; Paṇhāv. 194), *kaṇavīraya* (Paṇṇav. 527 ff.) is to be explained perhaps from **kaḷavīra* or *kaḷavīra* according to § 260, if a synonym **kaṇavīra* does not occur. M. has *karavīra* (G.), Mg. *kaḷavīra* (Mṛcch. 157,5). According to § 166.167 *kaṇera* (Hc. 1,168) too goes back to *kaṇavīra*. Hc. equates it as=*karṇikāra*, and the MSS. ABCE, as well as Triv. 1,3,3 give *kaṇṇero*, according to which it has been so written in my edition too. But F and the Bombay edition read *kaṇero*, and in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Urdū *kaṇera* means "Oleander"; for Hīnī BATE gives the meaning "Casearea Ovata", which is in no way correct. Since *karṇikāra* may, according to § 287, form *kaṇiḍra* with a simple *na*, Hc has evidently interchanged the plants. JM. *kaṇeradatta* (Erz.) will, therefore, be=*karavīradatta* *karavīra*, *karavīraka*, *karavīrya* are well known as proper names, but not *karṇikāra*. It is phonetically impossible to refer *kaṇera* back to *karṇikāra*⁶.

1. Kalpasūtra s. v. — 2. Beitrage p. 28. — 3. Nirayāv., s. v. — 4. Aup. S. s. v. —

5. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,251. — 6. JACOBI, ZDMG. 47.578.

§ 259 For Skt. *kila* dialectal *kira* has been retained in M. JM. A. *kira* (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Kī. 4,83; G.H.R.; Erz.: Pīngala 1,60; Hc. 4,349). Beside it JM. has *kila* (Āv. 8,45; Erz.) and so always Ś. (Mṛcch. 2,24; Śak 21,4; 30,1; 116,7; 159,12; Vikr. 52,4; 72,18; 80,20 etc.). In places where in Indian editions occurs Ś. *kira*, as Pras. 46,7; 48,12; 101,3; 119,12, there is either a false reading or a case of interchange of dialects. M. *ira*, beside *kira*, (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Kī. 4,83; G.; R.) is explained according to § 184, *hira* (Hc. 2,186) according to § 388. Otherwise *ra* for *la* is also only isolated and dialectal: Ś. *pharaa*=*phalaka* (shield; Deśin. 6,82; Karp. 97,6); AMg. *saraḍuya*=*śalāṭuka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,6); *sāmarī*=*sālmali* beside AMg. *sāmati* (§ 88.109).

§ 260: In the anlaut *la* has become *na*, *na* in *nāhala*=*lāhala* (Vr. 2,40; Hc. 1,256), beside *lāhala* (Hc. 1,256); *naṅgala*, AMg. *naṅgala*=*lāṅgala* (Hc. 1,256; Kī. 2,47; Mk fol. 18; Pāiyal. 121 [*na*]); Āyār. 2,4,2,11; Paṇhāv. 234; Dasav. N. 646,10), beside *laṅgala* (Hc.; Mk.), *naṅgaliṇa*=*lāṅgaliṇa* (Ovav.; Kappas) AMg. *naṅgula*=*laṅgula* (Mk. fol. 18; Jiv. 883 886.887), *gonāṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *naṅgula*=*laṅgula* (Hc. 1,256), *naṅgūli*=*lāṅgūli* (Anuog. 349), *naṅgola* (Nāyādh. 502), *naṅgoli*- (Jiv. 345), *naṅgoliṇa* (Thāp. 259); Jiv. 392 ([*na*]), beside M. *laṅgula* (Hc. 1,256); G.; *nohala*=*lohala* (Kī. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18), beside *lohala* (Mk.). It is noticed that the texts in AMg. mostly write, *na* in the anlaut. According to to Mk. fol. 67 the sound change does not take place in Ś. Corresponding to Pāli *nalāṭa* beside *lalāṭa* Pkt. has *nalāḍa* (Hc. 2,123), M. AMg. with *i* according to § 103 *niḷāḍa* (R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5 [*ni*]); Nāyādh. 1310. 1312; Paṇhāv. 273 [*ni*]; commentary *niḍāla*]; Vivāgas. 90 [commentary *niḍāla*]. 121.144.157.169) more frequently with transposition of the last

syllable according to § 354, M. *ṇāḍāla* (Hc. 1,257; 2,123; Ki. 2,117; Mk. fol. 38; G.); M.Amg.JM.Ś. *ṇāḍāla* (AMg. JM. sometimes *ni*°; Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,257; H.R.; Karp. 48,6. Nāyādh. 754.790.823; Vivāhap. 237; Rāyap 113; Jiv. 351.353; Pañhāv 162.285; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Āv 12,27; Erz.; Bālar. 101,6; 259,8 [text° *ḍo*°]; Caṇḍak. 87,8; Mallikām. 195,5); A. *ṇāḍāḷa* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *ṇāḷa*). For Ś. the form is apparently incorrect. *lālāḍa* is made certain for Ś. by the similarly sounding *lālāḍe*, *lāḍesara* (Bālar. 74,21); It occurs also in Bālar. 270,5; Venis 60,5 [text° *ṭa*; v. l. *ṇāḍāla*, *ṇāḍa'la*, *ṇāḍila*]. False in AMg. *lālāḍa* (Rāyap 165). Mk. fol. 38 teaches also *lādāla*. *ṇāḍila* is edited in Ś. in Pārvatīpariṇaya 24,12 [ed. GLASER 23,31 has *ṇāḍala*; cf. v.l. to Venis. 60,5]. The word has gone over to Skt. as *niṭāla*, *niṭāla*, *niṭila*°. To *ṇāḍāla* belongs M. *ṇāḍāla* (found on the forehead; G. 29), to *ṇāḍāla* belongs the dialectical *ṇēḍālī* (a kind of head ornament; Deśin. 4,43). In the inlant *l* has become *m* in *jampai*=*jalpati* and derivatives (§ 296).— In P. CP. *la* becomes *ḷa*: in the inlant P. *kamaḷa*, *kuḷa*, *jaḷa*, *saḷila* *ṣila* = *śila* (Hc. 4,308); CP. *thūli* = *dhūli*; *pālaka*, *bālaka* = *bālaka*; *maṇṭala*=*maṇḍala*, *liḷa*=*lilā*; *saḷa*=*śaila* (Hc. 4,325—327). So probably *ucchaḷṇanti* (Hc. 4,326) too is to be written. Cf. § 226.

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573 *ṇāḍāla* cannot directly be identified with *lālāḷa* without more ado.

§ 261. In A. sometimes *va* becomes *ṽa*¹: *ēṽa*=*eva* in the sense of *evam* (Hc. 4,376,1.418,1); *ēṽai*=*eva*+*api*, in the sense of *evam eva* (Hc. 4,332, 2.423, 2.441,1); *ēṽahiṃ* in the sense of *idāntm*=Vedic *evaiḥ* (Hc. 4,387,3; 420,4); *keṽa* (Hc. 4,343,1.401,1); *kiṽa* (Hc. 4,401, 2.422,14) in the sense of *katham*=**keva* (cf. § 149.434), *keṽai* (Hc. 4,390.396,4)=*kathamapi*; *teṽa* (Hc. 4,343,1.397.401,4), *tiṽa* (Hc. 4,344. 367,4.376,2.395,1.397.422,2), in the sense of *tathā*=**teva*, *teṽai* (Hc. 4,439,4); *jēṽa* (Hc. 4,397.401,4; Ki. 5,6 [so to be read]), *jīṽa* (Hc. 4,330,3.336.344.347.354.367,4.376,2.397 etc.; Kk. 272,37 [text *jiva*] in the sense of *yathā*=**yeva*, **yiva* (§ 336); *jāṽa*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3); *tāṽa*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3). From *ṽa* a full-fledged *ma* has developed in A. *jāma*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,387,2.406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *tāma*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *jāmahi*, *tāmahi*=*yāvadbhiḥ*, *tāvadbhiḥ* in the sense of *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,3; Erz. 86,17ff. [text° *va*°]). The same line of development has to be assumed also for the other dialects, in which *va* is represented by *ma*: *ajjama*=*ārjava* (Triv. 1,3,105)²; *ohāmai* (excels; Hc. 4,25), *ohāniya* (overcome; Pāṇyāl. 187), beside *ohāvai* (Hc. 4,160), *ohāia*=**ohāvia* (downcast; Deśin. 1,158)=**apabhāvatī*, *apabhāvita*³; *gamesai* beside *gavesai*=*gavesati* (Hc. 4,189); *ṇimi* beside *ṇivī*=*ṇivī* (Hc. 1,259); *ṇumai*, *ṇimai* from *ṽivī* (§ 118); Ś. *damiḷa* (Mallikām. 296,14)=*draviḍa*, AMg. *damiḷā* (Vivāhap. 792; Rāyap. 288), *damiḷi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.)=Pāli *damiḷi*=Skt. *draviḍi*, beside AMg. *daviḷa* (Pañhāv. 41), Ś. *daviḍa* (Mrcch. 103,6; Viddhaś. 75,2)=*draviḍa*, M. *daviḍi*=*draviḍi* (Viddhaś. 24,12); AMg. JM. *vesamaṇa*=*vaiśravaṇa* (§ 60). The same sound-change has taken place in the case of the secondary *va* in the passive *cimma* beside *civvai* from *civ* and JM. *summaḷi* beside *suṽvai* from *svaḥ* (§ 536); further in AMg. *bhumā*=**bhruvā*=*bhrūh*, M. *bhumā*, AMg. *bhumayā*, *bhumagā*, *bhamuhā*=**bhruvukā* (§ 124.206).— On the analogous change of *pa*, *ba* through *va* into *mai* see § 248.250, on *va* for *ma* see § 251.277, on *ga* for *va* see § 231, on *pa* for *va* see § 191.254 and on *va* for *ya* see § 254.

1. The MSS. almost always write *mva* for *ṽa*; more seldom *va*, what perhaps is corrected close to *ṽa*.— 2. PISCHEL, BB. 76,94. — 3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛitica p. 14 f., who wrongly assumes *avabhū*. Cf. 286.

§ 262. The sibilants sometimes become *ha* dialectically, especially after long vowels and diphthongs. According to Vr. 2,44,45; Ā. 3,14;

Ki. 2,104.105; Mk. fol. 19 in M., in *daśan* and in the numerals connected with it *śa* becomes *ha* necessarily, and in proper names it so becomes optionally; according to Hc. 1,262 the transition to *ha* is optional also in the case of the pure numeral words, with which the texts are in agreement. M. *dasa* (R. [v.l. often *daha*]; Karp. 73,9; 87,1), *daha* (Karp. 12,7); *dasakaṃdhara* (G. R.); *dasakaṇṭha*, *dahakaṇṭha* (R.); *dahamuha*, *daharaha*, *dāsarahi*, *dahavaaṇa*, *dasāṇaṇa* (R.). *ha* occurs also in A. (Piṅgala 1,83 [so S. GOLDSCHMIDT], 123.125.156; 2,196); yet *dasa* (Vikr. 67,20). AMg. JM. have only *dasa* (§ 442). According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *śa* in *daśan* and *caturdaśan* may become either *sa* or *ha*; on the other hand *sa* must stand in the proper names, *ha* in the remaining tens, excluding 10 itself and 14. The forms that have been found are *dasa* (Karp. 72,3; Pras. 19,5) and *daha* (Ratn. 292,12); *dasakaṃdhara* (Manāv. 118,3); *dasaradha* (Uttarar. 27,4 [°ha]; Bālar. 152, 10 [°ha]; Anarghar. 150,12 [°ha]), *dāsaradhi* (Anarghar 157,10 [°hi]), *dasamuha* (Mahāv. 22,20; Pras. 143,6; Bālar. 20,15), *dasāṇaṇa* (Bālar. 57,2; 123,17; 125,10; 139,13), *dasakaṇṭha* (Bālar. 122,15; 143,17). Mg. Dī. have *dasa* only (Mr̥cch. 11,1:32,18; 38,17; 121,25; 122,19; 133,20; 134,13; Dh. Mr̥cch. 29,15; 30,1; 31,4; 32,3; 34,9.12.17; 35,7; 39,13), Mg. *dasakaṃdhala* (Mr̥cch. 12,13). False is Mg. *daha* (Lalitav. 566,11). In the remaining tens M.A. have *ha*, the other dialects, *sa* (§ 443). *śa* has further become *ha* in M. Ś. *ēddahameṭta*=*īdr̥samātra*, M. *tēddaha*=*tādr̥śa*, *jēddaha*=*yādr̥śa* (§ 122); A. *eha*, *keha*, *jeha*, *teha* beside *aśsa*, *kaśsa*, *jaiśsa*, *taśsa*=*īdr̥śa*, *kīdr̥śa*, *yādr̥śa*, *tādr̥śa* (§ 121.166); A. *sāha*=*śasvat* (§ 64). According to Ki. 2,104 *palāśa* becomes *palāha*. A mention should be made of M.AMg. Ś. *palāsa* (G.H.; Kappas.; Mr̥cch. 127,21), Mg. *palāśa* (Mr̥cch. 127,24).

§ 263. *śa* has become *ha* in M. *dhaṇuḥi*=**dhanuṣa*=*thanus* (Hc. 1,22; Karp. 38,11; Pras. 65,5), *dhaṇuho*=*dhanuṣah* (Bālar. 113,17). — M. *paccūha*=*pratyūṣa*, in the meaning "morning sun" (Hc. 2,14; Deśin. 6,5; Pāiyāl. 4; H. 606 [so to be read with v.l. and the commentary], but M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *paccūsa* in the meaning "morning twilight" [Hc. 2,14; Pāiyāl. 46; G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Katig. 403.374 375; Śak. 29,7; Mallikām. 57,16; Viddhaś. 115,4]). — M. AMg. JM. *pāhāṇa*=*pāsāṇa* (C. 3,14; Hc. 1,262; Ki. 2,104; Mk. fol. 19; G.H.; U. ās.; Erz.), JM. *pāhāṇaga* (Erz.), beside *pāsāṇa* (Hc.; Mk.), as according to Mk. fol. 67 always in Ś. — AMg. *bihaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa*, *bihaṇaga*=*bhīṣṇaṇaka*, M. JM. *bihai*, *bihei* beside M.Ś. *bhiṣaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (§ 213.501). A *eho*, *eha*, *ehu*=*eṣa*, *eṣā*, **eṣam*=*etad* (Hc. 4,362 and Word Index; Piṅgala 1,4 [in BOLLENSON on Vikr. p. 527]. 66.81; 2,64; Vikr. 55,16). — A. *akkhinī* from **akkhinī*=**akṣiṣmin*=*akṣṇī* (§ 312.379). — *chaha*=**ṣaṣa*=*ṣaṣ* with crossing over to the *a*-declension (Piṅgala 1,95.96.97). So is explained *ha* also in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sunhā*, M. *soṇhā* from P. *sunusā* for **sunuhā* (§ 148); *kāhāṇa* (Vr. 3,39; Hc. 2,71; Ki. 2,71; Mk. fol. 25) from **kāsāṇa* (§ 87), *kārṣāṇa*, also with shortening of *ā* of the first syllable (§ 82), *kāhāṇa* (Hc. 2,71), AMg. *kūdakahāṇa* (Uttar. 629); in future, as *kāhimi*, *hohimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāhami*, *hohāmi*=**karsyāmi*, **bhoṣyāmi* (§ 520 ff.); in aorist, like *kāhi* beside *kāsi* (§ 516). JACOBI¹, misled by the commentators, equates AMg. *viha* (Āyār. 1,7,4,2) as=*viṣa*. The word recurs in Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,3,3,14; 2,5,2,7 and there it is mostly assumed by the commentators as=*aṣavi*, therefore, means "forest" and probably is=*vikha* "without heaven"="where one does not see the sky." Therefore, Āyār. 1,7,4,2 is to be translated as "for the ascetic it is better that he goes into the forest alone". *viṣa* in M. AMg. JM. Ś. becomes only *viśa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nīrayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Priyad. 51,1,8.

15,16; 53,14; Mudrār. 40,6; Mālav. 56,8; 65,10); Mg. *viṣa* (Mṛcch. 136,17; 164,1; Mudr. ar. 193,3; 194,6); JM. *nivvīsa*=*nirviṣa* (Sagara 6,2).

1. SBE. 22, p. 68.

§ 264. *sa* has become *ha* in: *ñiharañ* beside *ñisarai*=*ñiharati* (Hc. 4,79). In *divasa* *sa* becomes *ha* compulsorily, according to Vr. 2,46, and optionally according to Hc. 1,263; Ki. 2,105; Mk. fol. 19; Prakṛta-mañjari in Pischel, De gr. Piācr. p. 14. M. has *diasa*, *divasa* (G.R.) and *diaha* (G.H.; Karp. 12,7; 23,7; 43,11 etc.); AMg. only *divasa* (Nāyadh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.). JM. *divasa* (Erz.; Kk.). *diyasa* (Prākṛta-mañjari l.c.), *diyasaṃyara* (Pāiyāl 4), *diyaha* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.), *aṇudiyaham* (Kk.); JŚ. *divaha* (Kattig. 402,364); Ś. only *divasa*, *diasa* (Mrc. h. 68,4; Śak. 44,5,53,9; 67,10; 121,6; 162,13; Vikr. 52,1; Mudrār. 184,5; Karp. 33,7; 103,3; 110,6), *aṇudiasam* (Śak. 51,5) against M. *aṇudiahām* (H.; Karp. 116,1 [°hā]); Mg. *diasa* (Śak. 114,9), falsely *diaha* (Venīs. 33,5); A. *diaha* (Hc. 4,388.418,4), *diahada* (Hc. 4,333.387,2). — *dūhala* (unhappy; Deśin. 5,43) beside *dūsala* (Deśin. 5,43; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 6,87)=*duhsara*. — M. JM. *sāhai*=**śasati*¹ (Hc. 4,2; H.R.; Erz.). — AMg. JM. A °*hattari*, AMg °*hattarim*=°*saptali*, as JM. *caūhattari* (74), AMg. *pañcāhattari* (75), *sattahattarim* (77), *aṭṭahattarim* (78), A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76); (§ 245.446). — In future, as *dāhimi*, *dāhāmi*, *dāham*=*dāsyāmi* (§520 ff.) and in aorist, as *thāhi* beside *thāsi* (§ 516); in the loc. sing. of the pronouns *ta*-, *ya*-, *ka*:- *tahim*, *yahim*, *kahim* beside *tassim*, *jassim*, *kassim* (§ 425.427.428) and in the loc. of nouns formed according thereto in Mg., as *kulāhim*=*kule*; *pavahañāhim*=*pravahane* and in A., as *antahi*=*ante*; *cittahi*=*citte*; *gharahi*=*ghare*; *sisahi*=*śiṣe* (§366); in the genitive plural formed likewise according to the pronominal declension with the ending -*sām* in Mg. and A., as Mg. *śaṇṇāhā*=*vagañānām*, A. *taṇṇāhā*=*trīṇṇām*, *mukkāhū*=*muktānām*, *loṇṇāhā*=*locanayoh*, *saūṇṇāhā*=*śakunānām* (§ 370), in the genitive, that are found according to Hc. 4,300 also in M., as *sariāhā*=*sarītām*, *kammāhā*=*karmañām*, *tāhā*=*teṣām*, *tumhāhā*=*yuṣmākam*, *amhāhā*=*asmākam* (§ 395.404.419.422); in the genitive sing. in Mg. in *āha* from *-*āsa*=*-asya*, as *kāmāha*=*kāmasya*; *calittāha*=*caritrasya*; *puttāha*=*putrasya*, and in A. in *-aha*, *-aho*, as *kaṇṇāha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, *kāmaho*=*kāmasya*, *śesaho*=*śeṣasya* (§ 366); in A. in the 2. sing. active in -*hi* beside in -*si* as *ñisarahi*=*ñiharasati*; *ruahi*=*Vedic ruvasi*; *lahasi*=*labhase* (§ 455). On *h*=*s* in consonant groups see § 312 ff.

1. P. GOLLSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 72; WEBER. ZDMG. 28,369.

§ 265. For *sa* in *saṣṭi* (60) and *sa* in *saptati* (70) there occurs *va* too beside *cha*. *sa*, *ha* (§ 211.264) in conjunctions with units in AMg. JM.: *bāvattṭhim* (62), *tevattṭhim* (63), *caūvattṭhi*^o (64), *chāvattṭhim* (66), *bāvattarim* (72), *tevattarim* (73), *covattarim* (74), *chāvattarim* (76); (§ 446); AMg. *tinni tevattṭhām* *pāvādūyasayām* (363 adversaries); JM. *tiṇṇam tevattṭhānam* *nayarasayānam* (of the 363 cities); (§ 447). The *va* has probably developed on the analogy of *va* in the numeral for 50, as *egāvāṇṇam* (51), *bāvāṇṇam* (52), *tevaṇṇam* (53), *caūvaṇṇam* (54), *pañavaṇṇam* (55), *sattāvāṇṇam* (57), *aṭṭhāvāṇṇam* (58), A. *bāvāṇṇa* (52), *sattāvāṇṇāt* (57); (§ 273) in which it regularly stands (§ 199) for *pa* in **pañcat* (§ 445). *aūṇattṭhim* (59), *aūṇattarim* (69); (§ 444), *pañṇattṭhim* (65); (§ 446) stand for **agunavattṭhim*, **agunavattṭhim*, **agunavattṭhim*; **agunavattarim*, **agunavattarim*, **agunavattarim*; **pañnavattṭhim*, **pañnavattṭhim*, **pañnavattṭhim*, **pañnavattṭhim*, *pañnavattṭhim* according to § 167.83. Spellings like *khadaṅgavi*=*śadaṅgavid* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,425), *khodasama*=*śodaśa* (Sūyag. 562 in the subscription), *hōkkhai*=**bhogyati* (§ 521) are Sanskritisms, with an erroneous writing of *kha* for *sa*, the sounds that in pronunciation have coalesced in Northern India at the present day.¹ On this is based the false reading

AMg. *pākhaṇḍa* (Thān. 583), Mg. *pāhaṇḍa*=*pāsaṇḍa* (Prab. 48,1). The Madras (59,14) and the Bombay (103,2) editions correctly have *pāsaṇḍa*, as also AMg. (Aṇuog. 356; Uvās.; Bhag.)² and JM. *pāsaṇḍiya*=*pāsaṇḍika* (Kk.).

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1.261 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 19 p. 24; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 118. — 2. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,213, note 6; KERN, Jaartelling p.67 note; E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 32 f.

§266. *ha* neither falls out, nor it is brought in to avoid hiatus. All the cases in which this has been assumed¹ rest partly on false readings and partly on false etymologies.² Where in the interior of a word, between vowels, there appears an aspirate for *h* of Skt. there we need not see "coarsening" of *h*, but the old phonetic conditions.⁴ So Ś. Mg. Ā. *idha*=*iha* (Ś. Mr̥cch. 2,25; 4,14; 6,9; 9,10,12; 24,20; 51,24; 57,17; 69,6,15; etc.; Śak. 12,4; 20,3; 67,5; 115,5; 168,15; Vikr. 30,17; 48,4; Mg. Mr̥cch. 37,10; 100,20; 113,17; 114,21; 123,21; 133,15,16; 164,10; Śak. 114,11; Ā. Mr̥cch. 100,18). Ś. Mg. sometimes falsely have *iha*, as Ś. (Mr̥cch. 70,12; 72,13; Vikr. 21,12), *ihaloio* (Mr̥cch. 4,1), Mg. (Mr̥cch. 37,10 [beside *idha*!]; 122,12), readings, that are to be corrected.⁵ The rest of the dialects have *iha*, also D. (Mr̥cch. 101,13) and JŚ. *iha* (Pav. 389,2), *ihalogā* (Pav. 387,25), *ihaparaloyā* (Kattig. 402,365). From this is explained the fact that Hc. 4,268 permits in Ś. *iha* beside *idha* (§21). For Dh., where *ida* was expected, examples are wanting. — *dāgha*=*dāha* (Hc. 1,264); cf. Skt. *ndāgha*. — AMg. *nibhelaṇa* beside *ñihelaṇa*, M. *sibhara* beside *sihara* (§206). — AMg. *maghamaghanta*, *maghamaghēnta* beside M. *mahamahāi*, JM. *mahamahīya* (§558). — AMg. *vebhāra* (Vivāhap. 194,195; Uttar. 194 f.), *vebbhāra* (Nāyādh.), *vibbhāra* (Nāyādh. 1032)=*vaihāra*, with Jains also in Skt. *vaibhāra*. The passive *vubbhāi*=*uhyate*, *dubbhāi*=*duhyate*, *libbhāi*=*lihyate* (§ 541.544) go back to the root-doublets **vabh*, **dubbh*, **libh*. *bh* is related to the original *gh*, *gh*, as *v* is related to *k*, *g*, (230.231), that is to say here is a case of transformation of gutturals to labials. *-rubbhāi* from *rudh* (§ 546), also in the parasmaipada *rumbhāi* in M. AMg. commonly (§ 507), is formed on the analogy of the roots in gutturals. — On *hammat*=Pāli *ghammati* see § 188. Obscure is *bhimora*=*himora* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259), since a Skt. word *himora* is not known, and the meaning *bhimora* has not been handed down.

1. WEBER teaches dropping off, Hāla¹ p. 29; ² on the stanzas 4,410.584; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; Bhag. 1,411, P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 47, S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *tāha*; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *bhamuhā* teach insertion. — 2. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880 p. 333 f.; BB. 3,246 f.; 6,92 f.; cf. § 296. — 3. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 469 ff. — 4. FISCHEL, BB. 6,91 f. — 5. FISCHEL, KB. 81137.

§267. After nasal vowels *h* can become *gh*, after nasals, the aspirates of the corresponding class of the nasals. In many cases the aspirates here as well might be older than *h*, as certainly in *saṁghaṇḍa* (body; Deśin. 8,14; Pāyāl. 59; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255), AMg. *saṁghayaṇa* (Jiv. 66; Vivāhap. 83,89; Uvās.; Ovav.)=**saṁghatana*=*saṁhanana*, AMg. *saṁghayaṇi* (Jiv. 66.87)=**saṁghatanī*, Ś. *saṁghadi*=*saṁghati* (Anarghar. 290,2). Other examples are: *saṁghāra*=*saṁhāra* (Hc. 1,264); *siṁgha*=*siṁha* (Hc. 1,264), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *siha*, Ś. *siṁha*, Mg. *siṁha* (§ 76); falsely stands in Ś. *siṁgha* (Śak. 102,2 ed. BÖHTLINGK according to some MSS.), *viraṁsiṁgha* (Karnas. 53,20), *siṁghala* (Mallikām. 88,21), M. *siṁghali*=*siṁhali* (Viddhaś. 24,11). AMg. *haṁbho* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Sūyag. 579; Vivāhap. 254; Dasav. 640,27; Nāyādh. 740. 761.767.769.1337; Uvās.; Nirayāv.)=Ś. Mg. *haṁho* (Viddhaś. 97,10; Mg. Mr̥cch. 140,12; 141,1; 149,17; 163,2; 165,8; 167,2)=Skt. *haṁho*. —

Behind nasals the aspirate stands for *h* in M.AMg. JM. *cindha* from **cinha* (§ 330) = *cihna* (Vr. 3,34; Hc. 2,50; Ki. 2,117 [text *cinnam*]; Mk. fol. 25; Pāyā. 68.114; G.; Āyār. 2,15,18; Nāyādh. §64; p. 1318; Paṇṇav. 101.117; Vivāhap. 498; Paṇhāv. 155.167; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 13.5; Dvār. 507,38), JM *cindhiya*=*cihnita* (Āv. 27,1), dialectical *cindhāla* (delightful; most excellent; Deśin. 3,22), M. in compounds *indha* (G.), beside M. Ś. Mg. A. *cinha* (Hc. 2,50; R.; Nāgān. 87,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,23; Nāgān. 67,6; A. Vikr. 58,11). According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *cinha*. Bh. 1,12 teaches beside *cindha* also *cēndha* (§119). Further in AMg. JM.A. *bambha*=*brahman* (Jiv. 912; Sūy. g. 74; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; T. 5,15; Hc. 4,412); AMg. *bambha*=*brahman* (Uttar. 904.906; Dasav. N. 654,39), *bambha*=*brāhma* (Āyār. p. 125,34), feminine *bambhī* (Vivāhap. 3; Paṇṇav. 62.63): M. *bambhaṇḍa*-*brahmāṇḍa* (G.); AMg. *bambhaloḍa*=*brahmaloka* (Uttar. 1090; Vivāhap. 224.4-18; Ovav.); AMg. *bambhacāri*- (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; Uttar. 164; Uvās.), AMg. JM. *bambhajāri*=*brahmacārin* (Dasav. 618,34; 632,38; Uttar. 353. 487.917 f.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg.A. *bambhacera*=*brahmacarya* (§ 176); AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa*=*brāhmaṇa* (§ 250); AMg. *bambhaṇṇaya*=*brāhmanyaka* (Ovav.; Kappas.) and others. The other dialects have only *bamha*-, *bamhaṇa* (§287.330). The same phonetic alteration has taken place in the secondary *h*, that originated from a sibilant (§ 262 ff.) in *āsaṃghā*=**āsamhā*=*āsamsā* (Deśin. 1,63), mostly with a change of gender (§ 357)¹, M.Ś. *āsaṃgha* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,250; G.R.; Śak. 160,14; Vikr. 11,2; Viddhaś. 42,7; Kāmsav. 7,20), Ś. *aṇṣaṃgha* (Mallikām. 93,9); M. *āsaṃghai*=*āsamsati* (Hc. 4,35; G.R.); *saṃghai*=*saṃsati* (Hc. 4,2); AMg. *dhimkuna*, dialectical *dhāmkuna*, *dhēṇkuna*=**damhkuna* from *damś* (§ 107.212)². Beside AMg. JM.A. *simbha*- (Hc. 2,74; Paṇhāv. 498; Erz.; Hc. 4,412), AMg. *sembha*- (WEBER, Bhag. 1,439), also femin. *sembhā* (Mk. fol. 25)=*ślesman* from **seṃha*-, **simha*, AMg. *seṃbhiya* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,415; 2,274.274), *simbhiya* (Ovav.)=*ślaismika*, AMg. has also, with a secondary nasal vowel, *siṃghāṇa* from *śleṣmāṇa*- (§ 403), **seṃhāṇa*-, *siṃhāṇa*-, **siṃhāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7 [so to be read with v.l.]; Thān. 483; Paṇhāv. 505; Vivāhap. 164; Dasav. 631,3; Uttar. 734; Sūyag. 704; Ovav.; Kappas.; Bhag.). The word, as *siṃghāṇa*, *ṣiṃghāṇika*, has been taken into Skt. A denominative therefrom is AMg. *siṃghānei* (Vivāhap. 112). A. has also *gimbha*=*grīṣma* (Hc. 4,412). On *kambhāra*=*kāsmira* see § 120, on *sepha*=*ślesman* see § 312, and on *bharai*=*smarati*, §313.

1. BOLLSENSEN on Vikr. 11,2 p. 196; Cf. FISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 5, f.; on Hc. 4,35; BB. 3,250. — 2. Cf. FISCHEL, BB. 3,255; 6,85 f.

II. CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

§ 268. Conjunct consonants of different classes are either separated by a separation-vowel (§131-140) or assimilated. In the anlaut, with the exception of *nha*, *mha*, *lha*, and dialectically also of consonant+*ra*, only a simple consonant can stand: of the consonants assimilated in the anlaut only the second one enters into the anlaut. The anlaut of the second member of a compound is generally treated as anlaut (§ 196). M. *kadhāi*=*kvathati*; *kīlāi*=*kriḍati*; *khandha*=*skandha*; *gaṇṇhi*=*granthi*; *jālāi*=*jvalati*; *thala*=*sthala*; *thāmatthāma*=*sthāmasthāma*- (G.); *dia*=*divja*; *bhamāi*=*bhramati*; *phāṇa*=*snāna*; *phāṇa*=*snāpita*; *thasai*=*hrasati*. — *mhi*=*asmi*, *mha*, *mho*=*smāḥ* can, as they are enclitic, be regarded as treated in the anlaut.¹ The grammarians permit a consonant+*r* in the anlaut and the anlaut (Vr. 3,4; Hc. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20): *doha*, *droha*=*droka* (Bh. 3,4),

daha, *draha*=*hrada* (§ 354; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14); *canda*, *candra* (Grr.); *rudda*, *rudra* (Bh.; Hc.); *inda*, *indra* (Mk.); *bhadda*, *bhadra* (Hc.; Mk.); *sammudda*, *samudra* (Hc.). So there occurs *M. bodraha* (Pāyīl. 62; cf. Deśin. 7,80) or *vodraha* (young; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 7,80; H. 392)²; *JM. vandra* (crowd; Hc. 1,53; 2,79; D śin. 7,32; Erz. 26,3) or *bandra*, *bundra*³. Frequent is consonant + *r*, which sometimes is secondary, in A. So in Hc.: *tram*=*tad*, more correctly=*tyad* (4,360); *dramma*=*δρ ο κ μ η'* (4,422,4); *dravakka* (fruit; 4,422,4); *draha*=*hrada* (4,423,1); *drehu*=**dekhi*=*dr̥ṣṭi* (4,422,6; cf. § 66); *dhrum* in the sense of *yad*, *yasmād* (4,360, 438,1), in *Ki. 5,49* *drum*=*tad*, *grum*=*yad* and according to 5,69 peculiar to Vṛacāḍa Apabhraṃśa; *dhruvu*=*dhruvam* (4,418; cf. *Ki. 5,5*, where *ghruva*, *ghru* has been edited); *praṅgana*=*prāṅgana* (4,360,420,4); *pramāṇia* *pramāṇita* (4,422,1); *prc āvadi*=*prajāpati* (4,404); *prassadi*=*paśyati* (4,393); *prāiva*, *prāiva prāu*=*prājyaḥ* (4,414); *pria*=*priya* (4,370,2,377,379,2; 398,401,6,417); *bruvahu*=*brūta*; *biōppi*, *biōppiṇu*=**brūtva* (4,391; also *Ki. 5,58*); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *vratte*=*vrata* (4,394); *vāsa*=*vyāsa* (4,399; *Ki. 5,5*). In *Ki.* besides those mentioned above also *bhūāsa*=*bhāgya* (5,5). In the inlaut: *antradi*=*antra* (Hc. 4,445,3); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *putra* (*Ki. 5,2*); perhaps also in *jatru*, *tatru*=*yatra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404), and in *etrula*, *ketrula*, *jetrula*, *tetrula*=*iyat*, *kiyat*, *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,435), where the MSS. waver between *ita* and *tra*. *Ki. 5,50* has in the edition *yadru*, *tadru*=*yatra*, *tatra*. — In *Mg. A.* there occur dialectically in the inlaut also *yca*, *yja* (§ 217).

1. The relevant paragraphs supply the references. — 2. So according to Hc. 2,80, The MSS., according to WEBER on H. 392 and IS. 16,140 f., do not have *r*. — 3. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,53.

§ 269. In the inlaut, of conjunct consonants, there can stand only: 1) the consonant doubled and with the aspirate of its own class; 2) the composite sounds *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha*; 3) dialectically consonant + *r* (§ 268); 4) nasal + consonant of its class. The MSS. mostly write anusvāra in place of the nasal: the grammarians vary. According to *Ki. 2,121*; *Mk. f. l. 34* *m* comes in for *n*, *ṇ*, according to *Vr. 4,14*, for *n*, *ṇ* before a consonant¹: *vañcaṇia*=*vañcaniya*; *viñjha*=*vindhya*; *pañti*=*pañktih*; *mañti*=*mantrin*. According to Hc. 1,1 *n*, *ṇ* can remain before consonants of their own class; according to 1,25, on the other hand, *n*, *ṇ*, *n*, *n* must become *m* before consonants; according to 1,30, however, they may remain; yet according to Hc. some grammarians require them necessarily. From Deśin. 1,26 it is seen that *airimpa*, not *āirimpa*, was written, and Deśin. 1,18 makes it probable that *andhāndhu*, and not *amdhāndhu* should be read.² The examples of the grammarians partly relate to words in which the nasal in conformity with the phonetic laws of Pkt. goes out of its class, and in them *m* must be written.³ So: *Ś. avuraṇmuha*=*aparāṇmukha* (Vikr. 44,9); *AMg. chaṇmāsiya*=*ṣaṇmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); *M.A. chaṇmuha*=*ṣaṇmukha* (§ 441); *M.S. diṇmuha*=*diṇmukha* (Karp. 39,3; Viddhaś. 34,11; Laṭakam. 4,3); *M. diṇmoha*=*diṇmoha* (H. 866); *M. JM. Ś. paraṇmuha*=*parāṇmukha* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Śak. 75,15; Mahāv. 34,12; Bharuḥharin. 22,13); *M. AMg. JM. Ś. pañti*=*pañkti* (R.; Karp. 47,12; 101,1; Jiv. 446,512; Paṇḥāv. 520; Rāyap. 143; Vivāhap. 1325; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 36,36; Bālar. 49,2; Karp. 37,9; Piṅgala 1,10), *M.Ś. vañti* (H.; Mṛcch. 69,1), *AMg. pañtiyā*=*pañktikā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5; Ānuog. 386; Thāp. 94; Vivāhap. 361; Paṇnav. 80,84,85); *AMg. bañjha*=*bandhya* (Sūyag. 460 [text *va°*]), *abañjha* (Sūyag. 600 [text *ava°*]); *M. AMg. JM. Ś. viñjha*=*vindhya* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,16; Vivāhap. 1189,1274,1287; Erz.; Rukmiṇip. 48,3); *Ś. viñjha*=*du* (Priyad. 14,6; 52,6); *M. JM. Ś. sañjhā*=*sandhyā* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Karp. 67,4). In support of this are the rules,

like Vr. 3,43=Hc.2,61; Ki.2 98; Mk.fol.25 too, where for *nma* the change into *nma* is especially prescribed again. Whether an exception should, however, be generally made for nasal+nasal, and, therefore, even *parammuha*, *chammāsīya* should be written, remains uncertain. 5) In Mg., in the inlaut too, are found *śca*, *yyha*, *śtha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śta*, *śṭa*, *sta*, *spa*, *spha*, *ḥka* (§ 233.236.271.290.301 ff. 331).

1. On the misunderstanding of this rule by Bhāmaha see COWELL on Vr. p. 137, note 2.—2. FISCHER, *Deśin.*, Introduction p. 8 f. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 1,25.

§ 270. Of the conjunct mutes of different classes the first one is assimilated to the second (Vr. 3,1.50; C. 3,3.24; Hc. 2,77.89; Ki. 2,49.108; Mk. fol. 19.26). 1) *k+t* becomes *tt*: M. *āsatta*=*āsakta* (G.H.); *jutta*=*yukta* (H.R.); *bhatti*=*bhakti* (G.H.); *mōttia*=*mauktika* (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects¹. *mukka* beside rare *mutta*=*mukta* is derived from **mukna*, as *ragga* beside *ratta*=*rakta* goes back to **ragṇa* (§ 566). *sakka*, which Hc. 2,2 equates as=*śakta*, is everywhere=*śakya* (Ki. 2,1)². *nakkam̐cara* (Hc. 1,177) is not=*naktam̐cara*, which must become *ṇattam̐cara*, but goes back to **nakkā* from **nakā*' (§ 194.355)=Vedic *nak*³.—2) *k+th* becomes *tth*: JM. *rittha*=*riktiha* (Pāṇyāl. 49; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *sittha*=*siktiha* (Hc. 2,77; Ovav.; Kappas.); *sithaa*=*sikthaka* (Bh. 3,1; Pāṇyāl. 228).—3) *k+p* becomes *pp*: M. *vappairā*=*vākpātirāja* (G.)—4) *g+dh* becomes *ddh*: M. *duddha*=*dugdha* (G.H.); M. *muddha*=*mugdha* (G.H.R.); M. *niddha* (H.R.), *siniddha*=*snigdha* (G.).—5) *g+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *pabbhāra*=*prāgbhāra* (G.R.)⁴.—6) *t+k* becomes *kk*: AMg. *chakka*=*śatka* (§ 451); AMg. *chakkatthaga*=*śatkāsthaka* (Nāyādh.).—7) *t+c* becomes *cc*: AMg. *chacca*=*śatca*; *chaccaraṇa*=*śatcaraṇa* (§ 441).—8) *t+t* becomes *tt*: AMg. *chattala*=*śattala*; *chattisam̐*, *chattisā*=*śattrimśat* (§ 441).—9) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *chappaa*=JM. *chappaya*=*śatpada*; AMg. *chappanam̐*, A. *chappana*=**śatpāṇat* (56; § 441.445).—10) *t+ph* becomes *s pph*: *kappala*=*kaiphalā* (Hc. 2,77).—11) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *khagga*=*khadga* (G.H.R.); M. *chaggaṇa*=*śadgaṇa*, Ś. *chaggaṇaa*=*śadgaṇoka* (§ 441).—12) *d+j* becomes *jj*: AMg. *chajjiva*=*śadjiṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,7,7); *śajja*=*śadja* (Hc. 2,77).—13) *d+d* becomes *dd*: AMg. *chaddisim̐*=*śaddisam̐* (§ 441).—14) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: AMg. *chabbhāya*, *ga*=*śadbhāga* (§ 441); Ś. *chabbhua*=*śadbhujā* (Cait. 42,7).—15) *d+v* becomes *vv*: AMg. JM.A. *chavviam̐*=*śidvimsati* (§ 441).—16) *t+k* becomes *kk*: M. *ukkanthā*=*utkṇthā* (G.H.); AMg. *ukkalīyā*=*utkalikā* (Ovav.); Ś. *balakkāra*=*balātkāra* (Mṛcch. 13.22; 17,23; 23,23,25; Śak 137,3), Mg. *balakkāla* (Mṛcch. 140.15; 146 17; 158,22; 162,20; 173,12).—17) *t+kh* becomes *kkh*: M. *ukkhāa*, JM. *ukkhaya*=*utkhāta* (80).—18) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *uppala*=*utpala* (G.H.R.); AMg. *tappadhūmayā*=*taṭprathamatā* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *sappurisa*=*satpurusa* (G.H.).—19) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: M. *upphulla*=*utphulla* (H.R.); M.Mg. *upphāla*=*utphāla* (R.; Mṛcch. 99,10).—20) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *uggama*=*udgama* (G.H.R.); M.Ś. *mōggara*=*mudgara*: AMg. JŚ. *pōggola*=*puḍgala* (§ 125).—21) *d+gh* becomes *ggh*: M. *ugghāa*=*udghāta* (G.H.R.); M. *ugghuṭṭha*=*udghuṭṭa* (R.).—22) *d+b* becomes *bb*: M. *bubbua*=*budbuda* (G.); Ś. *ubbandhia*=*udbandhya* (§ 513).—23) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *ubbhāda*=*udbhata* (G.R.); M. *ubbhēa*=*udbheda* (G.H.R.); M. *sabbhāva*=*sadbhāva* (G.H.R.).—24) *p+t* becomes *tt*: M. *ukkhitta*=*utksipta* (G.H.R.); M. *pajjatta*=*paryāpta* (G.H.R.); M. *sutta*=*supta* (H.).—25) *b+j* becomes *jj*: M. AMg. JM.Ś. *khujja*=*kubja* (§ 206).—26) *b+d* becomes *dd*: *adda*=*abda* (Hc. 2,79); M. *sadda*=*śabda* (G.H.R.).—27) *b+dh* becomes *ddh*: *āradḍha*=*āraddha* (R.); M. *laddha*=*labḍha* (G.H.R.); *lōddha*=*lubdhaka* (§ 1255).

1. Cf. § 184, note 1. — 2. BOLLSENSEN on Vikr. 12,120; FISCHER on Hc. 2,2.

Cf. 279. — 3. Skt. *nakṣatra* "star", "constellation" too should be equated as = **nakṣatra* "ruling over the night". The customary explanations on account of **naktatra* (AUFRECHT, KZ. 8,71; cf. WEBER, *Nakatra* 2,268) or from *√naks* (GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* s.v.) are in any case perverse. — 4. So according to the usual interpretation. ZACHARIAE (Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 60 ff.) sees probably rightly in *prāgbhāra* a false back formation of *pabbhāra*. He would like to derive *pabbhāra*, that is frequent in AMg. also (e.g. Uttar. 1034; Anug. 416; Vivāhap. 248,920; Thāp. 135,297; Ovav.; Nirayāv.) and is found also in JM. (Kk.) and Ś. (Anarghar. 149,10), from **prahvāra*. The common meaning "crowd" points, however, rather to **prabhāra* (JACOBI, Kk. s.v.) with duplication according to §196.

§271. Conjunct mutes of the same class, except in the cases mentioned in §333, undergo a change only dialectically. In Mg. *ṭṭ* becomes *ṣṭ* (Hc. 4,290); *paṣṭa*=*paṭṭa*; *bhaṣṭālikā*=*bhaṭṭārikā*; *bhaṣṭiṇi*=*bhaṭṭiṇi*. STENZLER, in Mṛcch., writes *ṣṭ* for *ṭṭ*: *bhaṣṭaka*=*bhaṭṭaka* (10,5;16,18;22,3,5;114,16;118,8,12,22;119,9;122,10;124,12 ff.; 125,1,3,8,24;132,11,15,18); *bhaṣṭālaa*=*bhaṭṭāraka* (22,5;32,4;112,18;119,13;121,12;154,9;164,12;165,1,5;176,4); *piṣṭadu*=**piṭṭadu*=*piṭṭoyatu* (125,8). GODABOLE, as often in other cases also, has followed him. The manuscripts almost always have *bhaṭṭaka*, *bhaṣṭaka*, *bhaṣṭhaka*, *bhaṭṭāla*, *bhaṣṭāla*, *bhaṭṭāla* [°*laa*], only some of the MSS. have °*ṣṭ* in 10,5;22,3,5;32,4;119,13;124,24;132,11. For *piṣṭadu* all have *piṭṭadu* or *viṭṭadu*, likewise *aṭṭahāṣaṣṭa* (168,21), for which we should read *aṣṭa* according to Hc. The Calcutta editions, have *ṭṭ* throughout, likewise all the editions at Śak. 114,12;116,11;118,4; Prab. 32,8,10,11,12; Candak. 60,12 etc. In Mṛcch. *ṣṭ* can be a dialectical variant for *ṭṭ*, as *ṣk* beside *hk*=*ks*. But elsewhere according to Hc. *ṣṭ* should be written for *ṭṭ*. Cf. §290. — *kṛtī* (skin) becomes *kicci* according to Hc. 2,12. In the text we find only *kattī* (Pāyā. 110; G.H.) and *M. kittī* (H). At H. 951 the MS. W has the v.l. °*kaccā* for °*kattī*; in Dhvanyāloka at 128,6 the edition reads °*kattī* a and so also Kāvyaṇṣa 329,10 the edition and the best manuscripts. *kacci* and *kicci* presuppose Skt. **kṛtyā*=*kartyā* (scil. *tvak*) "what is to be cut off (skin)". Cf. AMg. *vigiñcā*=**vikṛtyati* (§485). On Mg. *ṣca* for *ccha* see §233.

1. *piṭṭadu* in GODBOLE p. 345, note 9 is a printing error. — 2. ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 233 note; SENART, *Piyadasi* 1,29 f.; 2,418 ff; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 2,18 note 1. wrongly equate *ṣṭ* as=ṭṭ. Cf. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881,1319 f.

§ 272. If the first of two conjunct consonants is a nasal, the sound-group remains unchanged as a rule, when the nasal precedes: *M. anka* (G.H.R.); *M. Ś. saṅkhalā*=*śṅkhalā* (§213); *M. siṅga*=*śṅga* (G.H.); *M. jaṅghā* (G.); *M. koṅca*=*krauñca* (G.); *M. lañchana*=*lāñchana* (G.H.R.); *M. mañjari* (G.H.); *M. kaṇṭha* (G.H.R.); *M. khaṇḍa* (G.H.R.); *M. anta* (G.H.R.); *M. manihara* (G.H.R.); *maaranda*=*makaranda* (H.R.); *M. bandha* (G.H.R.); *M. jambū* (G.H.). If the nasal quits its own class, it becomes *m* (§269).

§273. Dialectically *ñca* becomes *ṇa* in *pañcadaśan* and *pañcāśat* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Ki. 2,66; Mk. fol. 25). So: *pañnaraha* (15; Grr.; A. Piṅgala 1,112,114); AMg. JM. *pañnarasa* (°*nnā*) (Hc. 3,123; Kappas.; Bhag.; Erz. p. XLI), *pañnarasi* (Kappas.); *pañnāsā* (50; Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Mk. fol. 26; Kappas.); AMg. JM. also *pañnāsam* (Ki. 2,66; Thāp. 266; Bhag.; Erz.), also *pañnā* (C. 3,32), in the remaining fifties shortened to °*pañnam*, °*pañnam*: °*ekāvannam* (ed. *ekā*); 51; Samav. 112); °*bāvannam* (52); °*teāvannam* (53); °*caūvannam* (54); °*paṇavannam* (55); °*chappannam* (56); °*sattāvannam* (57); °*aṭṭhāvannam* (58) (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,426; Samav. 113-117; Erz. p. XLI)

aiñāpaṇṇam (49; Ovav. §163); *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.); *A. bāvanna* (52), *sattāvaññā* (57) (Piṅgala 1,87.51). So also AMg. *paṇṇatthi* (65; Kappas.) and *paṇṇattari* (75; Samav. 133). Before 20—60, in JM. AMg. *paṇṇa* is mostly weakened to *paṇa*: *paṇavisam* (25); *paṇatīsam* (35); *paṇayālīsam* (45); *paṇavaṇṇam* (55) and *paṇavaññā* (C. 3,33; [so to be read; see v.l.]; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,245 beside *pañcāvāññā*); *paṇa-saṭṭhiṃ* (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,425; Samav. 72-123; Erz. p. XLI). So also AMg. *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.) and A. *chappāṇa* (56; Piṅgala 1,96). Corresponding to Pāli *paṇṇuvisati*, *paṇṇuvisam* (25) stands AMg. *paṇuvisāhi* (Instr.; Āyār. p. 137,25), AMg. *paṇuvisam* (Rāyap. 114 f.; Jiv. 673; Jiyāk. 19,20); JM. *paṇuvisā* (Āv. 48,13), of which *u* is to be explained according to §104. Pāli too has *paṇnarasa*, *paṇṇarasī*, *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇāsa* beside *paññāsa*. E. KUHN has conjectured (KZ. 33,478), that “ññ should be explained as arising from a dissimilation of *c* and *ś*, and accordingly it goes to back to a time, when *ś* had not yet gone over into the dental sibilant, but in its pronunciation was still distinctly connected to *c*.” That is not possible for for *ṇṇa*. Pañjābī and Sindhi *pañjāh*, P. *°vamjā*, S. *°vamjāha* (HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. 259) point to the transition from *ñca* to *ñja*, *ñya*, *nya*. Cf. Pāli *āñā*=*ājñā*, *āñāpeti*=*ājñāpayati* and § 274.276.282.283. In A. the nasal has vanished in *pacīsa* (25) and *pacaālīsaḥi* (45; instr.). See §445. On AMg. *āṇṇaṇa* supposed to be=*ākuñcana* see §232.

§ 274. According to Hc. 4,293; Sr. fol. 62; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 in Mg. *ñja* becomes *ñña*: *aññali*=*añjali*; *dhaññāna*=*dhanamjaya*; *paññala*=*prañjala*. According to this *ja*, as in the anlaut (236), has become *ya*. In Mṛcch. 19,6 stands *añjalīm*.

§ 275. According to Hc. 4,261.302; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12; Amaracandra, Kāvyaśālikāra p. 9 in Ś. and Mg. *nta* can become *nda*. The examples of the grammarians are: Ś. *andeura*=*antahpura*; *ñiccinda*=*niścinta*; *mahanda*=*mahat*; Mg. *mahanda*-; in addition to the assumptive Ś. *randūṇa*=*ratvā* (Hc. 4,271) and in Trivikrama 3,2,1 *saimādale*=*śakuntale*. Inscriptionally *nda* occurs throughout for *nta* in Lalitav. in Mg.: *payyande*=*paryante* (565,7); *avayyāṇḍadā*=*aparyantatā* (565,12); *peṣkiyyāṇḍi*=*preksyante* (565,13); *puṣcamde*, *ni[liśkam]-de*=*prcchan nirikṣamāṇaḥ* (565,20); *vaññāṇḍassa*=*vrajataḥ* (566,7), whilst in Ś. *nta* exclusively remains: *viloiṇṇanti*=*vilokyante* (554,21); *peṣkhiṇṇanti*=*preksyante* (554,22); *vuttamā...sunīyanti*=*vṛttānīh...śrūyante* (555,2); *huvanti*=*bhavanti* (555,5); *peranti*=*paryante* (555,11), *desanti*=*deśāntara* (560,19) etc. HOEFER¹ and LASSEN² have already collected numerous examples, from older texts, that have partly vanished in the recent editions, such as *bhakkhandi*, for which STENZLER, Mṛcch. 69,3, with his manuscripts, reads *bhakkhandi*=*bhaksayanti*, *sandāva*, for which stands *saṃtāpa* (Mṛcch. 78,8; Śak. 55,1; 68,1; Ratn. 298,10; 229,10), etc. In Prab. the editions also of Pūṇā (P.), Bombay (Bb.) and Madras (M.), like that of BROCKHAUS (B.) frequently have *nda*, even in words other than in BROCKHAUS, as 39,2 B. Bb. *ramandī*, M.P. *ramaṇḍī*, 9 B. *sambhāvaandī*, M. P. *sambhāvaṇḍī*, Bb. *sambhāvayamḍī*, but 4 B. *ciṭṭhandi*, M. *ciṭṭhandi*, P. *ciṭṭhandi* Bb. *tussanti*, while all 7 read *nti* in B. *paḍichanti*, Bb. *paḍichanti*, P. *paḍichanti*. The same oscillation occurs there often and so also in many of the editions published by Indians. Thus Sh. P. PANDIT writes Mālav. 27,2 *oleanti*, 3 *antare*, but 5 *vaārāṇḍandaram* (BOLLESEN 6,9 correctly *°ntaram*); 66,1 *pañcarattabhbandare* (BOLLESEN 34,13 *°ntare*), but 5 *āntavam* etc.; TĀRĀKUMĀRA CAKRAVARTI, Uttarar. 59,5; 69,10; 77,4; 89,11 *vāsanti*=*vāsanti*; TELANG, Mudrār. 36,4 *jāṇandī*, but 38,2 *jāṇantam*; 39,4 *sahandī*,

but 7 *nivedianti* [sic]; [DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Unmattarāghava 3,2,5; 7,4 *disandi*, but 5,4 *disanti*=*drysyante*; 7,4 *anvesandīte*=*anvesanīyā*, but 5,4 *sāmbhamantā*=*sāmbhramantaḥ*; Mukund. 13,2 *kim di*=*kim iti*; 13,18 *andareṇa*=*antareṇa*; 17,14 *sandi*=*sānti*; 21,12 *akkando*=*ākraṇtaḥ*. Frequent is the writing in both the editions of Pārvaṭip., as *nirandaram cindāulam* (2,15,16), *vāsandī* (9,3), *vāsandī* (9,15), *ahīlasandī* (24,16; 28,4) and others. LASSEN was inclined to see therein a peculiarity of Ś³. But *nda* is found also in Mg. as well as in M. too, e.g. *jāṇandā* v.l. for *jāṇantā* (H. 821); *kim deṇa* (H. 905); *bhaṇandi* (Pārvaṭip. 28,2); *ramandi*=**ramanti*, *ujjhandō*=*ujjjhantaḥ*, *rajjandi*=*rajyante* (Mukund. 5,2,23,2). Hc. 2,180 teaches that *hamdi* is used to express astonishment, regret, certainty, reality and doubt, and 2,181 teaches that *hamda* is used in the sense "take!", "take care". *hamda* is=*handa*=Skt. *hanta*. The example given by Hc. is H. 200, where the MSS. read *gēṇhaha*, *giṇhaha*, *maṇda*, the Jaina recension R. has *hṛmḍi* and Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,70 on strophe 145) reads *hamta*. AMg. has *hamda ha* or *hamda ham* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6,11,1,2; Thāṇ. 354); elsewhere, however, M.AMg. JM.Ś. *hanta*, AMg. also *hantā* (G.; Āyār. 2,5,2,4; Nāyādh. 1332; Vivāgas. 16; Uvās.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kk.; Vikr. 31,7). AMg. *hamdi* (Sūyag. 151; Dāsav. 624,26 [*handi*]; Dāsav. N. 647,41 [*handi*]; 653,13 [*handi*]; Thāṇ. 488; Aṇuog. 323; Nāyādh. 1134), goes back to JM. *hamti* (Kk.), that is=*ham iti*. Cf. § 185 and AMg. *hambho* §267. The examples in Hc., with the exception of *handa*, are found in the Telugu recension, and like the doubled setting of the aspirates (§193), the writing of *nd* for *nt* is to be traced back to the Dravidians, who pronounce *nt* as *nd*. Hence *nd* is found frequently especially in Dravidian MSS. and in the MSS. which go back to the Dravidians. Sometimes the Dravidian MSS. write *ntta* for *nta* in Skt. too, e.g. *śakuntalā*⁴, to ensure the pronunciation *nt* thereby, and so in Pkt. too the South Indian PG. writes *māhamntte* (7,43) for *mahante*=*mahataḥ* (acc. plur.)⁵, as also old Pkt. MSS. are fond of doubling *t* after *m*. Especially frequently is found *samṭāva* in M. (H. 817; Appendix 994) and Ś. (Mālatīm. 79,1; 81,2; 219,1; Uttarar. 6,1; 92,9; 163,5; Nāgān. 87,12; Viddhaś. 81,4; Priyad. 4,7; 22,12; 24,7; 25,13; Mallikām. 218,10; 223,6; 330,17; Rukmīṇip. 27,6,11; 33,13), *samḍāvedi* (Priyad. 20,7; Mukund. 73,3 [so to be read]), *samḍāvida* (Mālatīm. 79,1). Śak. too has *sandāva* at 55,1 in most of the manuscripts, at 68,1, in two of them at 127,7, most of them have *sandāvedi*. Since M. possesses a verb *dāvai*=*tāpayati* (Śak. 55,16 with note 1 at p. 184; cf. also §201, note 1), one might derive *samḍāpa* from it. But in M. *samṭāva* is the most accredited form, and for Ś. the only correct one. Dialectically the same phonetic change has occurred in *oanda*=*apahrntati* (§485), and *vihumṇa*=*vidhumṭda* (Deśin. 7,65; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,252).

1. De Prakrita dialecto p. 54. — 2. Inst. p. 238; 378 note. — 3. Inst. p. 238. — 4. FISCHER, GN. 1873, 211 f.; KB. 8, 130 f.; Vikramorvaśiṇa p. 615. — 5. FISCHER, GN. 1895, 210. — 6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29, 494, note 1; Rāvaṇavaho p. xi.

§ 276. If the nasal stands in the second place, *v*, *n* become assimilated to the preceding consonant: M *aggi*=*agni* (G.H.R.); M AMg. JM. Ś. *uvviggā*=*udvigna* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛch. 150,16; 151,2). *uvvīṇa*, that is equated by Hc. 2,79 as=*udvigna* is rather=**udvīṇa* from Vedic *vrad*, **vrd* with *ud*. An original *r* is pointed to by *vuvṇa* (timid; frightened; Hc. 4,421; Deśin. 7,94; Pāiyāl. 76) and *uvvūṇa* (frightened; Deśin. 1, 123); JM. *nagga*=*nagna* (Erz.); M. *rugga*=*rugna* (G.); M. *viggha*=*vighna* (R.); AMg. *saṇagghā*=*saṭagghā* (Uttar. 285; Ovav.); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *paṭṭi*=*paṭni*

(Uttar. 363.422); M. *savatta*=*sapatna* (G.R.), M. J.M.Ś. *savattī*=*sapatnī* (H.; Āv. 28,9; Anarghar. 287,1; Venīs. 12,6), Ś. *nisavatta*=*nihasapatna* (Mr̥cch. 5,1), M. *paatta*=*prayatna* (H.); AMg. *pappoi*, JŚ. *pappodi*=*prāpnoti* (§504). See 566. The sound-group *jña*, as a rule, becomes *ṇa*, in the anlaut *ṇa* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ki. 2,102; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ahinṇāṇa*=*abhiṇṇāna* (R.); M. *janṇa*=*yajña* (H.); *paṇṇā*=*prajñā* (Hc.2,42); M. *saṇṇā*=*saṃjñā* (R.); M.AMg. J.M. *āṇā*=*ājñā*, AMg. J.M. *āṇavei*, Ś.Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§88); M. *ṇajjai*, AMg. J.M. *ṇajjai*=*jñāyate* (§548), AMg. *nāṇa*=*jñāna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6). Hc. 2,83 permits also *ajjā*=*ājñā*; *pañjā*=*prajñā*; *saṃjā*=*saṃjñā*; *jāṇa*=*jñāna*, and beside *ṇa*, *ṇu* (§105) also *jja*, when *jña* forms the second member of a compound: *appaṇṇu*, *appaṇṇa*=*ātmajña*, *ahinṇu*, *ahijja*=*abhiṇṇa*, *iṅgiyaṇṇu*, *iṅgiyajja*=*iṅgitajña*; *daivaṇṇu*, *daivajja*=*daivajña*; *maṇṇa*, *maṇṇajja*=*maṇajña*; *savvaṇṇu*, *savvajja*=*sarvajña*, but only *viṇṇāṇa*=*viṇṇāna*. According to Vr. 3,5; Ki. 2,52; Mk. fol. 20 in M. only *jja* is used in words of the type of *sarvajña*: *sahajja*, *ahijja*, *iṅgiyajja*, *sujji*=*sujña*, in Ś. on the other hand, according to Vr. 12,8 only *savvaṇṇa*, *iṅgidanṇa*, according to 12,7 in *viṇṇa* and *yajña* optionally *ṇja*, according to Ki. 5,76 *ahijjo*, and *ahiṇco* optionally, according to 5,77 *paṇṇicā*=*pratiṇṇā*. The correct reading in Vr. Ki. is wholly doubtful; presumably *jja* and *ṇa* should be permitted. The forms found in the texts are Ś. *anahinṇa*=*anabhiṇṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1); *janṇa*=*yajña* (Śak. 142,3; Mālav. 70,15); *paṇṇā* (§220). In AMg., beside *ṇu*, *ṇu* (§105), *ṇa*, *ṇna* also are suitable for use: *samaṇṇa*=*samanujña* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); *kheṇṇa*=*khadajña* (Āyār. 1,1,4,2; 1,2,3,6; 1,2,5,3; 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,3,4; 1,4,1,2; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 234 [°da°]. 304.565); *māyṇa*=*mātrajña* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2; 1,8,1,19; Dasav. 623,15; Uttar. 51); *kāḷanna*, *balanna*, *khaṇṇanna*, *khananna*, *viṇṇanna*, *samaṇṇa*, *bhāvaṇṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2); *meṇṇa* (Uttar. 508); *panna*=*prajña* (Uttar. 33); *āsupanna*=*āsuprajña* (Uttar. 181); *mahāpanna* (Uttar. 200); *maṇṇa*, *amaṇṇa*=*manoṇṇa*, *amanajña* (Āyār. 2,1,10,2,11,2; 2,4,2,6; p. 136,7 ff.; Sūyag. 390; Ovav. 53,87), but Ś. *maṇṇajja* (Mallikām. 195,5). So also AMg. *janna*=*yajña* (Uttar. 742), *janṇai*=*yajñakṛt* (Ovav.). In Mg. *jña* becomes *ñña* (H. 4, 293); *avaññā*=*avajñā*; *paññāvisāla*=*prajñāvisāla*; *savaññā*=*sarvajña*. Vr. Ki. Mk. do not have this rule, and the MSS write only *ṇa*. So: *janṇa*=*yajña* (Mr̥cch. 171,11); *janṇaṇi*=*yajñāṇi* (Venīs. 34,13); for which, according to Hc., should be written *yañña*, *yaññaṇi*; *paṇṇāṇa*=*pratiṇṇāṇa* (Venīs. 35,13); *viṇṇāṇa*=*viṇṇāṇa* (Mr̥cch. 37,21), *viṇṇāṇa*=*viṇṇāṇa* (Mr̥cch. 138,25; 139,1) etc. The rule accredits *vaññadi*=**vrajñādi* (§448), which the copyists did not change, as they did not recognize it. —In P. too *jña* becomes *ñña* (Hc. 4,303; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12): *paññā*=*prajñā*; *saññā*=*saṃjñā*; *savaññā*=*sarvajña*; *ñña*=*jñāna*; *viññāna*=*viṇṇāna*; *yaññā*=*yajña*; *raññā*, *rañño*=*rājñā*, *rājñāḥ* (Hc. 4,304) beside *rāciñā*, *rāciño* (§237.399). In Vr. 10,9.12 the MSS. give *ṇja*, *jja*, which will simply be an error for *ñña*.

§ 277. If the nasal standing behind a stop is *ma*, the sound-groups are differently treated. As a rule *gma* becomes *gga*: M.AMg. *jugga*=*yugma* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 2,62; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19; Vivāhap. 275.362); *tigga*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62); *vaggi*=*vāgmin* (Bh. 3,2); probably also *dōgga*=*yugma* (§215). Dialectically, however, it becomes *mma* as well: AMg. *jumma*=*yugma* (Hc. 6,62; Vivāhap. 1391 ff; 1666 ff; Thāp. 275; Samav. 138); *timma*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62). —*kma* becomes *ppa* Vr. 3,49; Hc. 2,52; Ki. 2,63; Mk. fol. 26); *ruppa*=*rukma* (Bh. 3,49; Ki. 2,63); AMg. *ruppi*=*rukmin*, by Hc. 2,52 equated as *=rucmin* (Samav. 114.117.139.144.157.160; Thāp. 75; Nāyādh. 781 ff.; Rāyap. 177); AMg. J.M.Ś. *ruppiṇi*=*rukmiṇi*

(Antag. 3,43; Nāyādh. 529; Nirayāv. 79; Paṇhāv. 292; Dvār. 497,31 ff.; 502,34;505,34; Pracandap. 18,15; Mālatīm. 266,4 [so to be read]; Nāgān. 51,8 [v.l.=ed. Jībananda Vidyasagara 49,7, where, however, *rukkiṇi*]. — According to Hc. 2,52 *kuṭmala* forms in Pkt. *kumbala*, as also Pāiyāl. 54 has. Since beside it is found also *kuñcala* (Deśin. 2,36; Pāiyāl. 54), that cannot go back to *kuṭmala* or *kuḍmala*, *kumbala* also becomes a dialectical form, that is to be added beside *kuṭmala*. At Mk. fol. 26 the manuscript has *kuppala*. — *ātman* becomes almost always in M., always in A *appa-* (Vr. 3,48; Kī. 2,63; G.H.R.)¹, very rarely M. *atta-* in *attano* (G. 63,96; Karp. 82,2). The other dialects oscillates (Hc. 2,51; Mk. fol. 26). AMg. JM. have *appa-* and *atta-* beside one another even in compounds, as AMg. *ajjhappa*=*adhyātman* (Āyār.1,5,4,5; Paṇhāv. 437); AMg. JM. *attaya*=*ātmaja* (Vivāhap. 795; Erz.), AMg. *attayā*=*ātmajā* (Nāyādh. 727.1228.1232); AMg. has also *āja-* for **āta-*, corresponding to JŚ. *āda-* (§88); by the side of it JŚ. has *appa-*; in Ś. Mg. only in the nomin. sing. *appa-* is frequent; in the other cases almost only *atta-*, accus. *attānaṃ*; Dh. has *appa-* (§401). The form occurring in the Gīrnār inscriptions, *āpta-*, which is not to be read² *ātpa-* with ASCOLI³ and SENART⁴, shows that *appa-*, by the route *ātma-*, **ātva-* (§251.312), **ātpa*, *āpta*, has arisen by transposition of the stops, whilst *atta* is the regular continuation of *ātman*⁵. In *kma*=*ppa* must be added a transition step: *rukma*, **rutma*=*ruppa*. — *dma* becomes *nma*: *chamma*=*chadma* (Hc. 2,112) beside the usual form *chaūma* (§139); *poṃma*=*padma* (§166.195) beside *paūma* (§139).

1. At H. 201 in place of *attapo*, as also the Bombay edition has, should be read *appapo* with S., likewise at G. 90 with the best manuscript J. In M. probably *appapo*, should be read *attapo* everywhere. — 2. BHAGVANLĀL INDRAJĪ, IA. 10,105; FISCHER, GGA.1881, p. 1317 f.; BÜHLER, ZDMG. 37,89. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 197, note 10. — 4. Piyadasi, 1,26 ff. — 5. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1318.

§ 278. If nasals of different classes meet together, then *nma*, *nma* become *nma* (§269), *nma* becomes *nma* (Vr. 3,43; Hc. 2,61; Kī. 2,98; Mk. fol. 25), *nna* becomes *nna*, AMg. JM. JŚ. also *nna* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ummoha*=*unmukha* (G.R.), *ummūla*=*unmūla* (H.), *ummūlaṇa*=*unmūlana* (R.), *jamma*=*janman* (H.R.); *manmaṇa*=*manmana* (Hc. 2,42); M. JM.A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (§251); M. *ninna*=*ninna* (Hc. 2,42; G.), *ninnaā*=*ninnagā* (G.), AMg. *ninna* (Vivāhap. 1244), *iṣṇinṇajāra*=*iṣannimnatara* (Vivāhap. 239), *ninnagā* (Paṇhāv. 440); M.Ś. *pañjuṇṇa*=*pradyumna* (Bh. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ratn. 295,26;296,5.17). In *dhṛṣṭdyumna*, according to Hc. 2,94 *nna* becomes *na*: *dhātṭhajjuṇa* Ś. has *dhātṭhajjuṇa* (Pracandap. 8,19), Mg. *dhātṭhajjuṇa* (Venīs. 35,19), for which should be read *dhātṭhjayjuṇa*. If *dhātṭhjayjuṇa* is not purely metri causa, it is perhaps to be equated to **dhṛṣṭārjuna*, as there occurs the synonym *arjuna* for *dyumna*.

§ 279. When a stop or nasal collides with a semi-vowel, as a rule the semi-vowel is assimilated, provided a separation-vowel is not inserted (§131-140). If the two semi-vowels collide together, usually the second is assimilated to the first. 1). One of the sounds is *ya* (Vr. 3,2; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,78; Kī. 2,51; Mk fol. 19): *kya*=*kka*: Ś. *cāṇakka*=*cāṇakya* (Mudrār. 53,8 ff.); *pārakka*=*pārakya* (Hc. 1,44;2,148); AMg. *vakka*=*vākya* (Hc. 2,174; Sūyag. 838.841.842.844; Uttar. 674.752; Dasav. 636,10 16; Dasav. N. 644,21;649,26.658,29.31;659,22.33); Ś. *sakka*=*sakya* (Ś.k 73,11;155,8; Vikr. 10,13;12,20;18,16;22,14;40,7). — *khyā*=*kkhā*: M. *akkhāṇa*=*ākhyānaka* (H.); AMg. *akkhāi*=*ākhyāti* (§491);

Ś. *vakkhāṇaissaṃ* = **vyākhyāṇayisyāmi* = *vyākhyāsyē* (Viddhaś. 63,3, Rukmiṇīp. 19,3); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *so kka* = *saukha* (§ 61^a). On AMg. *āghāve* see § 88.551. — *gya* = *gga*: M. *jo gga* = *yogya* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. *veragga* = *vairāgya* (Ovav.; Erz.); M. *sohagga* = *sauhbāgya* (G.H.R.). — *cya* = *cca*: AMg. *cuya* = *cyuta* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Kappas.); M. *muccai* = *mucyate* (G.); AMg. *vuccai*, Ś.Mg. *vuccadi* = *ucyate* (§ 544). — *jya* = *jja*: M. *jijai* = *yujyate* (H.), *bhujjanta* = *bhujyamāna* (G.); *rajji* = *rājya* (H.R.). — *tya* = *tt*: *naṭṭaa* = *nātyaka* (Mṛcch. 70,3); M. *tuttai* (Hc. 4,116), M.A. *tuttai* (§ 292) = *tru tyati*; M. *lōttai* = *lutyati* (Hc. 4,146; Karp. 39,3). — *dya* = *dda*: *kudda* = *kudya* (Hc. 2,78; H.); AMg. *pidḍai* = *pidyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4). — *dhya* = *ddha* = *ādha* (G.); Sūyag. 957; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirāyāv.). AMg. JM. *veyaḍḍha* = *vaitāḍhya* (§ 60). — *pya* = *ppa*: AMg. *appege* **apheke*, *appegaiyā* = **aphekatyāh* = Pāli *appekacce* (§ 174); M. *kuppai* = *kupyati* (H.G.), *suppall* = *supyatām* (H.). — *bhya* = *bbha*: M. *abbhantara* = *abhyantara* (G.H.R.); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavaṇṇa* = *abhyupapanna* (§ 163); AMg. JM. *ibbha* = *ibhya* (Thāṇ. 414.526; Paṇhāv. 319; Nāyādh. 547.1231; Vivāgas. 82; Ovav.; Erz.). On *d* for *jy* see § 215.

§ 280. In conjunction with dentals *y* is assimilated only after it has palatalized the preceding dental. Thus *tya* becomes *cca* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,13; Ki. 2,32; Mk. fol. 23), *thya* = *ccha* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 23), *dya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,22; Mk. fol. 23), *dhya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,28; Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). — *tya* = *cca*: M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *accanta* = *atyanta* (§ 163); M. *naccai* = *nṛtyati* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.); M. *dacca* = *dautya* (H.); AMg. *vejāvacca* = *vaiyāpṛtya* (Ovav.); M. *sacca satya* (G.H.). — *thya* = *ccha*: M. Ś. *nevaccha*, AMg. JM. *nevaccha* = *nepathya*¹ (G.R.; Vikr. 75,14; Ratn. 309,16 [°*ttha*]; Mālatīm. 206,7; 234,3 [both the times °*ttha*]; Pras. 41,7; Mālav. 33,18; 36,3; 38,3; 73,17; 74,17 [throughout °*ttha*]; Priyad. 27,18; 28,1,4; Viddhaś. 30,8; 120,11 [both the times °*ttha*]; Rukmiṇīp. 37,15; 41,11 [°*cca*]; 42,5; 43,5,9; Āyār. 2,15,18 [°*ttha*]; Vivāgas. 234; Paṇhāv. 240.459 [both the times °*ttha*]; Thāṇ. 238 [°*ttha*]; Nāyādh. § 117 [°*ttha*]; Ovav.; Āv. 27,17; Erz.), AMg. JM. also *nevacchiya* (Vivāgas. 111; Paṇhāv. 196 [both the texts °*tthiya*]; Āv. 28,5) = **nepathyita*; JM. *nevacchēttā* (absol. Āv. 26,27); AMg. *paccha* = *pathya* (Grr.; Kaopas.); M. Ś. *racchā* = *rathyā* (G.H.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Karp. 20,4; 30,7). — *dya* = *jja*: PG. *ajātāye* = *adyatvāya* (§ 253); M. *ajja* = *adya* (G.H.R.); M. *ujjāna* = *udyāna* (G.R.), *chijjai* = *chidyate* (R.), *vijjujja* = *vidyuddya* (G. 907); M. JM. Ś. *vējja* = *vaidya* (§ 60). — *dhya* = *jja*: M. Ś. *uvajjhā*, AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* = *upādhya* (§ 155); M. *majjha* = *madhya* (G.H.R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vimjha* = *vindhya* (§ 269); M. JM. Ś. *saṃjha* = *sandhyā* (§ 269). In Mg. *dya* becomes *yya* corresponding to § 236 (Hc. 4,292; Ki. 5,90; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḥ 2,12): *ayya* = *adya*; *avayya* = *avadya*; *mayy* = *madya*; *viyyāhala* = *vidyādhara*. Corresponding to this *dhya* must become *yyha*, therefore, e.g. *madhyamādhina* becomes *mayyhanṇa* (§ 148.214.236). The MSS. write throughout *jja*, *jja*, as in the rest of the dialects; so also Latitav. 566,11 *yujjha* = **yudhya* = *yuddha* = M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *yujjha* (G.H.; Bālar. 180,5; Nāyādh. 131.113; Erz.; Lalitav. 568,4; Bālar. 246,5; Jivān. 86,10; Hc. 4,386). The separation-vowel *i* does not hinder palatalization: AMg. *ciyatta* from **tiyakta* = *tyakta* (Thāṇ. 528 [text *bi*°]; Kappas. § 117; cf. § 134), absol. *ciccā*, *cēccā*, *ciccāna* *cēccāna* = **tiyakvā*, **tiiktā*, **tiiktā* = *tyaktvā* (§ 587), quite like *cayai* = *tyajati* (Hc. 4,86; Uttar. 902; Dasav. 638,18), *cayanli* = *tyajanti* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 100 [c°]. 174), *cae* = *tyajet* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *cayāhi* = *tyaja* (Āyār. 1,6,1,5), *caissanti* = *tyakkyanti*

Sūyag. 361), *catta*=*tyakta* (Āyār. 2,15,23.24), JM. *cāi*=*tyāgi* (KJ; 5). AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti*, as M. *jhāi* (§479).

1. As the text shows, not only the Jaina-MSS., which steadily interchange *ccha* and *ttha*, but also the MSS. of the dramas particularly very often write *ttha* in this word. The v.l. has throughout the only correct form *svaccha*.

§ 281. D. *dakkehiṇṭā*=*dāksinātyāh* (Mṛcch. 103,5) forms an exception to §280. See §26. Further AMg. *ghatta* (Sūyag. 964), *aghatta* (Sūyag. 969.983), provided these cases, with the scholiasts, are to be equated as =*ghātya*, *aghātya*. Yet *ghatta* may also be equated as =*ghātd* according to §90, with a change of gender according to §357, which is more probable. Other cases too are simply apparent exceptions. *caitta* (Hc. 1,151;2,13; Mk. fol. 23) is not =*caitya*¹, but =*caitra*, in the sense of *caitya* (B-R. s.v. *caitra*). — In M. *pathai*, AMg. JM. *pathiyai*, Ś. Mg. *pathiādi* (§487) = *pratiyāti* and AMg. *putteja* = *pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; Āyār. 1,1,6,2;1,2,1,5; Sūyag. 28.783; Jiv. 44.47.436.478 ff.; Paṇṇāv. 30.32.35.40; Rāyap. 68.124.126.134.139.152 ff.; Nāyādh. §42; p. 1268; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pattejabuddha* = *pratyekabuddha* (Nandis. 245; Paṇṇav. 19) *pati* = **parati*, **parti* with separation-vowel is from *prati* (§132). *prati* and **parti* may, therefore, be compared with *πορι*¹ and *πορι*². AMg. *vattiyaṃ* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN³, to be equated as = *pratyayam*, but as = *vrttikam*. On AMg. *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna* etc. see §163. — AMg. JS. *tacca* (Hc. 2,21; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kattig. 400,324) is not with Hc. and the commentary to be equated as = *tathya*, but with WEBER⁴ and HOERNLE⁵ as = *tattva*, more correctly through the intermediate step **tāttya* (§299). *tathya* with the separation-vowel becomes in AMg. *tahiya* = **tathiya*; it sometimes stands beside *tacca*, as *taccānam tahiyaṇam* (Nāyādh. 1006; Uvās. §85), *tacehiṇi tahihiṇi* (Uvās. §220.259). — *sāmattha* beside *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22) is not = *sāmarthya*, but presupposes a **sāmartha*. — M. *kutthasi*, *kutthasu* = *kvathyase*, *kvathyasva* (H. 401) is a false reading (cf. the v.l.) for *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* passive of *kaḍḍhai* = *kvathati* (§221).

1. With Hc., WEBER, ZDMG. 28,403; on Hāla² 216. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,210. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. *pathiya*. Deviating BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 331 f.; WEBER on Hāla² 216; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 64. — 3. Aup. S. s.v. — 4. Bhag. 1,998, note 2. — 5. Uvās. Translation p. 127, note 281.

§ 282. *y* is assimilated to a nasal: *nya*, *nya* become *ṇṇa*; in AMg. JM. JS. it is written also *nna*; in Mg. (Hc. 4,293; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvya-ākāra 2,12), P. CP. (Hc. 4,305) they become *ñṇa*. So M. *dahkhinṇa* = *dāksinya* (G.H.R.), *puṇṇa* = *puṇya* (H.R.); AMg. *hiraṇṇa* = *hiranya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 2,15,10.12.17.18; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), Mg. *sahilaṇṇa* = *sahiranya* (Mṛcch. 21,9); AMg. *pinnāga* = *pinṇāka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Sūyag. 926.928.931; Dasav. 623,7), *panna* = *panya* (Sūyag. 921); M. Ś. Mg. *aṇṇa*, AMg. JM. *anna* = *anya*; M. *nāsa* = *nyāsa* (H.), *vinṇāsa* = *vinyāsa* (G.); M. Ś. *maṇṇe* = *manye* (§457); M. Ś. *sēṇṇa* = *sainya* (G.R.; Adbhutad. 56,6.19). — Mg. *aḥamañña* = *abrahmanya*; *puñña* = *puṇya*; *ahimañña* = *abhimanyu* (cf. §283); *aññadiśaṇ* = *anyadiśaṇ*; *kaññakā* = *kanyakā*; *sāmañña* = *sāmānya*; (Hc.; Nāmisādhū). The MSS. of the dramas have only *ṇṇa*. — P. *puñña* = *puṇya*; *abhimañña* = *abhimanyu*; *kaññakā* = *kanyakā* (Hc.). According to Vr. 10,10 in P. *kanyā* becomes *kañjā*, according to 12,7 in Ś. *bhāhmanya* becomes *bamhaṇṇa* or *bamhaṇica*, *kanyā* becomes *kaṇṇā* or *kañcā*. The reading in Vr. and Ki. is very doubtful. In Ś. we find in the texts *bamhaṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 89,12), *abbamhaṇṇa* = *abrāhmanya* (Śak. 142.8.14; Vikr. 84,13; Kārṇas. 10,3;33,10); *kaṇṇā* (Śak. 30,3;71,3 [so to be read]; 134,8; Mālatim. 73,8;80,1 [so to be read]; 223,1;243,1 [so to be read]; Mudrār. 40,6 [so to be read]; Ratn. 299,6; Nāgān. 10,14 [°kā]; 11,1,10

etc.); in Mg. Mudrār. 193,3;194,6 [so to be read]. -*mya* becomes *mma*, after a long vowel *ma*: M. *kilammai*, Ś. *kilammadi*=*klāmyati* (§136); M. *tāmai*=*tāmyati* (H.), Ś. *uttamma*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 19,8), *uttammia*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 56,9); *so mma*, AMg. JM. *soma*=*saumya* (61^a); Ś. *kāmāe*=*kāmyayā* (Mṛcch. 49,14).

§ 283. *abhimanyu* becomes, according to Vr. 3,17; Ki. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21, *ahimajju*, according to Hc. 2,25 *ahimajju*, *ahimañju*, *ahimañnu*. Ś. has *ahimañnu* (Mk.fol.68; Venis. 64,16, likewise Mg. Venis. 34,12), for which *ahimaññu* should stand according to §282. Beside M.Ś. *mañnu* (H.R.; Venis. 9,19;11,15;12,1;61,22) according to Hc. 2,44 for *manyu* is used also *mantu*. This appears several times in the Telugu recension of Hāla as a v.l. for *mañnu*¹. According to Pāiyāl. 165 *mantu* means "bashfulness", "unpleasantness", the meanings that in Deśin.6,141 are evidently given to the connected word *mantakkha*. Skt. too has *mantu*², which according to the form, is compared with *kantu* (love; Deśin. 2,1).

1. WEBER on Hāla 683.— 2. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v.

§ 284. *yya* becomes *jja* (Vr. 3,17; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21): M.AMg. JM. *śējā*=*śayyā* (§101), in Mg. P. CP. *yya* (§252).— *rya* becomes in all the dialects, other than Mg., *jja* (Vr. 3,1; C. 3,15; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,89; Mk.fol.21): M. *ajja*=*ārya*(G.) *ajjā*=*āryā*(H.), *kajja*=*kārya*(G.H.) *majjā*=*maryādā*(H.R.). In S.Mg. according to Hc.4,266.302 *rya* can become *jja* or *yya*: Ś. *ayyaūta* *ṭayyakulikada mhi*=*āryaputra paryākulikīrtāsmi*; *suyya*=*sūrya*; beside *ajja*=*ārya*; *pajjāula*=*paryākula*; *kajjaaparavasa*=*kāryaparavasa*; Mg. *ayya*=*ārya*. The writing *yya* is found only sometimes in the South Indian MSS. Mostly they write, however, in place of the ligature a small circle: *aoa*=*ārya*; *paovathlhāvehi*=*paryavasthāpaya*; *suoya*=*sūrya*, an orthographic device which may either permit of a choice between the pronunciations *jja* and *yya*¹ or express an intermediate sound between the two sound-groups. The circle, as rightly remarked by MÜLLER², has the same value as the peculiar ligature of the Jaina MSS. which WEBER³ wished to read as *yya*, which, however, with JACOBI⁴, and E. MÜLLER⁵, is read as *jja*. Probably it betokens a sound intermediate between both. Hc.'s rule will, therefore, be explained by the pronunciation of the Jains. The MSS. of the dramas write in both the dialects *jja*. Right is *jja* for Ś., *yya* for Mg. which are prescribed by Vr. 11,7: *kayya*=*kārya*, and is offered by Lalitav.: *payyānde*=*paryante* (565,7), *avayyāmdadā*=*aparyantatā* (565,12). Instead of *jja* there occurs after *i*, *ū*, except the sound-group, which arise through the partition vowel, *ria*, *riya* (§134), also *ra*, therefore, elision of *y* according to §87 (Vr. 3,18,19; Hc. 2,63; Ki. 2,79; Mk. fol. 22): M. *gambhūra*=*gāmbhūrya*(R.); M.AMg. JM. S.A. *tūra*=*tūrya* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Āyār. p. 128,32; Erz.; Vikr. 56,5; Mahāv. 121,7; Venis.23,11;64,2;73,16; Bālar. 147,18;200,10; Piṅgala 1,15); M. *soḍḍira*=*saundīrya* (Mk.; R.), Ś. *soḍḍirattana* (Karp. 30,7), *soḍḍira*=*saundīrya* (Hc.; Mallikām. 146,6), *soḍḍiradā* (Mṛcch. 54,4;74,12). So especially in the passive, as *jīrai*=*jīryate*, M. JM. *tīrai*, *tīrae*=*tīryate*, M. JM. *hīrai*=*hīryate* (§537), M. AMg. JM. *kīrai*=*kīryate* (§547)⁶. The word *sūra*, Mg. *śūla* frequent in all the dialects, is to be derived with Hc. 2,64 from *sūra*. In P., necessarily according to Vr. 10,8, sometimes according to Hc. 4,314, the partition-vowel comes in *bhāriā*=*bhāryā*. Hc. has also *suja*=*sūrya*, for which **suyya* was expected, and *kīrate* for **kīryate*=*kīryate* (4,316).— *kacca* (business; Deśin. 2,2) is not=*kārya*, but=*kṛtya*.

1. FISCHER, GN. 1873, p. 208; Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, p. 615 f. — 2. Beiträge p. 12.— 3. Bhag. 1,388 f. — 4. Kalpa-sūtra p. 18 note 1. — 5. Beiträge p. 12 f. — 6. Falsely JACOBI, KZ. 28,250.

§ 285. Like simple *ra* (§256.257), sometimes even *r*, -that is in conjunction with *y*, is changed into *l*, to which *y* is assimilated: JM. *paḷāṇa*=*paryāṇa* (Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20; Erz.), whilst AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* is=*pratyādāṇa* (§258); *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; cf. §123). M. *paḷaṅka* (Vr. 3,21; C. 3,22; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 36,3) can, like AMg. *paḷiyanka* (§257) with Hc. 2,68, be derived from Skt. *palyanka*, if it itself is not a Prākritic bye-form of *paryanka*. In *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,68), Ś. *paḷlattha* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; Bālar. 243,11; Venis. 60,10; 65,13; Mallikām. 26,18;57,9;125,6;135,16;195,3; Rukminīp. 29,8), M.AMg.Ś. *paḷhattha* (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; G.R. s.v. *as*; Kappas; Mrcch. 41,20; Mālatim. 118,3;260,5), M. *vivalhattha*, Ś. *vipaḷhattha* (Uttarar. 63,13 [text °*nhā*°]; 92,10 [text °*nhā*°]) and their denominatives *paḷlaṭṭai*, *paḷhatthai* (Hc. 4,26,200; G.R. s.v. *as*), AMg. *paḷhatthiya* (Pāiṣal. 201; Vivāhap. 282.284; Nāyādh. 1326; Uttar. 29), which are derived by the grammarians, scholiasts and all the moderners¹ from *as* (to throw) with *paṛi*, two roots are to be referred to. *pallaṭṭa* and *paḷlattha* are=*paryasta* (§308), *paḷhattha*, on the contrary=**prahlasta* is from *hla*=*hras* with *pra*; cf. *nirhrasta*, *nirhrasita*. M. *paḷhattharaṇa* (R. 11,108) is a false reading for *paḷcattharaṇa*, as CK have=**pratyāstarana*; cf. *pratyāstāra* (carpet).

1. WEBER, Bhag. I.409, note 2; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 521; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 45,64; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. 2 *as*; Sh. P. PAṆḌIT, Gauḍavaho s.v. *as*; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v. *paḷhattha*; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,454 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. §137.143.

§ 286. *lya* becomes *lla*: M. *kalla*=*kalya* (G.H.); M. *kullāhi tullā*=*kulyābhis tulyāh* (Karp. 44,6); M.AMg. JŚ. Ś. *mulla*, AMg. JM. *mōlla*=*mūlya* (§83.127).—*vya* becomes *vva*: M. *vaṇasā*=*vyavaṇasā* (G. R.), *vāha*=*vādha* (G. H.), *kavva*=*kāvya* (G.H.R.); the participia *necess.* in *-tava*, as AMg. JM. *hojavva*, Ś.Mg. *hodavva*, JŚ.Ś. *bhavidavva*, Mg. *huvividavva*=*bhavitavva* (§570). AMg. *pittijja* (Kappas.) is not=*pitṛya*¹, but=**pitriya* AMg. *pūha* (Nāyādh. §18; p.331.353.845; Ovav.) is not=*vyūha*², but=**pyūha* for **apyūha* from *ūh* with *api* (§142). *pp* in some passive, which P. GOLDSCHMIDT³ and S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ wish to explain from *vy*, which WEBER⁵ earlier regarded as erroneously written *yy*, JACOBI⁶ and according to him JOHANSSON⁷ wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from *py*, M. JM.AMg.A. *gheppai* is=**grhpyate* for **grbhya*=*grhyate* (§212.548). JM. *ādhappai* (Hc.4,254; Āv.12,21) beside *ādhavai* (Hc.4,254) and M. *viḍhappai* (Hc. 4,251; R.) beside *viḍhavijjai* (Hc. 4,251) are regular passive from *ādhavai* (Hc. 4,155; Ki. 4,46) and *viḍhavai* (Hc. 4,108), the causatives from *dhā* (§553) with cerebralization according to §223. The past passive participle M.AMg. JM. *ādhatta*, M. *samādhatta* M. JM.Ś. *viḍhatta*, A. *viḍhatta* (§565) may be derived from the causative, so that *ādhatta* would be=**ādhatta*, like *ānatta*=*ājñatta*; they are probably better derived from the present stem (§565)⁸.—*sippai*=*smihyate* and *sicyate* (Hc. 4,255), M. *sippanta*- (v.l. to H.185) belongs to *simpai* (Hc. 4,96), which is related to Marāṭhī *simṇem*, Gujarāṭī *simṇum*⁹ and presupposes a root **sip*, which was parallel to *sic* from **sik*. This is, therefore, a case of interchange of gutturals and labials (§215). To **sip* belongs M. AMg. Ś. *sippi* (conch; Hc. 2,138; Mk. fol. 40; H.R.; Karp. 2,4; Viddhaś. 63,8; Uvās.; Bālar. 195,9;264,3; Viddhaś. 108,2)=Pāli *sippi*, Marāṭhī *śipa*, *śimṇa*, Gujarāṭī *śipa*, Hindi *śipī*, *śipa*, Sindhi *śipa*¹⁰.—*vāhippai* (Hc. 4,253), JM. *vāhippantu* (Āv. 38,6), which is derived, with Hc. 4,253 from *vr̥h*, is=*vyāhriyate*, is rather=*vyākṣipyate* with a somewhat more special meaning than in Skt., as *samākṣip* occasionally has in Skt. As a proof we

have M. *nīhippanta-* (R.8,97) = *nīksīpyamāṇa*, which is wrongly derived from *vdhā* by S. GOLDSCHMIDT. From this may be derived M. *nīhitta*, AMg. JM. *nīhitta* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; G.R.; Karp. 2,5; Vivāhap. 116; Erz.), A. *nīhittau* (Hc. 4,395,2) and M.AMg. JM. *vāhitta* (Hc. 1,128; 2,99; Pāṇyā. 247; H.; Uttar. 29; Āv. 38,6)¹¹ = *nīksīpta*, *vyākṣīpta*. Possible is also, however, the explanation from *nīhita*, *vyāhṛta* according to §194. — Hitherto several forms with *pp* have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning. *khuppaī* (sinks; immerses; Vr. 8,68; Hc. 4,101; Ki. 4,51), M. *khuppanta-* (R.), past passive participle M.AMz. *khutta* (R.; Paṇhāv. 201), explained by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹² from **khuṇyati* and derived from *khu* = *khan*, is = **kṣuṇyati* (yokes; Hc. 4,109) is = *yuppati* from *yupa* *ekikaraṇe*, *saṃkikaraṇe* (B.-R. s.v.), with which may be compared AMg. *juvala*, *juvalaya*, *juvaliṇa* (§231). — M. *pahuppaī* (Hc. 3,142; 4,63; Mk. fol. 53; G.H.R.), which has been explained by WEBER¹ as a deponentially used passive of *bhū* with *pra*, is a denominative from *prabhutva* = **prabhutrati* “exercises authority”; “is able to”; “is in a position to”. This is borne out by A. *pahuccā* (Hc. 4,390,491), which presupposes a **prabhutyati* with the phonetic change discussed in §299. So too M. *ohuppanta-* (R. 3,18) = **apabhutvant-*. The scholiasts explain it by *ākrāmyamāṇa* and *abhihṛtyamāṇa*. It belongs to *ohīvaī* = **apabhāvati* = **apabhāvayati* in the sense of *ākrāmati* (Hc. 4,160), from which spring also *ohāia*, *ohāmāi*, *ohāmiṇa* (§261) and *ohua* (overcome; Deśin. 1,158) = **apabhūta*. — M. *appīhai* (entrusts; Hc. 4,180), *appāhei*, *appāhenta-*, *appāheum*, *appāhijai*, *appāhia* (H.R.), which S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹⁴ artificially derives from an impossible **āvyāhṛta*, and WEBER¹⁵ doubtfully equates as = *har* + *abhyā*, is regularly = **āprārthayati* from *pratha* *prakhyaṇe* (Dhātupāṭha 32,19); cf. *viprathayati*, *saṃprathita*.

1. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 17,35. — 2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. with the scholiasts. — 3. GN. 1874, p. 512 f. — 4. ZDMG. 29,491 ff.; Prākṛtica p. 3,13 note 1,17 f. — 5. ZDMG. 28,350; Hāla² p. 64; cf. IS. 14,92 f. — 6. KZ. 28, 249 ff. — 7. KZ. 32,446 ff.; where occur further literary details. — 8. The derivation from *rahh* is linguistically impossible. — 9. FISCHER on Hc. 4,96 — 10. FISCHER on Hc. 2,138. — 11. Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 513 note; JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *nīhitta*. — 12. Prākṛtica p. 17 f.; against it JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 448, note 1. — 13. On Hāla 7. — 14. Rāvaṇavaho s.v. — 15. Hāla s.v.

§287. II) One of the sounds is *r* (Vr.3,3; C.3,9; Hc.2,79; Ki.2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *rka* = *kka*: M. *akka* = *arka* (G.); AMg. *kakkeṇa* = *karketana* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *taktemi* = *tarkayāmi* (§490). On M. *kaṃkoḍa*, *kaṃkoḷa* beside M.AMg. *kakkoḷa* = *karkoḷa* see §74. — *kra* = *kka*: A. *kijai* = *kriyate* (§547); M. *calka* = *cakra* (G.), *vikkama* = *vikrama* (G.). On M.AMg. JM. A. *vaṃka* = *vakra* see §74. — *rkha* = *kkha*: Ś.Mg. *mukkha* = *mūrkhā* (§139). — *rga* = *gga*; Ś. *niggamamagga* = *nirgamamārga* (Lalitav. 567,24); M. *duggama* *durgama* (G.R.), *vagga* = *varga* (G.H.R.). — *gra* = *gga*: P.G. *gāmāgāmabhojake* = *grāmāgrāmabhojokān* (5,4), *gāme* = *grāme* (6,28), *gahanam* = *grahanam* (6,31.33.34), *nigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41); M. *gaha* = *graha* (G.H.R.); AMg. JM. *naggoḥa*, *ṇaggoḥa* = *nyagrodha* (C. 3,9; Āyār. 2,1,8,5,7; Jiv. 46; Paṇnav. 31; Vivāhap. 41[ni°]. 1530; Kappas. §212[*text ni°*; see also the v.l.]; Āv. 48,25; Erz.); AMg. JS. *niggantha* = *nirgrantha* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,29; p. 132,4.6.15 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kattig. 404,386). — *rgḥ* = *ggḥa*: M. *nigghāṇa* = *nirghṇa* (H.), *nigghosa* = *nirghoṣa* (R.), Ś.Mg. *digghā* = *dirghikā* (§87). — *ghra* = *ggha*: *āigghai* = *ājighrati*, *jigghia* = **jighṛita*, M.AMg. *agghāi* = *āghrāti*, *agghāia* = **āghrāyita* (§408). — *vca* = *cca*: M. *accā* = *arcā* (G.); JM. Ś.D. *kucca*

=*kūrca* (Erz.; Śak. 134,4; Karp. 22,8; D. Mṛcch. 104,7); Ś. *caccarī* *carcarī* (Ratn. 293,17,18). — *rch=cch*: M. *mucchā=mūrchā* (R.). — *chra=ccha*: Ś. *samucchida=samucchrīta* (Mṛcch. 68,15). — *ria=jja*: M. *ajjuna=arjuna* (G.), *gajja=garjita* (G.H.R.), *jajjara=jarjara* (G.H.), *bhua* (birch; Deśin. 6,106) is not=*bhūrja*, but=*bhuja* (Vaijayanti 48,89), therefore, M. *bhuavatta* (G. 641)=**bhujaṭṭatra*. In Mg. *rya* becomes *yya* (Vr. 11,7; Hc. 4,292); *ayyuna=arjuna*; *kayya=kārya*; *gayyadi=garjati*; *guṇavayyida=guṇavarjita*; *duyyana=durjana*. The MSS. of the dramas have only *jja*, thus *kajja* (Mṛcch. 126,6; 139,23); *dujjana* (Mṛcch. 115,23). — *jra=jja*: M. *vajja=vajra* (G.H.R.). — *rjha=jjha*: M. *nijjhara=nirjhara* (G.H.). — *rṇa=ṇa*: M. *kaṇṇa=kaṇṇa* (G.H.R.), *cuṇṇa=cūrṇa* (G.H.R.). *vaṇṇa=varṇa* (G.H.). *kaṇṇikāra* can, beside *kaṇṇiāra*, form also *kaṇiāra* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,95; Kī. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27). So AMg. *kaṇiāra* (Āyār. p. 128,28), A. *kaṇiāra* (Hc. 4,396,5). The form shows accentuation on the final=**kaṇnikāra*. On *kaṇera* see §258. A *cūra* (Hc. 4,337) is not=*cūrṇa*, which too becomes in A. *cuṇṇa* (Hc. 4,395,2), but=**cūrya*. — *rpa=pḥa*: M. *kuppara*, AMg. *kōppara* (§127); M. *kuppāsa=kurpāsa* (G.H.), *dappa=darpa* (G.H.R.). — *pra=pḥa*: PG. *amhapesanāppayutta=asmatpṛṣṇanāprayuktān* (5,6), *appatīhata=apratīhata* (6,10), *satasahasappadāyino=satasahasapradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *paṭibhāgo=pratibhāgaḥ* (6,12 e.c.) etc.; M. *pia=priya* (G.H.R.) *appa=apriya* (H.). — *rba=bba*: AMg. *kabbaḍa=karbaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,2,6; Sūyag. 684; Thān. 347; Paṇhāv. 175. 246. 406. 486; Nāyādh. 1278; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40,295; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *ṇibbandha=nirbandha* (Mṛcch. 5,4; Śak. 51,14); M. *dōbballa=daurbalya* (G.H.R.). — *bra=bba*: PG. *bamhaṇāṇam=brāhmaṇāṇam* (6,8. 27. 30. 38), AMg. JM. *bamhaṇa* (§250), Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* (e. g. Mṛcch. 4,16. 18. 21. 24; 5,5; 6,2; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,17; 121,10; 127,4; Śak. 113,7); Ś. *abbamhaṇa=abrāhmaṇya* (§282). — *rbha=bḥha*: M. *gabha=garbha* (G.H.R.), *ṇibbhara=nirbhara* (G.H.R.); Ś. *dubbhējja=durbhēdya* (Mṛcch. 68,19). — *bhra=bḥha*: PG. *bhātukāṇa=bhātṛkāṇam* (6,18); M. *paribbhamai=paribhramati* (G.H.), *bhamara=bhramara* (G.H.R.). — *rma=mṇa*: AMg. *ummī=ūrmi* (Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. M. *dhamma=dharma* (5,1; G.H.R.), PG. *dhamāyubala=dharmāyurbala* (6,9), *sivakhaṇḍavāmo=sivaskandavarmā* (5,2), Ś. *dummaṇussa=durmaṇusya* (Mṛcch. 18,8; 40,14). — *mra=mṇa*: M. *dhummakḥha=dhūmrākṣa* (R.); AMg. *makkhei=mraḥṣayati* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8), *makkhējja=mraḥṣayet* (Āyār. 2,13,4). — *rla=lla*: M. *ṇillajja=nirilajja* (H.R.), *dullaha=durlaba* (H.). — *rva=vva*: PG. *savvattha=sarvatṛa* (5,3), *puvvadattaṇḥ=pūrvadattam* (6,12,28); M. *puvva=pūrvā*, *savva=sarva* (G.H.R.). — *vra=vva*: Ś. *pārivvājaa=parivrajaka* (Mṛcch. 41,5,7,10,17); M. *vaa=vraja* (H.); AMg. *vīhi=vrihi* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 134; Vivāhap. 421,1185; Jiv. 356). On *rya* see §284,285.

§288. In conjunction with dentals *r* may be regularly assimilated. *rita=tta*: PG. *nivataṇaṇḥ=nivartanam* (6,38); M. *āvatta=āvarta* (G.R.), *kitti=kirti* (G.R.; cf. §83); Dh. *dhutta=dhūrta* (Mṛcch. 30,12; 32,7; 34,25; 35,1,36,23); M. *muhutta=muhūrta* (H.R.). — *tra=tta*: PG. *gotṭasa=gotrasya* (6,9 etc.); M. *kalatta=kalatra* (H.R.), *citta=citra*, *ṭatta=ṭatra*, *sattu=satru* (G.H.). — *rtha=tiha*: M. *attha=artha* (G.H.R.), *paṭthiva=pārthiva* (G.R.), *sattha=sārtha* (G.H.R.), *samattiha=samartha* (H.R.). — *rda=dda*: PG. *balivadda=balivarda* (6,33); M. *kaddama=kardama* (G.H.R.), *daddura=dardura* (G.), *duddina=durdina* (G.R.). — *dra=dda*: PG. *ācanda=ācandra* (6,29); M. *inda=indra*, *niddā=nidrā* (G.H.R.), *bhadda=bhadra* (G.H.), *samudda*

=*samudra* (G. H. R.). — *rdha*=*ddha* : PG. °*vadhanike* = **vardhanikān* (6,9); M. *addha*=*ardha* (G.H.R.), *niddhūma*=*nirdhūma* (H.R.); AMg. *muddha*=*mūrdhan* (§402). — *dhra*=*ddha*: AMg. *saddhim*=*sadhrīm* (§103).

§ 289. In lieu of the dental, there occurs frequently the cerebral in the groups, in which the first member is *r*, especially in AMg. According to the grammarians (Vr. 3,22; Hc. 2,30; Ki. 2,34; Mk. fol. 22) in the case of *rt* cerebralization is the rule. The words, which retain the dental, are collected by Vr. 3,24; Hc.; Ki.; Mk. in the *ākṛtiḡaṇa dhūrtādi*. The dialects oscillate, sometimes, in the case of the same words: AMg. JM. *aṭṭa*=*ārta* (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,2,5,5; 1,4,2,2; 1,6,1,4; Sūyag. 401; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *aṭṭataram* (Sūyag. 282); AMg. *aṭṭiya*=**ārtila* (Ovav.); in addition to *kavaṭṭia* (§246); but Ś. *atti*=*ārtila* (Śak. 57,4). — AMg. *kittai*=*kirtayati* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3; 1,6,1,1), *kittē* (Sūyag. 661), *kittimāṇa* (Sūyag. 663), *kittittā* (Āyār. p. 137,27; Kappas.), *kittiya* (Āyār. p. 132,33; 137,23; Sūyag. 578.661), but always *kitti*=*kirti* in all the dialects (§ 83.288). — *kevaṭṭa*=*kaivarta* (Hc.; Mk.), *kevaṭṭaa* (Bh.). — M. AMg. JM. *cakkavaṭṭi*=*cakravartin* (Karp. 7,3; 79,4; 115,10; Thān. 80.197; Samav. 42; Vivāhap. 7.1049; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *cakkavatti*- (Caṇḍak. 87,15; 94,10; Hāsy. 21,7), as perhaps also Karp. 104,2,4 with the v.l. is to be read. — AMg. *naṭṭaga*=*nartaka* (Ovav.; Kappas.); *naṭṭaa* (Bh. 3,22; Mk. fol. 22); *naṭṭai*=*nartakī* (Bh. 3,22; Hc. 2,30). — Ś. Dh. *bhaṭṭā*=*bhartā* in the sense of "Lord", but in all the dialects *bhaṭṭā* in the sense of "husband", "consort" (§ 390); AMg. *bhaṭṭidāraja*, Ś. *bhaṭṭidāraa*, *bhaṭṭidāriā* (§55). — The root *vrt* forms M. *vaṭṭasi* (H.), *vaṭṭai* (R.), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai* (Vivāhap. 268.1408; Erz. 6,3), AMg. *vaṭṭanti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,11.12; Kappas. S. § 35), M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭanta*- (R.; Uttar. 712; Erz. 22,9), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,1; Vivāh. ap. 268; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), JŚ. *vaṭṭadi* (Pav. 382,27; Lalitav. 560,15; Mr̥cch. 2,20,3,1.20; 169,21; Śak. 37,7; 59,12; Vikr. 21,10; 52,1; Caṇḍak. 86,4; Hāsy. 21,8; 25,3; 28,20 etc.), JŚ. *vaṭṭadu* (Pav. 387,21), Mg. *vaṭṭāmi* (Mr̥cch. 32,22). Likewise with prefixes, pro ex. M. *āvaṭṭanta*-, *āvaṭṭamāṇa*- (R.); AMg. *anupaṭṭamāṇa* (Sūyag. 328), *anupaṭṭiyaṭṭai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 1,2,6,5), *niyaṭṭai* (Uttar. 116), *niyaṭṭanti* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,6,4,1), *niyaṭṭamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *nivaṭṭasjja* (Sūyag. 415), *uvaṭṭeṭṭija* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *uvaṭṭeṭṭi* (Āyār. 2,2,3,9), JM. *uvaṭṭiya* (Erz.), Ś. *paatṭadi*=*pravartale* (Mr̥cch. 71,7), A. *paatṭai* (Hc. 4,347), and in derivatives, such as AMg. *priyaṭṭanā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,1,4,2; Ovav.), *priyaṭṭaja* (Kappas.), but M. Ś. *pariattana*, *parivattana* (G.R.; Mr̥cch. 2,20; Vikr. 31,6), AMg. *priyatta*=*parivarta* (Ovav.); AMg. *samvaṭṭaga* (Uttar. 1056). In conjunction with prefixes, as the examples form Grr. already show, the dentals predominate. Thus pro ex. M. *uvattai* (G.), *niattai* (G.H.R.), *pariattai* (G.), *parivattasu* (H.), *pariattanta*-, *parivattium* (R.); AMg. *pavattai* (Pannav. 62); Ś. *niattiadi* (Vikr. 46,19), *niattiadu* (Mr̥cch. 74,25; 78,10 [°va°]), *nivattissadi* (Vikr. 17,2), *niattaissadi* (Śak. 91,6), *niattāvehi*, *niattadu* (Śak. 91,5,6), *niattāsu* (Śak. 87.1.2 [to be so read]), *nivattamāṇa* (Vikr. 5,11), *nivattehi*, *nivattedu* (Mr̥cch. 27,12,15), *nivattamha* (Śak. 74,3) etc. Likewise in derivatives. — AMg. *vaṭṭaja*=*vartaka* (quail; Āyār. 2,10,12; Sūyag. 100; Uvās.), *vaṭṭaga* (Sūyag. 681.708.722.747), but *vattiā*=*vartikā* (Bh.; Hc.) against *vaṭṭiā* (Mk.). — AMg. *vaṭṭi*=*varti* (Hc. 2,30) in *gandhavaṭṭi* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) against M. *vatti* (H.). — The cerebrals stand throughout in the absolute, as AMg. *kaṭṭu*=*kartu*°, *āhaṭṭu*=*āhartu*°, *samāhaṭṭu*, *sāhaṭṭu* etc. (§ 577). On *kāum*, *kādum*=*kartum* etc. § 62. — Transition to the

media occurs in AMg. *gadda*=*garia* (Vr. 3,25; Hc. 2,35; Mk. fol. 23; Vivāhap. 246,479); *gaddā*=*gartā* (Hc. 2,35).

§ 290. *rīha* becomes *tīha* in AMg. JM. *aṭha*=*arīha* in the sense of "reason", "cause", "thing", "story", but *atīha* in the sense of "wealth", "money" (Hc. 2,33). So especially in the phrase AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe* (§173), and in adverbially used cases like AMg. *se ten' aṭṭheṇam* (Vivāhap. 34 ff.; Uvās. §218,219), *se ken' aṭṭheṇam* (Uvās. §218,219); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāe* (Uttar 363; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.), *aṭṭhāyāe* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); JM. *aṭṭhā* (Erz.). However, the dental also occurs in the meaning "thing", "story" (Ovav.) and in adverbially used forms, such as AMg. *iccattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), and more frequently in JM. (Erz.). The rest of the dialects have only the dental in all the meanings of the word.¹ AMg. has also *aṇaṭṭha* "aimless", "false" (Uvās.; Ovav.), *niraṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 113), *samaṭṭha* (§173). Beside M.AMg. JM A. *caṭṭha*=*catūrtha*, Hc. 2,33 teaches also *caṭṭha*; beside Ś. *caduṭṭha*, there occurs also *caduṭṭha* (§449). AMg. *addhuṭṭha* is=*adha*+**turiha* (§450). On *kavaṭṭha* said to be=*kadārthita* see § 246,289. In Mg. *rīha* becomes *ṣṭa* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṭamkāra 2,12); *ēṣe aste*=*ēṣo 'rthah* (Namis.); *astavadi*=*arthavati*, *ṣastavāhe*=*sārthavāhaḥ* (Hc. 4,291); *tīsta*=*tīrtha* (Hc. 4,301). So the Lalitav. 566,9 has *vahastam* (read *yadhastam*)=yathārtham, but 566,7 *ṣaṣṭaṣṭa*=sārthasya and 566,8, *paṣṭidum*=*prārthayitum* with *ṣṭa*. In Mṛcch. 131,9;133,1;140,13;146,16;152,6;168,2 all the MSS. have *attha*, likewise Caṇḍak. 60,11; Prab. 28,14, where, however, the ed. Madras reads *palamacco*. Mṛcch. 145,17 K in Gopabole has *accha*, 158,21 the very good manuscript E has *aṣṭa*. In Mṛcch. 138,17 the MSS. have *kajjattṭhi* for *kriyavati*; in Śak.114,11 there stands *vikkaattṭham*=*vikrayārtham*, 115,7 *sāmiṭṭaṣṭāṭṭham*=*svāmiprasāḍārtham*, Prab. 28,15 has *tittṭhiṇim*=*tīrthikāḥ*, 29,7 *tittṭhiā*=*tīrthikāḥ*. Mṛcch. 122,14;128,3;158,19 STENZLER has *ṣatthavāha*=*sārthavāha*, 133,1, *ṣaṭṭhavāha*. The MSS. vary greatly, and at 128,3 E in Gopabole correctly has *ṣastavāha*, to which the reading *ṣasyastavāha* of B and *ṣatṭhavāha* of H point². The manuscripts are to be everywhere corrected according to the rules of the grammarians.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,33. Not quite correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *attha*, —

2. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1319 f.

§ 291. *rda* becomes *dda* in *kavadda*=*kaparda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23); —*gaddaha*=*gardabha* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,37; Kī. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23) beside *gaddaha* (Hc. 2,37; Pāiyāl. 150), which is the only form authenticated by the texts in AMg. JM.Ś.Mg.Dh. and is expressly prescribed for Ś. by Mk. fol. 67 (Sūyag. 204,724 f. 727 [°bha]; Samav. 83; Uttar. 794; Kk.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 79,13;175,14), JM. *gaddabhi* and *gārdabhi* (Kk.), *gaddabhilla* (Kk.), *gaddabbha*=**gārdabhya* (unharmonicu, shrill; Deśin. 2,82; Pāiyāl. 204); *gaddaha* (Deśin. 2,83), *gaddahaya* (Pāiyāl. 39; white lotus); Dh. *gaddahi* (Mṛcch. 29,19). Kāleyak. 25,15 *gadduho* [s'c] is edited in Ś. — *chaddāi*=*chardati* (Hc.2,36); AMg. *chaddējjā* (Āyār.2,1,3,1) *chaddasi* (Uvās. § 95), JM. *chaddijjāi* (Āv. 41,8), *chaddēi*, *chaddijjāi*, *chaddiṇya* (Erz.); A. *chaddēiṇu* (Hc. 4,422,3); JŚ. *chaddida* (Pav. 387,18; Tex. °ya); *chaddi*=*chardi* (Hc. 2,36); JM. *chaddi*=*chardi* (Erz.); AMg. *chaddiyallijā* (Ovav.); M. JM.Ś. *vicchadda*=*viccharda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23; Pāiyāl. 62; Deśin. 7,32; G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.; Anarghar. 277,3 [so with ed. Calcutta to be read]); *vicchaddi*=*vicchardi* (Vr. 3,26; Kī. 2,23); AMg. *vicchaddaṭṭā* (Ovav.); Kappas.); M. *vicchaddā* (R.), AMg. JM. *vicchaddiṇya* (Ovav.); Pāiyāl. 79), Ś. *vicchaddida* (Uttarar. 20,11; Mālatim. 241,5;254,4;276,6; Anarghar. 149,10 [so to be read everywhere]). — *maḍḍai*=*mardate* (Hc. 4,126), but Ś. *maddiadi*=*mardyate* (Mṛcch. 69,9);

maḍḍia=*mardita* (Hc. 2,36); *saṁmaḍḍa*=*saṁmarda* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23), but M. J.M.S. *saṁmadda* (G ; Erz.; Mṛcch. 325,17); *saṁmaḍḍia*=*saṁmardita* (Hc. 2,36). Against these Ś. *uṇamadda*=*upamarda* (Mṛcch. 18,11); AMg. *paṇamaddaṇa*=*pramardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṇamaddi*=*pramardin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *pāṇamaddā*=**pādamardā* (stamping asunder of corns with the feet; Deśin. 6,40); AMg. *paṇimaddaṇa*=*parimardana* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *piḍḍhamadda*=*piṭhamarda* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *piḍḍhamaddiā* (Mālav. 14,9); Adbhutad. 72,13;91,9), AMg. *vāṇamaddaṇa*=*vyāṇardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.). — *viḍḍi*=*vitardi* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23). — *khuddiā*=*kūrdita*, *saṁkhuddai*=*saṁkūrdati* (§ 206), beside AMg. *ukkuddai* (Uttar. 788). According to Mk. fol. 23, some taught also *taḍḍū*=*tardū*. — *rdha* has become *ḍḍha* in : AMg. JM. *aḍḍha*=*ardha* beside *addha*, as the other dialects alone have (Hc. 2,41; § 450); *aḍḍha*, pro ex. also in AMg. *avaḍḍha*=*apārdha* (Jiv. 1055 f.; Vivāhap. 1057.1306), *saḍḍha*, *aṇaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 354), *divaḍḍha* (§ 450); JM. *aḍḍhamāsa* (Erz.), beside *addha*° (Kk.) and AMg. *māsaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 168); JM. *aḍḍharatta*=*ardharātra* (Erz.) etc.; M.AMg. JM.Ś.Mg.Ā.A. *aḍḍha* (G.H.R.; Samav. 156.158; Thān. 265; Jiv. 231.632 f.; Vivāhap. 209.1178; § 450; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Mṛcch. 69,16; Candak. 51,11; Karp. 60,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 31,17.20.23.25;32,5;133,10;168,20.21; Śak. 118,4; Ā. Mṛcch. 100,12; A. Hc. 4,352; Piṅgala 1,6.61 ff.). — M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*=*vardhate* (Vr. 8,44; Hc. 4,220; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 23; H.R.; Āyār. 2,16,5 [°i]; Sūyag. 460; Vivāhap. 160; Kk.); Ś. *vaḍḍhādi* (Vikr.10,20;19,7;49,4;78,18;88,14; Mālav. 25,4). Likewise with prefixes, in the causative and in derivations. The proper name *vardhamāna* becomes AMg. JŚ. Ś. *vaḍḍhamāna* (Āyār. 2, 15,12; Pav. 379,1; Mṛcch. 25,18;44,24;45,5 etc.), but AMg. also *vaḍḍhamāna* (C. 3,26; Āyār. 2,15,15; Ovav.; Kappas.), as also AMg. *nandiḍvaḍḍhaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Kappas.) and *vaḍḍhāve* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Niraṣāv.) are said. For *govardhana* Mk. fol. 24 teaches *govaddhaṇa*. Ś. has *govaddhaṇa* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5).

§ 292. *tra* has become *ṭṭa* in M. A. *tuṭṭai*=*truṭyati* (R.; Piṅgala 1,65.68) beside AMg. *tuṭṭai* (Sūyag. 100.105.148), *tuṭṭanti* (Sūyag. 539); *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230); A. *tuṭṭau* (Hc. 4,356). According to Vr. 12,5 in Ś. *putra* in certain cases (*kvacit*) can become *puḍa*. Perhaps it is connected with the old form of *pāṭaliputra*, which will have been **pāṭalipuṭa* (§ 238, note 2), which must have regularly become **pāḍaliuḍa*. To the Skt. form corresponds M.Mg. *pāḍaliuṭta* (H. 2,150; Mṛcch. 37,3), JM. *pāḍaliputta* (Āv. 8,1;12,1.40; Erz.), Ś. *pāḍaliputtāa* (Mudrār. 149,3). In Mg. STENZLER writes in Mṛcch. 118,1;119,11.21;124,5;129,18;132,9.164,16; 165,3 *puṭṭhaka*=*putraka*. The MSS. vacillate very much and point rather to *puṭṭaka* or to *puṭṭaka*. Almost everywhere occurs the v.l. *puṭṭaka*, and in Mg. in Mṛcch. *putta* 19,19;116,8;129,7;133,1;160,11;166,1;167,24; 168,3; *puṭṭaka* 114,16;122,15;158,20; *saṇṭṭaka* 166,18.21 stand. STENZLER likes to correct it to *puṭṭhaka* at p. 294 on 114,16. But only at 158,20 some MSS. have *puṭṭake*, *puṭṭake*, *puṭṭhake*, otherwise all have °*ṭṭa*°, which will be right. As at 158,19 for *naṭṭike*=*naṭṭikah* the vv. ll. *naṭṭhike* (so STENZLER, GODABOLE and the Calc. editions in the text), *naṭṭike*, *naṭṭike* also occur, there seems to be a case of interchange with the change from *rtha* (§ 290). After a long vowel *tra* frequently becomes *ṭa* through *ta* in AMg., as *gāṭa*=*gātra*, *goṭa*=*gotra*; *dhāi*=*dhātri*; *pāi*=*pātri* (§ 87). In *rātri* the same law occurs in M.S. (§ 87). *dhāri* (nurse; Hc.2,81) is not=*dhātri*, but is derived from *ṛdhai* (to suckle) with suffix *-ra*=“wet nurse”. Cf. *dhāru*.

§ 293. Against 288 *tra* apparently becomes *ttha* in the adverbs ending in *-tra*, as *anṇattha*=*anyatra* (Hc. 2,161;3,59); *Ś. attha*=*atra* in *atthabhavam* (Śak. 33,3;35,7; Vikr. 30,9), *atthabhavado* (Mālav. 27,11), *atthabhodī* (Vikr. 38,17;83,13; Mālav. 26,1); M.AMg. JM. *kattha*=*kutra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; G.H.R.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.); M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.D. *jattha*=*yatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; H.R.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig.; 401,353; Uttarak. 20,11;21,10; D. Mṛcch. 100,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tattha*=*atra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; Kī 3,42; G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7;1,1,2, 1.2 etc; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Vikr. 48,14; Mg. Prab. 32,6), in Ś. also in *tatthabhavam* (Vikr.46,6;47,2;75,3.15), *tatthabhavado* (Śak. 30,2; Vikr. 16,11; 80,14; 84,19; Mālav.10,13), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch.6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,13; 79,16), *tatthabhodī* (Mṛcch. 88,13; Śak. 95,12; 125,7;132,7;134,13; Vikr. 16,4 7.13;18,5 etc.); *iarattha*=*itaratra* (Bh. 6,2); M. JM. *savvattha*=*savatra* (Bh. 6,2; Hc. 3,59,60; G.H.R.; Erz.). Meanwhile PG.M.AMg. JM.Ś. Mg.D. Ā *ē'ttha*, A. *ē'tthu* (§107), on account of the *e*, cannot be equated as=*atra*, but as=*Vedic itthā*. From i the rest of the adverbs cannot be separated, so that *kattha* must be derived from **katthā*, *jattha* from **yatthā* etc.¹ The regular continuation of *yatra*, *atra* are A. *jattu*, *tattu* (Hc. 4,404; cf. 268), of *anyatra*, Dh *anṇatta* (Mṛcch. 36,23;39,10). Mg. *atta*=*atra* (Mṛcch. 161,17;167,17) is probably false. In the first place D. has *ē'ttha*, in the second it is wanting in most of the MSS. The writing *atthabhavam*, *tatthabhavam*, which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and Mālav. have², and which occurs occasionally elsewhere also, is erroneous³. On A.*kē'tthu*, *jē'tthu*, *tē'tthu* see §107. — Ś. *mahāmē'ttha*=*mahāmātra* (Mṛcch. 40,22) is a false reading for *mahāmē'tta*, as the MSS. D H in GODABOLE p.120 read, and *mē'tthapurisa* =**mātrapuruṣa* (Mṛcch. 69,12) for *mahāmē'ttapurisa* (cf. D in GODABOLE p. 196), since *mātra* becomes only *mitta*, *mē'tta* (§109). Cf. also *mē'ṇṭha*, JM. *miṇṭha* (mahout, elephant-driver; Deśin. 6,138; Erz.), Pāli *mē'ṇḍa*. — M. *patthi* (H. 240), which WEBER wishes to equate as=*pāṭṭi*, is a false reading for *pacchi* (Deśin. 6,1), Pāli *pacchi*; cf. v.l. ZDMG. 28,408; IS. 16,78 on strophe 185.

1. Others in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22; R. s.v. *kattha*; WEBER on H. 240. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,253. — 2. BÖTTLINGER on Śak. 20,11 p. 177. — 3. FISCHER, De Kālidāsac Čakuntalī recensionibus p. 34 f.

§ 294. *dra* has become *dda* in AMg. JM. *khudda*=*kṣudra* (Deśin.2,74; Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Sūyag. 414; Thān. 546; Uttar. 13; Jiv. 476 ff.; 559,622. 663,1013 ff.; Kappas.; Erz.); *khuddaa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105), AMg. JM. *khuddaya*, femin. *khuddiyā* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,2,1,4;2,2,3,2; Thān. 67; Panhāv. 520; Vivāhap. 1100; Kappas.; Āv. 23,6), AMg. *khuddāga* (Sūyag. 872; Thān. 545; Vivāhap. 1101; Ovav.), *khuddāga* (§70); rarely AMg. also *khudda* (Sūyag. 504) and *khuddāya* (Kappas.). — Like simple *da* becoming *la* (§244), *dda*, originating from *dra*, also becomes *lla* in M. AMg. *alla*, beside M.AMg. JM. Ś. *adda*=*ārdra* (§111), and *chilla* (hole; hut; Deśin. 3,35), *ucchilla* (hole; Deśin. 1,95), beside M.AMg. JM. *chidda* (H.; Uvās.; Erz.) and AMg. JM. *chidda* (Nirayāv.; Āv. 41,4,5; Erz. v.l.), M. *chidda*=*chidrita* (G.). On *culla* see § 325. M. *maḷai* is not=*mardati*, but=*mradata* (§244). The synonymous *maḍhai* (Hc. 4,126) is=*maḥhati* from *maḥtha mardanivāsayoh* (Dhātupāṭha 9,47 according to Bopadeva), which belongs to *maḥ*, *manth*. On *dra* beside *dda* see § 268.

§ 295. *b* is inserted between *m* and *r* in *āmra* and *tāmra*. The sound-group *mbra* created in this manner either is separated by a separation vowel: *ambira*, *tambira*(§137), or in it *r* is assimilated. So M.AMg. JM. *amba*

(Vr. 3,53; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,56; Ki. 2,64; Mk. fol. 27; Päiyäl. 145; H.; Äyär. 2,1,8,1.4.6; 2,7,2,2 ff.: 2,10,21; Thāp. 205; Pannav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 116,1256; Erz.); AMg. *ambaga* (Añuttar. 11; Uttar. 231.983 ff.); AMg. *ambādaga* = *āmrātaka* (Äyär. 2,1,8,1.4; Pannav. 482). — M. AMg. *tamba*=*tāmra* (Gr.; Päiyäl. 93; G.H.R.; Sūyag. 282 834; Uttar. 597; Vivāhap. 1326; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *tambaga* (Uttar. 1065), *tambiya* (Ovav.); M.Ś. *tambavaṇṇī*=*tāmraparṇī* (Karp. 12,4; 71,8; Bālar. 264,3.4; Anarghar. 297,15 [so to be read]); M. *āmba*, AMg. *āyamba*=*ātāmra* (G.H.; Śak. 119,6; (Ovav.); *tambakimi*=*tāmrokrimi* (cochineal; Deśin. 5,6); *tambarattī*=**tāmraṛaktī* (wheat rust; Deśin. 5,5); *tambasiha*=*tāmraśikha* (cock; Päiyäl. 125); M. *tambā*=*tāmra* (cow; Deśin. 5,1; Päiyäl. 45; H.). — According to Mk. fol. 27 *kamra* also becomes *kamba*. — *m* is treated in the same way. *amla* becomes either *ambila* or *amba*: AMg. *sehambadālī-jambehim* = *sedhāmladālīkāmlaiḥ* (Uvās. § 40); A. *ombaru* = *āmlatvam* (Hc. 4,376,2).

§ 296. III) If one of the sounds is *la* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3; Hc. 2,79; Ki. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19): *lka*=*kka*: M. *ukkā*=*ulkā* (G.R.); *kakka*=*kalka* (Vivāhap. 1025); M.Ś. *vakkala*=*valkala* (§ 62). — *kla*=*kka*: AMg. *kīsanti*=*klīṣanti* (Uttar. 576), *kesa*=*kleśa* (Uttar. 202,575), *kīpa*=*klīpa* (Thāp. 181); *viklava*=*viklava* (Bh. 3,3; Hc. 2,79) *śukla* forms beside AMg. *sukka* (Sūyag. 313; Thāp. 25 ff.) and *suila*, AMg. *sukkila* (§ 136) according to Hc. 2,11 also *suṅga*. Provided this goes back to *śukla*, the more correct writing would be *suṁga*, corresponding to *suṁka*=*śulka* (§ 74) with transition to the media — *lga*=*gga*: M. *phaggu*=*phalgu*, AMg. Ś. *phagguṇa*=*phalguna* (§ 62); AMg. *vaggāi*, *vaggittā*=*valgati*, *valgitvā* (Vivāhap. 253), *vaggana*=*valgana* (Ovav.), *vaggu*=*valgu* (Sūyag. 245). — *lpa*=*ppa*: AMg. JM. Ś. *appa*=*alpa* (Sūyag. 371; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 150,18); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kappa*=*kalpa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 11,4); M. AMg. JM. *sippa*=*silpa* (H.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), AMg. Ś. *sippi*=*silpin* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 152,25; 153,3). In *jalp* and derivatives *l* becomes *m*: M. JM. *jampāi*=*ialpati* (Vr. 8,24; Hc. 4,2; Ki. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *jampāi* [sic], *jampanteṇa* (Ki. 8,15); AMg. *jampantā* (Sūyag. 50); JM. *paṇjampae*=*prajalpate* (Erz.); Dh. *jampidum*, *jampasi* (Mṛcch. 34,24; 39,9); Ś. *jampasi* (Vikr. 41,11), *jampijjādi* (Lalitav. 568,6); JM. *jampissam* (Mālatim. 247,2); *jampaṇa* (disgrace; mouth; Deśin. 3,51); JM. *ajampaṇa* (non-betrayal; Erz. 10,34); M. A. *jampira* (Hc. 2,145; H.; Hc. 4,350,1), AMg. *ayampira* (Dasav. 619,22; 631,13; 632,28); AMg. *paṇjampāṇa*=**prajalpāṇa* (teaching to learn; Ovav.); Mg. *yampideṇa* (Lalitav. 566,12), A. *paṇjampaha* (Hc. 4,422,10; so to be read). For *mpa* there often occurs *ppa*: AMg. *jappanti* (Sūyag. 26); Ś. *jappemi* (Hāsy. 33,21), *jappasi* (Kāmsav. 49,7), *jappesi* (Hāsy. 25,10 12; 34,3.7), *jappissadi* (Pras. 144,2), *jappidum* (Hāsy. 33,13), *jappanti* (Prab. 44,1; so ed. Bomb. P.M.), **jappipi* (Pras. 37,16; Vṛṣabh. 26,7), *jappida* (Pras. 120,1) etc. Probably everywhere it is to be read *mpa*, as certainly in M. *jampieṇa* for *jappieṇa* (Ratn. 322,4), as rightly stands *jampie* (Karp. 38,4) as well as A. *jampiam* (Piṅgala 1,60; so GOLDSCHMIDT for *im*, *am*, *jam*). — *pla*=*ppa*: M. *pavaṁga*=*plavaṁga*, *pavaṁgama*=*plavaṁgama* (R.), *parippavanta*=*pariplavant* (G.R.), *pappua*=*prapluta* (G.); AMg. *ppavum*=*plavitum* (Sūyag. 508); *viṇṇava*=*viplava* (Hc. 2,106). — *lpha*=*ppha*: AMg. *guppha*=*gulpha* (Äyär. 1,1,2,5; Ovav.). *lba*=*bba*: M. *ubbaṇa*=*ulbaṇa* (G. 734; text *uvvaṇa*); AMg. *kibbisa*=*kilbiṣa* (Uttar. 156 [text °vvi°; Dasav. 624,11.12), *kibbisiya*=**kilbiṣika* (Ovav.); *subba*=*śulba* (Hc. 2,79). — *lbha*=*bbha*: AMg. *pagabbhai*=*pragalbhate* (Äyär. 1,5,3,3[°r]; Sūyag. 134.150), *pagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 31.146.198), *pāgabbbhiya*

(Sūyag. 596), *pagabbhittā* (Sūyag. 358), *vippagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 50), *pagabbhi-* (Sūyag. 332), *pāgabbhi-* (Sūyag. 268.296). Hence *pagambhai* (Uttar. 202) is a printing error for *pagabbhāi*=*pagabbhāi*. — *lma*=*mma*: *kammaṣa*=*kammaṣa* (Hc. 2,79; Pāiyāl. 53); AMg. *kummāsa*=*kulmāsa* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4.13); AMg. Ś. Mg. *gumma*=*gulma* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15; Nāyādh.; Mṛcch. 97,22; Mudrar. 185,8; 197,5; Priyād. 12,3; 13,3; 19,17; 23,14; Kārṇas. 28,7; Subhadr. 12,5; Mg. Caṇḍak. 61,11), PG. *gumike*=*gulmikan* (5,5); M. *vammīa*, AMg. *vammīya*=*valmika* (§ 80); Ś. *vammīi*=*vālmiki* (Bālar. 6,15). — *mīa*=*mīa*: AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105). — On *lya* see § 286, on *rla* § 287. — *lva*=*lla*: Ś. *gallakka*=*galvarka* (Mṛcch. 6,6); M. *palāla*=*palvala* (G.); AMg. *biila*=*biiva* (Hc. 1,85; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 148; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 1530 [vi°]; Dasav. 621,5), according to Hc. and Mk. also *bēlla* (§ 119).

§ 297. IV) One of the consonants is *va* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,79; Ki. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *kva*=*kka*: M. *kaḍhai*=*kvathati*, Ś. *kaḍhida*, AMg. *sukadhiya* (§ 221); M. *kaṇakkaniya*=*kvaṇokvaṇita* (Karp. 55,7); M. AMg. Ś. *pikka*, AMg. Ś. *pakka*=*pakva* (§ 101). — *gva* hcs become *vva* instead of *gga* in *divvāsā*=*divgāsāḥ* (Cāmunda; Deśin. 5,39). — *jva*=*jja*: M. *jalaī*=*jvalati*, *ujjala*=*ujjvala*, *pajjalaī*=*prajvalati* (G.H.R.); M. *jara*=*jvara* (H.). — *nva*=*ṇva*: M. *kiṇṇa*=*kiṇva* (G.); Ś. *kaṇṇa*=*kaṇva* (Śak. 9,10; 14,1; 15,1 etc.); Ś. *rumaṇṇado*=**rumaṇvataḥ* (Ra'n. 320,16). On *vya* see § 286, on *rva*, *vra* § 287, on *lva* § 296.

§ 298. In conjunction with dental stops *va* may be assimilated to the dental. *tva*=*tta*: PG. M. AMg. JM. *cattāri*, Mg. *cattāli*=*catoāri* (§ 439); M. Ś. *satta*=*sattva* (H. ; Śak. 154,7); the suffix *tta* = *-tva*, as *piṇatta*=*pinatva*; AMg. *bhaṭṭita*=*bhartṭva*; **-ttaṇa*=*-tvana*, as M. *piṇattana*=**pinatvana*, Ś. *niṇattana*=*nipunatvara*, A. *pattattana*=**pottatvana* (§ 597). — *dva*=*dda*: M. AMg. JM. *dāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,70; 2,79,112; G. H. R. ; Sūyag. 129; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); always M. Ś. A. *dia*, JM. *diya*=*diviya* (Hc. 1,94; Pāiyāl. 102; G. ; Erz. ; KI. 11 [dia]; Caṇḍak. 3,16; 52,6; 56,6; 93,13; Piṅgala 2,48), *diāhama*=*diviādhama* (the bird bhāsa; Deśin. 5,39), also=*diviḥa* (Hc. 2,79); Ś. *diṇṇa*=*diviṇṇa* (Śak. 140,13), *diṇṇadara*=*diviṇṇatara* (Mṛcch. 22,13), *diṇṇida*=*diviṇṇita* (Nāgān. 18,2); Mg. *diṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *diraa*=*dirada* (Hc. 1,94); AMg. *dāvāra*=*dvāpara* (Sūyag. 136), *danda*=*dvandva*, *digu*=*divigu* (Aṇuog. 358); AMg. JM. *jambuddiiva*=*jambudviḥa* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); PG. *bharaddāyo*=*bharadvājaḥ* (5,2), *bhāradāya*, *bhāradāyasa* (6,16.19); M. *saddala*=*śāḍvala* (G.). — *dhva*=*ddha*: *dhattha*=*dhvasta* (Hc. 2,79), M. *uddhattha*=*uddhvasta* (G. 608; so to be read). If the prefix *ud* occurs before a word beginning with *va*, so *dva* becomes *vva*: M. *uvattana*=*udvartana* (G. H. R.), AMg. *uvattana* (Uvās.); JM. *uvattiya* (Erz.); M. *uvahana*=*udvahana* (G. R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uvviga*=*udvigna* (§ 276).

§ 299. Dialectically *tva* becomes *cca* through *tya*, *thva* becomes *ccha* through *thya*, *dva* becomes *jja* through *dya* and *dhva* becomes *jja* through *dhya*. *tva*=*cca*: M. AMg. JM. *caccara*=*catvara* (Hc. 2,12; Ki. 2,33; H. ; Vivāgas. 103 f.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside M. Ś. *cattara* (Hc. 2,12; Ki. 2,33; H. ; Mṛcch. 6,7; 28,20; Bālar. 147,20); AMg. JŚ. *tacca*=**tāttva* (§ 281); A. *pahuccai*=**prabhutvati* (§ 286); AMg. JM. JŚ. in the absolutes, as AMg. JŚ. *kiccā*=*kṛtvā*; AMg. JM. JŚ. *so cā*=*śrutvā*; AMg. *bhōccā*=*bhuktvā*; AMg. *ciccāṇa*, *cēccāṇa*=**tyaktvāṇa*, *hiccāṇa*=**hūtvāṇa* (§ 587). — *thva*=*ccha*: AMg. *picchi*=*prthvi* (Hc. 2,15). — *dva*=*jja*: AMg. *vijjam*=*vidvān* (Hc. 2,15; Sūyag. 126.306). — *dhva*=*jja*: AMg. JM. *jhaṇya*

(Hc. 2,27; Nāyādh. § 47; Vivāgas. 61; Kappas. § 4,32; T. 5,10; Erz.); AMg. *isijjhaya*=*ṛsidhvaya* (Uttar. 630); *arunajjhaya* (Uvās. § 179; 277,5), *indajjhaya* (Samav. 97), *mahindajjhaya* (Thāṇ. 266; Jiv. 551 f.; Kappas. p. 96,26), *maṅgalajjhaya* (Jiv. 552), *ūsiyajjhaya*=*ucchritadhvaya* (Nāyādh. 481; Ovav. § 40), *kaṇajjhaya* (Nāyādh. 1084), *cindhajjhaya*=*cihnadhvaya* (Nirayāv. § 5), *dharmajjhaya* (Ovav. § 16), *chattajjhaya*=*chattradhvaya* (Paṇhāv. 286), *tālajjhaya*=*tāladhvajodiddha* (Paṇhāv. 249), *sajjhaya* (Samav. 97; Rāyap. 128; Ovav. § 2. 42. 49), beside M. *dhaa* (Hc. 2,27; H. R.), JM. *dhaa* (Pāiyāl. 68; Erz.), M. Ś. *maaraddhaa* (H.; Karp. 66,11; 76,9; 83,1; 110,5; Śak. 120,5; Bālar. 289,13; Viddoas. 105,8); P. *makaraddhaya* (Hc. 4,323), but AMg. *mayarajjhaya* (Paṇhāv. 286); JM. *garuḷaddhaya* (Dvār. 507,37), but AMg. *garuḷajjhaya* (Paṇhāv. 235); AMg. *tāladdhaya* (Samav. 236). — A. *jhuni* (Hc. 1,52; 4,432), beside Ś. *dhuni* (Pras. 14,10; Karmav. 9,15; Vṛṣabh. 48,9)=*dhvani* from **dhvuni* with *u* according to § 104. — AMg. *bujjhā*=*buddhvā* (Hc. 2 15), *abujjha* (Sūyag. 504). — M. JM. Ś. *sajjhasa*=*sādhvasa* (Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,75; Mk. fol. 23; G.; Erz.; Jivān. 88, 14; Mālatim. 276,6; Pāvati. 12,14,23), beside *saddhasa* (Mk.). Nāgān. 27,14 stands *adisaddhasena*; the ed. Calc. 1873 p. 27,1 has *adisajjhasena*. — *māukka* is not=*mṛduta* (Hc. 2,2; Mk. fol. 26), but=**mārdukya* from *mṛduka* (cf. § 52), as JM. *garukka* (Ki. 13)=**gukukya* from *guruka* (§ 123).

§ 300. However, *va* behind *ta* shifts to *pa*, behind *da* to *ba*; dialectically *tva* becomes *ppa*, *dva* becomes *bbā*. *tva*=*ppa*: M. *paḥuppa*=**prabhutvati* (§ 286); A. *pa*=*twām*, *twayā* and *twayi* (§ 421); A. *-ppana*=*-vana*, as *vaddappana* beside *vaddhattana*=**vaḍḍatvana*, *maṇusappana*=**maṇusātvana* (§ 597); A. absolute in *-ppi*=*-twi*, as *jinēpphi*, *jēppi*=**jitwi*; *gampi*=**gantwi*=Vedic *gatwi*, *gamēppi*=**gamitwi*, and *-ppinu*=*-twinam*, as *gamēppinu*, *gampinu*=**gamitwinam*; *karēppinu*=**karitwinam* (§ 588). This secondary *pa* becomes *va* as well, as *karevi* beside *karēppi*; *leviṇu* beside *lēppiṇu*; *ramevi* beside *ramēppi* (§ 184.588). On *ppa* from *tma* see § 277. — *dva*=*bbā*: PG M. AMg. *be*, A. *bi*=*dve*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi*=**dveni* (436.437); M. *biṇṇa*=*dviguna* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79; G. H. R.)², but Ś. Mg. *diṇṇa* (§ 298); AMg. JM. *bāraṇa*, A. *bāraha*=*dvādaśa* (§ 443), as generally AMg. JM. A. *bā°*=*dvā°* (§ 445 ff.); M. *biia*, *bia*, *biija*, AMg. JM. *biia*, *biya*, A. *bīa*=*dvitiya* (§ 82 91. 165. 449); M. A. *bāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,79; 2,79. 112; H.; Hc. 4,436); AMg. JM. *bārava*=*dvāvatī* (Nāyādh. 524. 1296 ff.; Nirayāv. 79; Dvār. 495,1 ff.); *bisamīta*=*dvīsamīta* (Hc. 1,177); M. *besa*=*dveṣa* (G.); M. AMg. =*doeṣa* (Hc. 2,92; G. H.; Paṇhāv. 397; Uttar. 33), metrically also AMg. *baissa* (Uttar. 961). *dhva*=*bbha*; JM. *ubbha*=*ūrdhva* (Hc. 2,59; Erz.); JM. *ubbhaya*=*ūrdhva* (Pāiyāl. 234); M. *ubbha*, JM. *ubbhiya*=**ūrdhva* (R.; Erz.), *ubbheha*=**ūrdhva* (Erz. 40,15), beside M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha* (§ 83), AMg. JM. *uddha* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1,5,2,3; 1,2,5,4,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4 etc.; Sūyag. 215 273 288 304. 590. 914 931; Vivāhap 11. 101. 105 f. 260 etc.; Erz.). — *nva*=*ṇṇa*: M. JM. *anṇesana*=*anveṣana* (G.; Erz.), Ś. *anṇesana*=*anveṣana* (Vikr. 32,3), *anṇesīdi*=*anviṣyate*, *anṇesidavva*=*anveṣitavya* (Mṛcch. 4,4.21); Ś. *dhannantari*=*dhanvantari* (Bālar. 76,1); Mg. *maṇṇantala*=*manvantara* (Prab. 50,13; so correctly ed. Bombay. M. P.); Ś. *evam*, *ṇedam*=*evam* *nv* *etat*; Ś. Mg. *kim* *ṇedam*=*kim* *nv* *etat* (§ 174).

1. ASCOLI, Vorlesungen p. 59; Kritische Studien p. 197 ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f. — 2. The Indian editions and WEBER in H. mostly write *v* in lieu of *b*.

§ 301. If the first member of conjunct consonant is a sibilant and the consonant following it, a tenuis, as a rule, the sibilant is assimilated

to the tenuis which gets aspirated. If, however, the sibilant stands at the end of a member of a compound, generally the aspiration of the initial tenuis of the following member does not take place, particularly when the first member is a prefix. *śca=cca* (Vr. 3,40; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25); M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. AMg. *acchera*, *accharija*; AMg. JM. *accheraja*, AMg. *accheraja*=*āścarya*, *āścaryaka* (§ 138. 176); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā=paścāt* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vivāh. p. 101; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 150,18; Śak. 105,14; Karp. 33,8); A. *pacchi*=**paśce* (Hc. 4,388); M. AMg. JM. Ā. *pacchima*=*paścima* (Grr.; G. R.; Vivāh. p. 63; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99,18); Ś. *pacchādāva=paścāttāpa* (Vikr. 33,11; 38,17); AMg. *pājacchitta*, AMg. A. *pacchitta=prāyaścitta* (§ 165); AMg. JM. *nicchaya*, A. *nicchaa=niścaya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,422,10), but M. *niccaa* (R.); AMg. JM. *nicchija=niścita* (Dasav. 642,7; Nirayāv.; Erz.), Ś. *nicchida* (Bālar. 87,1), but also Ś. *niccida* (Mudrār. 208,10 ed. Calc. Samvat 1926; Mahāv. 55,1 ed. Bomb.); M. Ś. A. *niccala=niścala* (Hc. 2,21,77; Mk. fol. 25; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 59,24; Mudrār. 44,6; Hc. 4,436), AMg. JM. *niccala* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. AMg. *niccēṭṭha=niścēṣṭa* (R.; Nirayāv.); M. *duccaria*, JM. *duccariya*, Ś. *duccarida=duścariṭa* (H.; Erz.; Mahāv. 118,11); AMg. *duccara=duścara* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2), *duccaraga* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6); JM. Ś. *tavaccaraṇa=taṭaccaraṇa* (Dvār. 496,19; 502,36; 505,15,38; Mṛcch. 68,8,9; 72,6; Pārvaṭip. 24,3; 25,19; 26,23; 27,2,10). — *nahaara* is not=*nabhaśara* (Ki. 2,110), but=**nabhacara* (§ 347). M. JM. Ś. *harianda* (G.; Ki. 3; Karp. 58,4), JM. *hariyanda* (Dvār. 503,16) is not=*hariścandra* (Hc. 2,87; Ki. 2,110 [text *harianno*, LASSEN *hariando*]), which becomes Mg. *haliccanda* (Caṇḍak. 43,5), but=*haricandra* like M. *hārianda* (G.)=*hāricandra*. — *cuai* may be=**cūtātī* (Hc. 2,77; cf. § 210. note 2), or=**cyutātī*. — In M. *vimchua*, *vimchia* beside *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuya*, *vicchija=viśeika* (§ 50,118) the nasal vowel is to be explained as in M. *piṃcha=piccha*; *guṃcha=gucca*; *puṃcha=puccha* (§ 74); *vimcua* (§ 50) is treated according to the rule which holds good for compounds. — Corresponding to the change of old *cca* to *śca* (§ 234), in Mg. *śca* remains unaltered: *āścalia=āścarya* (§ 138); *niścaa=niścaya* (Mṛcch. 40,4; text. °cca°); *niścala* (Mṛcch. 135,2); *paścādo=paścāt* (Venṣ. 35,10 in Hc. 4,299; Bengal recension *paścādo*)²; *paścā* (Mudrār. 174,8 [text *pacchā*; cf. v.1]; Caṇḍak. 42,12 [text *pacchā*]); *piścima* (Mṛcch. 169,22; text *pacchima*; v.1. *paccima* and *pakṣima*); *śiśaścālana=śiraścālana* (Mṛcch. 126,7). — *ścha* becomes *cca*: M. *nicchallia=niścallita* (G.); AMg. *nicchodējja=niścoteyam* (Uvās. § 200); JM. *nicchoḷiṇa=niścodya* (Erz. 59,13)

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 261,264. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,299.

§ 302. *śka* and *śkha* become *kkha* as a rule (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,4; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24). *nikkha=niśka* (Hc. 2,4), according to Mk. fol. 24 also *nikka*; Ś. *poḷkkhara*, AMg. JM. *pukkha=puškara*, AMg. Ś. *poḷkkhariṇi*, AMg. *pukkhariṇi* (§ 125); *mukkha=muśka* (Bh. 3,29); M. AMg. *vikkhambha=viškambha* (Ki. 2,88; R.; Ovav.). In many cases, however, the aspiration does not take place, even outside the compounds, while it sometimes appears in compounds against the rule: M. Ś. *kikkindha*=*kiṣkindha* (R.; Anarghar. 262,5); M. AMg. JM. *caṭṭka=catuśka* (Deśin. 3,2; G.; Āyār. 2,11,10; Anuor. 388; Paṇṇav. 702; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1294; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *cadukkiā=catuṣkikā* (Bālar. 136,16; Viṇḍhaś. 52,4 [text *cau*]); AMg. JM. *turukka=turuśka* (Paṇḥāv. 258; Samav. 210; Paṇṇav. 96,99,110; Vivāh. p. 941; Rāyap. 28,36,60,190; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Āv. 40,17 [read so]); Ś. *dhānukka*

= *dhānuṣka* (Mk fol. 24; Ālar. 86,15 2(2,16), *dhānukkadā* (Bālar 261,1); *sakkai*=*śvaṣkati* (Mk. fol. 55; WEBER on H. 608), *osakka*=**apaśvaṣka* (g. ne away; Deśin 1,149; Pāyal 178), AMg. *osakkai* (Pannav 541), M. *osakkanta* (R.), AMg. *avasakkejjā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), AMg. *paccosakkai*=**pratyapaśvaṣkati* (Nāyādh 1463; Vivāhap. 1035.1217.1248), M. *parisakka* (H. R. [text falsely *padī°*]), M. *parisakkaṇa* (G. R.); AMg. *sakkuli* beside *saṅkuli*=*śaṅkuli* (§ 74); AMg. JM. *sukka*=*śuska* (Hc 2,5; Anuttar. 1113; Nāyādh 984; Vivāhap 270; Uttar. 758 ff; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz), *sukkanti* (D. śin 8,18,23), A. *sukkalī* (Hc. 4,427)=**śuskkanti*, M. AMg. *parisukka*=*pariśuska* (G.; Utar. 53); beside M. AMg. *ś sukla* (Hc 2,5; H. R.); Dasav N 660, 16; Mrcc. 2,15; 44,4), *Ś. sukkhāna* (Mrcc. 18,4) M. *sukkhanta*- (H.), *osukkhā*, *osukkhanta*- (R.) Examples for compounds are : M. *nikkaṭṭava*=*niṣkaitava* (H.); M. *Ś. nikkamṇa*=*niskamṇa* (G. R.; Śak. 126,14; Mahāv. 32,21); M. JM. *nikkāraṇa*=*niṣkāraṇa* (G. R.; Dvār.); AMg. *nikkaṇa*=*niṣkaṇa* (Vivāhas. 102), *nikkaṇkaḍa*=*niṣkaṇkaḍa* (Pannav. 118; Ovav.); M. *Ś. nikkīva*=*niṣkīva* (Pāiy. 1,7); H; Śak 55,16; Candak. 87,2); M. AMg. *Ś. A. dukkara*=*duskara* (Hc 2,4; G. H. R.); Vivāhap 817; Uvās.; Mrcc. 77,14; Hc 4,414,4,441, AMg. *dukkada*, JM. *dukkaya* (§49) *kram+nis* forms in M. *nikkhamāi*, in AMg. *nikkhamāi* (§481), AMg. *nikkhamma*=*niṣkramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.), *nikkhamiṣanti*, *nikkhamiṣu*, *nikkhamittae* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *nikkhamāna* (Āyār 1,1,3,2; Erz); AMg. *paḍinikkhamāi* (§481); AMg. JM. *nikkhamāna* (Kappas ; Erz) M. has also *nikkamāi* (H.), *viṇikkamāi* (G.) beside *viṇikkhamāi* (G.), a point on which the manuscripts vary. *Ś.* has only *nikkamadi* (§ 481), *nikkamidum* (Mudrār. 43,6), *nikkamanta*- (Muirār. 186,2), *nikkanta* (Mrcc. 51,5.8.12), *nikkāmaissāmi* (Mrcc. 52,9); Dh. *nikkamia* (Mrcc. 36,23); D. *nikkamantassa* (Mrcc. h. 105,24). — In Mg. *śka* becomes *ska* and *śkha* becomes *skha* (Hc. 4,289): *śuska*=*suska*; *dhānuṣkhaṇḍa*=*dhanuṣkhaṇḍu*. According to Nāmi ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12, *śka* and *śkha* appear, and thus the talav. has *tuluśka*=*turuśka* (565,14 17), *śuśke*=*śuśkaḥ* (566,12) The texts write *kkha*, *kka*. So Mrcc. 21,17 *sukkhe*, but MS A. *suskhe*; 132,24; 133,17; *sukkha* without v. l.; 161,7 *sukkhī*, v. l. *śuskā*=*śuśkaḥ*; 133,15.16 *sukkhāvaśśam* without v. l.; 112,11 *poṅkhalinī*, 113,22 *pukkhalinī* without v. l.; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22 *nikkamadi*, *nikkama* with the v. l. *niṣkama*, *nikkhama* 133, 21; 173,9 *nikkide*, 134,13 *nikkidaṃ*=*niṣkritaḥ*, *niṣkritam* without v. l.; 43,4; 175,15 *dukkala*=*duskara* without v. l.; 125,14 *dukkida*=*duskṛta* with the v. l. *dukkhida*, *dukkhida*, *dukkida* etc. We should read *śuska*, *poṅkaliṇī*, *niṣkamadi*, *niṣkida*, *duskala*, *duskida* etc

§ 303. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* before *ṭṭha* (Vr. 3,10.51; G. 3,8 11; Hc. 2,34.90; Ki. 2,86.49; Mk. fol. 21.19): PG. *aggiṭṭhoma*=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1; cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2,484), *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34), *veṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); M. *iṭṭha*=*iṣṭha* (H.), *diṭṭhi*=*diṣṭi* (G. H. R.), *muṭṭhi*=*muṣṭi* (G. H. R.) — PG. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *goṭṭhi*=*geṣṭhi* (G.), *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* (G. H. R.), *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (G. H. R.). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. In Mg. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṣṭa* (Hc. 4,289.290): *kaṣṭa*=*kaṣṭa*; *koṣṭāgāla*=*koṣṭhāgāra*; *śuṣṭu*=*suṣṭhu*. Nāmi ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 prescribes *ś* for *ṣ* in consonant groups (cf. § 302): *koṣṭhāgāla* (MSS. *kosthā°*, *keṣṭha°*, *ekāśya°*). The manuscripts of the dramas vary; the texts have *ṭṭha* mostly falsely, STENZLER in Mrcc., mostly has *ṣṭa*. Thus in Mrcc. *kaṣṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (29,18; 127,13); the MSS. have *kaṣṭa*, *kaṭṭha*, *kaṭṭa*, *duṣṭāna*, *pabbhaṣṭe*=**dṛṣṭvāna*, *prabhraṣṭaḥ*; (29,21), the MSS. have *daṭṭhūna*, *pabbhaṭṭhe*; *duṣṭa*=*duṣṭa* (19,5; 20,17; 21,8; 40,9; 79,17.18; 112.14.21; 113,19; 133,19; 151,25); the MSS. have mostly *duṭṭha*, partly *duṣṭa*, *duṣṭha*, *duṭṭha*, *duṭṭa*, *duha*, *duṣṭa*, *ducha*; *paṇaṣṭā*

=*pranaṣṭā* (14,11); the MSS. have °*ṭhā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭhā*; *palāmiṣṭā* = *parāmrṣṭā* (16,23); the MSS. have °*miṣcā*, °*miṣvā*, °*miṭṭhā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭhā*, °*miṭṭā*; *uvaviṣṭe*, °*paviṣṭā*, °*paviṣṭam*=*upaviṣṭah*, °*praviṣṭum* (14,10; 21,12.21.22), the MSS. have *viṣce*, °*viṭṭhe*, °*viṣṭe*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṣṭa*, °*viṭṭha*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṭṭhā*, °*viṣṭā*, °*viṣṭā*, etc.; *laṣṭia*=*rāṣṭrika* (121,12;125,21;130,13;138,14), the MSS. have *laṭṭhia*, *laṭṭia*, *laṣṭhia*, *laṣṭia*, *ṣaṇṭṭhaṇam* (11,22), but *ṣaṇṭṭhaṇa* (127,12)=*ṣaṇṭṭanam*, °*nena*, the MSS. point to °*vedha* (see STENZLER p. 242 301; GODBOLE p. 32.35 and §304), and so GODBOLE 32,9 rightly reads *ṣavedhaṇam* etc.; Prab: *miṭṭham*=*miṣṭam* (46,17); *paṇaṭṭhassa*=*pranaṣṭasya* (50,14); *uvadiṭṭhe*=*upadiṣṭah* (51,2); *duṭṭha*=*duṣṭa* (51,10); *diṭṭhānde* (sic; 51,10; Bomb. *diṭṭhamdo*, M. *diṭṭhande*, P. *diṭṭhande*); so also Bombay M., whilst P, except 50,14, has always °*ṭṭha*. BROCKHAUS does not note any v.l. Venis.: *paṇaṭṭha*=*pranaṣṭa* (35,2.7) without v.l.; Mudrār.: *paṇṭṭhūm*=*praveṣṭum* (185,6), printed *paṇṭṭhūm* for which the best MSS. and the ed. Calc.156,8 have *pavididum* (read °*ṣi*) etc.—*ṣṭha*: Mṛcc.: *koṣṭake*=*koṣṭhaka* (113,15), the MSS. have *koghaṭake* (?), *koṣṭake*, *koṭṭhake*, *koṣake*, *koṣṭhake*, while in Venis.33,6 *gōṭṭhāgāle*, in the ed. Calc. p.69,1 *koṭṭhāgāle* stand, and the MSS. have mostly *koṭṭhāgāle*, none of them has °*ṣṭa*, in the face of Hc.'s *koṣṭāgālam*, apparently taken from here and Nāmisādhu's *koṣṭhāgālam*; *piṣṭi*, *puṣṭi*=*prṣṭha* (79,9;165,9), the MSS. *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*; and so Venis. 35,5.10 *piṭṭhado*, °*nupitṭham*=*prṣṭhato*, °*nuprṣṭham*, where *piṣṭado* *anupitṭam* should be read; *suṣṭu*=*suṣṭhu* (36,11;112,9;115,16;164,25), the MS. *suṭṭhu*, *suṣṭu*, in the face of Hc.'s *susṭu*; for *ṣōṭṭhakam* (20,21) we should read *ṣōṣṭukam*=**suṣṭhukam*; the MSS. have *ṣonukkam*, *ṣonukam*, *ṣōṭṭhikam*, *ṣōṭṭhakam*, *ṣōṣṭakam*, the ed. Calc. has *ṣōṭṭhikam*, which it explains as=*svastikam*; *ṣeṣṭi*=*ṣreṣṭhi*- (38,1), the MSS. have °*ṭṭha*, as is printed in Mudrār. 257,5 (the ed. Calc. 212,10 °*ṭṭi*) etc. *ṣṭha* is retained according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298 in Mg. *ciṣṭhadi*=*tiṣṭhati*. STENZLER in Mṛcc. writes throughout *ciṣṭadi* (pro ex. 9,22.24;10,2.12;79,16;90,3;97,2 etc.), the MSS. mostly have *ciṣṭha*, *ciṣṭa*, *ciṭṭha*, only quite rarely *ciṣṭa*; Prab. 32,11; in Mudrār. 185,8;267,2 occurs °*ṭṭha*, °*ṭṭa*, °*ṭṭha* in the different editions. In Ki. 5,95 the printed edition has *ciṭṭa*, LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *chiṭṭha*. P. also has the like-form according to Ki. In Simhadevaganin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,2 *ciṭṭha* is edited. — In P., according to Hc.4,313, the dental may enter into the ending °*ṣṭvāna* of the absol.: *ṇaṭṭhūna* beside *ṇaṭṭhūna*=**naṣṭvāna*, *taṭṭhūna* beside *taṭṭhūna*=**dṣṭvāna*. On P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* see § 132. M. *vuttha* with its compounds, as *uvvuttha*, *paṭṭtha*, *paṇiuttha*, *parivuttha*; JM. *pavuttha* (§ 564) is not=**uṣṭa* (BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl. s.v. *vuttho*), which would have given °*vutṭha* or °*uṭṭha*, but=**vasta* with a secondary transition of *a* into *u* according to § 104. Like M. *vasia* and its compounds, such as *uvvasia*, *pavasia*, *Ṣ. uvavasida*=**vasita* (§ 564), so is also *vuttha*=**vasta*, formed from the present stem, beside the regular M. *usia*=**uṣita* (G.). Cf. § 337. *ālēddhuam* (Hc. 1,24;2,164), *ālēddhum* (Hc. 2,164), *ālidḍha* (Hc. 2,49; Pāṇyāl. 85; Deśn. 1,66), M. *āliddhaa* (Vikr. 51,6) are not to be derived with Hc. from *sluṣ*, but they belong to *ālīhaī* (touches; Hc. 4,182; cf. BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl. s.v. *āliddham*), which=*āleḍhi* from *lih* of the 6th class with *ā*, and is=**ālīhati*, and are=**āleḍhukam*, **āleḍdhum*, **āligdha*, **āligdhaka*. *h* here is to be treated according to the analogy of roots in an old *gh*. So correctly already BOLLESEN, Vikr. p. 364.

§ 304. In *iṣṭā* (Hc. 2,34), *uṣṭra* (Hc. 2,34; Mk. fol. 21) and *saṁdaṣṭa* (Hc. 2,34) the aspiration does not take place: M. AMg. JM. *iṭṭā*=*iṣṭā* (G.; Thāp. 478; Antag 29; T. 7,9.15 [so it should be read; cf. v.l. to 7,15]), AMg. JM. *iṭṭagā*=*iṣṭakā* (Antag. 28; Paṇhāv. 128

[^okā]; Āv. 16, 10, 13; 19, 4), AMg. *iṭṭayagini* = *iṣṭakāgni* (Jiv. 293). — *utta* = *uṣṭra* (Sūyag. 253, 724 f.; 727; Vivāgas 163; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 304; Paṇnav. 366, 367; Uvās.; Ovav.), *uṭṭiya* = *auṣṭrika* (Uvās.), *uṭṭiyā* = *uṣṭrikā* (Uvās.; Ovav.). According to Mk. fol. 21 there occurs also *uṭṭha* — M. *saṃdaṭṭha* = *saṃdaṣṭha* (Deśin. 8, 18; G.R. s v. *daṃṣ*, *daṣ*). — *daṃṣṭrā* becomes M. AMg. *Ṣ. dāḍhā*, CP. *tāṭhā*; *daṃṣṭrin*, AMg. *Ṣ. dāḍhi-* (§ 76). — *reṣṭate*, with the long vowel retained according to § 87, forms *vedhāi* = Pāli *vethati* (Vr. 8, 40; Hc. 4, 221; Ki. 4, 67). So M. *vedhia*, *āvedhia* (H.); AMg. *vedhemi* (Uvās. § 108), *vedhei* (Nāyādh. 621; Uvās. 110; Nirayāv. § 11; Vivāhap. 447), *vedheṇṭi* (Paṇhāv. 112), *uvadheṇṭi* *vā* *nivvedheṇṭi* *vā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 2), *vedhiṭṭā* (Rāyap. 266), *vedhāvai* (Vivāgas. 170), *āvedhiya*, *parivedhiya* (Thān. 568; Nāyādh. 1265; Paṇnav. 436; Vivāhap. 706 f. 1323); JM. *vedheṭṭā*, *vedhiya*, *vedhiuṃ*, *vedheuṃ* (Kk.), *parivedhiya* (Rṣabh. 20), *vedhiyaya* (Pāyāl. 199), *vedhāviya*, *parivedhāviya* (T 7, 15, 17); *Ṣ. vedhida* (Mṛcch. 44, 4; 79, 20 [to be so read; see v.l.]; M. AMg. *Ṣ. vedha* = *veṣṭa* (G.H.R.; Anug. 557; Jiv. 862; Nāyādh. 1323, 1370; Rāyap. 266; Bālar. 168, 6; 267, 1); M. *vedhaṇa* = *vṣṭana* (H.R.), M. *ṣavedhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 11, 22; 127, 12; so it should be read; see § 303). AMg. *vedhima* (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Anug. 29; Paṇhāv. 490, 519; Thān. 339; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348, 605; Rāyap. 186; Nandī. 507; Dasav. N. 651, 10; Ovav.); M. AMg. *āvedha* (R.; Paṇhāv. 185); M. *āvedhaṇa* (G.). Likewise formed are: AMg. *koḍha* from *kōṭṭha*, **kuṭṭha* = *kuṣṭha*, *koḍhi* from and beside *kōṭṭhi*, *kuṭṭhi*, *koḍhiya* = *kuṣṭika* (§ 66); AMg. *sedhi* from **sēṭṭhi*, **siṭṭhi* = *śiṣṭi*, *sedhiya*, *anusedhi*, *pasedhi*, *visedhi* (§ 66); AMg. JṢ. *loḍha* = *loṣṭa* (Dasav. 620, 14; Pav. 389, 10), beside *Ṣ. loṭṭhaka* (Mṛcch. 79, 21), M. *loṣṭagudā* (Mṛcch. 80, 5). Beside the regular AMg. *lēṭṭhu* = *leṣṭu* (Paṇhāv. 502; Ovav.; Kappas.), JM. *lēṭṭhuya* = *leṣṭuka* (Erz.); *Ṣ. lēṭṭhu* = *leṣṭukā* (Mṛcch. 78, 12) stands *leḍhukka* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāyāl. 153) with duplication of *k* according to § 194, further with dropping of the aspiration *leḍu* (Pāyāl. 153), *leḍua* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāyāl. 153), *leḍukka* (Deśin. 7, 29) = Pāli *lēḍḍu*, and the AMg. *leḷu*, written *lelu* (§ 226; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 10; 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 2; 2, 10, 8; Sūyag. 647, 692; Dasav. 616, 14; 630, 17), going back to *leḍu*. Instead of *ḍha* there occurs *ḷha* (written *lha*) in *kōḷhua* = **kroṣṭuka*, *kuḷha* = *kroṣṭṭ*, *kōḷhāhala* = **kroṣṭāphala* (§ 242). The same soundchange, without lengthening of the vowels, has taken place in M. *maradhī* = *māhārāṣṭri*; AMg. *aḍha* = *aṣṭa*, *ūsaḍha* = *utsṛṣṭa*, *nisadha* = *nisṛṣṭa*; M. *visadha* = *visṛṣṭa*; AMg. JM. *samosadha* = *samavṛṣṭa* (§ 67). Cf. § 564.

§ 305. *ṣpa* and *ṣpha* become *ppha* (Vr. 85, 51; Hc. 2, 53, 90; Ki. 2, 100, 49; Mk. fol. 25, 19); PG. *pupha* i.e. *puppha* = *puspa* (6, 34), M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. puppha* (H.R.; Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9; Uttar. 981; Kappas.; Erz.; Hās. 31, 21), *Ṣ. pupphaka* = *puspaka* (Mṛcch. 68, 9); *Ṣ. A. pupphakarandaa* = *puspakarandaka* (Mṛcch. 93, 9; 107, 2; 100, 24); *A. pupphavai* = *puspavai* (Hc. 4, 438, 3); *sappha* = *śaspa* (Bh. 3, 35; Hc. 2, 53). *bāṣpa* in the sense of “tear”, according to § 87, 188, becomes *bāha* through **bāpha*, in the sense of steam, however, it becomes *bappha* (Vr. 3, 38; Hc. 2, 70; Mk. fol. 25). Thus M. JM. *Ṣ. A. bāha* (tear: G.H.R.; Acyutaś. 60; Vikr. 51, 8; 53, 6; 54, 10; Karp. 43, 12; 44, 6; Bālar. 156, 16; Erz. 8, 9 [vāha]; Dvār. 507, 16; Sagara. 8, 14; Rṣabh. 12; Mṛcch. 325, 15; Śak. 82, 11; Mālatīm. 89, 7; Uttarar. 78, 5; Ratn. 298, 26; Bālar. 281, 3; Karp. 83, 2; Mallikām. 161, 11; 196, 18 [vā°]; Cait. 38, 10 [vā°]; Hc. 4, 395, 2; Vikr. 59, 6; 60, 17; 61, 5; 69, 21); *Ṣ. bappha* (steam; Jivān. 43, 10). Instead of *bappha* Mk. fol. 25 has *bappa*, as in Pāli, and as taught by him in the section on *Ṣ. fol. 68*, that in *Ṣ.* in the meaning “tear” *bappa* also may be used. Whether *bappa* is not merely an error of MSS. for *bāppha* cannot be said with certainty. In Venis. 62, 13; 63, 17; 76, 4, *bappha* is edited; the ed. Calc. has *bāppa*, *bāṣpa*; in Mudrār.

260,4, there stands in the text *vāha*; but the best MSS. have *bāpā*, P. *bāppha*, the ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 214,6 has *bāppa*; at Rukminip. 30,1, there stands *bāppha*, likewise in Mallikām. 85,14; 124,22 [*vā*]. The vv. ll. *vaspa*, *vāspa*, *vāppa*, *vāppha* in Śak. 140;13 also point to *bāppa* or *bāppha*; in Priyad. 42,4 there stands *bāppha*, in the ed. Calc. 47,1 *vāppa*; in Cait. 44,8 stands *vāspa*; in Śak. 82,11 Z has *bāppha*. Consequently for Ś. *bāppha* too, perhaps *bāppa* also, beside *bāha* in the meaning "tear" will be correct. In Pāiyā. 112 *bāppha* and *bāha* are given in the meaning "tear". — The compounds oscillate between *ppa* and *ppha*, yet *ppa* predominates: AMg. JM. *caūppaya*, AMg. *caūpaya*, A. *caupaa*=*catuspada* (§ 439); Ś. *caduppo dha*=*catuspatha* (Mr̥ch. 25,14; text *caūppaha*); AMg. *duppadham-saga*=*duṣpradharsaka* (Uttar. 286); M. *dupparita*=*duṣparicita* (R.); M. JM. *duppēccha*, Ś. *duppēkkha*=*duṣpreksya* (R.; Erz.; Lalitav. 555,11; Prab.45,11); M. *niṣpacchima*, *niṣpatta* *niṣpivāsa*=*niṣpāśima*, *niṣpatira*, *niṣpipāsa* (H.), *niṣpakka*=*niṣpaksa* (G.), *niṣpaampa*, *niṣpasura*, *niṣpaha*=*niṣprakampa*, *niṣprasara*, *niṣprabha* (R.); AMg. *niṣpaṅka*=*niṣpaṅka* (Paṇḍav. 118; Ovav.). B-side M. *niṣpaṇṇa*=*niṣpaṇṇa* (H.), one says more usually¹ M. *niṣphaṇṇa*, JM. AMg. *niṣphanna* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Thān. 525; Das v. N. 653,20; 657,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *niṣphesa*=*niṣpeṣa* (Hc. 2,53); AMg. *niṣpāra*=*niṣpāra* (Thān. 398), but more frequently *niṣphāra* (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53; Sūyag 747; Paṇḍav. 34; JM. *niṣphāya*=*niṣpādita* (Erz.). One always says M. Ś. *niṣphanda*, AMg. *niṣphanda*, which should be equated as=*niṣpanda* (H. R.; At. tog. 48; Nāyādh. 1383; Uvās.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 14,20; Mallikām. 85,14; 87,9; 124,6; 154,21; 221,12; Cait. 43,4). — *spha*=*ppha*: M. *niṣphura*=*niṣphura* (G.), M. Ś. *niṣphala*, JM. *niṣphala*=*niṣphala* (H. R.; Dvā. 501,30; Rṣa'hap. 14; Lalitav. 555,8; Mr̥ch. 120,7; Mu-drār. 266,2; Candak. 8,11; Mallikām. 181,17; 224,5). — In Mg. *spha* becomes *spha* and *spha* becomes *spha* (Hc. 4,289); *śaspakavala*=*śaspakavala*, *niṣphala*=*niṣphala*. According to Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 *spha* and *spha* should be written in such words. In Mr̥ch. there stands *puṣṣhakalaṇḍa*=*puṣṣakaraṇḍa* (113,20), *puṣṣhakalaṇḍa* (96,18; 99,4; 100,21; 158,22), *puṣṣhakalaṇḍaka* (129,5; 132,2; 133,2; 140,8,14; 146,16; 162,18; 173,11). The MSS. have partly *puṣṣa*, *puṣṣha*. At 116,7, stands *duppēkkhe*=*duṣpreksyah*; the v.l. is *duppēcche*. One reads *puṣṣa*² and *duppēske*.

¹ So correctly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho together with a translation 4,32; false FISCHER, GGA. 1880 p. 329.

§ 306. *ska* and *skha* become *kkha* (Vr. 3,29 51; C. 3,3; Hc. 2,4,90; Ki. 2,88,49; Mk. fol. 24,19). M. AMg. JM. *khandha*=*skandha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1 7,1,8,11; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); PG. *khaṇḍakoṇḍisa*=*skandakoṇḍinah* (6,19); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khaṇḍha*=*skhaṇḍha* (G. R.; Ac. utaś. 42,51; Sūyag. 961; Jiv. 448,481; Paṇḍav. 279; Samav. 101; Vivāhap. 658. 660. 823; Rāyap. 58. 144; Nāyādh. § 21,122; p. 1054; Ovav.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 40,22; 68,18; Viddhaś. 60,2; Dhūras. 6,5; Hc. 4,399). The grammarians (Vr. 3,14; Bh. 3,50; C. 3,10,19; Hc. 1,187; 2,8,89; Ki. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21) derive *khaṇḍha* from *stambha*, since they make classical Skt. the basis. It is naturally= Vedic *skambha*. *avakkhandha*=*avaskanda* (Hc. 2,4); AMg. *amaṇakkha*, *samaṇakkha*=*amanaska*, *samanaska* (Sūyag. 842); *makkhara*=*maskara* (Ki. 2,88). In *skanda*, according to Hc. 2,5; Mk. fol. 24 aspiration may not take place; *khandha* and *kanda*. As a rule it does not occur in compounds (§ 301): *ēkkāra*=*ayaskāra* (Hc. 1,166); AMg. JM. *namōkkāra*=*namaskāra* (Hc. 2,4; Āyār. 2,15,22; Erz.; Kk.), beside *namojāra*, *navajāra* (C. 34 p. 51) and M. *namakkāra* (G.); cf. § 195; AMg. JM. *takkara*=*taskara* (Paṇḍav. 120; Nāyādh. 1417; Uttar. 289; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *tukkarattana* (Paṇḍav. 147); Ś. *tirakkāra*=

tiraskāra (Prab. 15,1); Ś. *tirakkariṇi* = *tira-kariṇi* (Śak. 119,3). So reads also the Kashmir recension 112,14, whilst the D vanāgarī recension 77,9, ed. BÖHTLINGK and the South Indian recension 256,17 read *tirakkharini*, as also BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. 24,4; 42,19 against his best MSS., which have °*kka*°; the ed. Bomb. 1888 has at 41,6; 72,1 rightly °*kka*°; the South Indian MS. of Śak and Vikr. oscillate between °*kkha*° and °*kka*°. M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada*=*saṃskṛta*, AMg. JM. *asakkaja*=*asaṃskṛti*, M. *sakkāra*=*saṃskāra*, JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṃskārita* (§ 76), AMg. *purakkada*=*puraskṛta* (Sūyag. 692), *parekada* (Sūyag. 284,540; Dasav. 627,7; 633,17; Ovav.), beside AMg. *samkhaja* (§ 49), *saṃkhadi*=*saṃskṛti* (Kappas.), *uvakkhada*=*upaskṛta* (Uttar. 355), *purēkkhada* (Paṇḍav. 796 ff.). Cf. § 49. 219 To it belong also *nikkha* (thief; Deśin. 4,47)=**niṣkṛ* AMg. *nakkha* (nose; Deśin. 4,46; Āyār. 2,3,2,5; Sūyag. 280,748)=**nāska* from Vedic *nās* with a change of gender; to it belong *nakkasirā* (nostril; Pāiyāl. 114). — *skha* = *kkha*: M. JM. *khalāi*, Ś. *khaladi* = *skhalati* (R.; Dvār 504, 34; Śak. 131, 6), Dh. *khalanta* (Mr̥cch. 30,8); M. *khalia*, JM. *khalija*, Ś. *khalida* = *skhalita* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,9); M. S. *parikkhalanta* (H. R.; Mr̥cch. 72,3), M. *parikkhalia* (G. R.). In Mg. *śka* and *śkha* are retained according to Hc. 4,289; *maskali*=*maskarin*; *praskhaladi*=*praskhalati*. According to Nāmi-ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra *s* becomes *ś*. The texts have *kkha*: *khalanti* (Mr̥cch. 10,15) *pakkhalanti* (Mr̥cch. 9,23; 10,15), *khandana* (Mr̥cch. 22,8), without any v. l. *hatthikkhandam* (Śak. 117,4), where R. has °*skandham*. One reads *skhalanti*=*praskhalanti*, *skandheṇa*, *hastiskandham*. So in all the cases.

§ 307. *sta* and *stha* become *ttha* (Vr. 3,12,51; Hc. 2,45,90; Ki. 2,85,49; Mk. fol. 21,19); M. *thaṇa*=*stana* (G. H. R.); *thui*=*stuti* (G. R.), *thoa*=*stoka* (G. H. R.), *attha*=*asta* (G. R.) and=*astra* (R.), *atthi*=*asti* (§ 498), *paithara*=*prastara* (H.), *hattha*=*hasta* (G. H. R.); PG. *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyāṇam* (6,8), *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51). Likewise the other dialects. In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule: AMg. JM. *duttara*=*dustara* (Āyār. 2,16,10; Sūyag. 213; Erz.), M. *dutiāra*=*dustāra*, *duttārattana*=**dustārātvaṇa* (R.), AMg. *suduttāra* (Ovav.); AMg. *nittusa*=*nistuṣa* (Paṇḍav. 435). So also M. AMg. *samatta*=*samasta* (Hc. 2,45; R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside M. JM. Ś. *samattha* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Māhāv. 27,6; 28,1; where, however, the ed. Bomb. 59,4; 62,1 has *samatta*). *uraḍa*, which Ki. 2,110 equates as=*urastata*, is explained, as already recognized by LA'ZEN¹, from the stem *ura-* (§ 407). Beside *theṇa*=*stena* (thief; Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29; Pāiyāl. 72), *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32), *thūṇa* (§ 129), AMg. and JM. exclusively have *teṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; 2,3,1,9,10; 2,4,1,8; Paṇḍav. 412 f; Sarav. 85; Uttar. 228,990; Dasav. 623,36,40; 624,10; 627,34; Uvās.; Āv 44,7); AMg. *ateṇa*=*astena* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), *teṇa* (Ovav.), *teṇija* (Jiyak 87; Kappas.)=*stainya*. *theṇa* is related to *teṇa*, as *stāyu* is to *tāyu* (theft) has gone over also to Skt of the Jainas.² According to Hc. 2,46; Mk. fol. 21 *tava* also may be used beside *thava*=*stava*; according to Vr. 3,13; Hc. 2,45; Mk. fol. 21 *stamba* becomes *tamba*. — *stha*=*ttha*: M. *thauḍa*=*sthaputa* (G.), *thala*=*sthala* (G. H.), *thira*=*sthira* (G. H.), *avathā*=*avasthā* (H. R.); Ś. *kāthha*=*kāyasthaka* (Mr̥cch. 78,13).

¹ Inst. § 82 p. 273. — ² E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 47.

§ 308. Instead of the dental *ttha*, sometimes the cerebral *ṭtha* too occurs for *sta* and *stha*. Sometimes both of them accompany one another, even in various forms and derivatives of the same roots and in the same dialect, without it being possible to find a rule, when one of the

other sounds must stand M AMg. JM. *Ś. aṭṭhi*=*asthi* (Vr.3,11; Hc. 2,32; Kī. 2,69; Mk. fol. 21; G. H.; Aṇuṭtar. 11,12; Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 2,1,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 594; Vivāgas 90; Vivāhap. 89.112 168.183 280 926; Thān 54 f 186.431; Uvās.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Candak 87,9); M. *aṭṭhia*, AMg. *aṭṭhiya*=*asthika* (H.; Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *Ś. aṭṭhia*=*asthiya* (Mṛcch. 69,12; so should be read; cf. v.l.); AMg. *bahuvaṭṭhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5.6). — *stambha* forms *thambha* and *ṭhambha*, when it means “immovability” and “stiffness” (Hc. 2,9). Mk. fol. 21 has *thambha* only, and so M. (R.). JM. *gaṭṭhambha* = *gatistambha* (Erz. 82,21), *muḥathambha* = *mukhastambha* (Erz. 82,22), *Ś. ūrutthambha* (Śak. 27,1; Priyad. 17,12). In the meanings “pole” and “post” one says only *thambha* in M. AMg.Ś. (C. 3,11; Hc. 2,1; R.; Vivāhap. 1327; Mālav. 63,1; Viddhās. 74,7). Beside *thambhijai*=*stabhyate*, Hc. 2,9 teaches also *ṭhambhijai*. Frequently there occurs in the text the dental *tha*, as M. *thambhia*, AMg. JM. *thambhiya* (G.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), M. *uttambhijai*, *uttambhijanti* (R. G.); M. *uttambhia* (H. R.), *Ś. uttamhida* (Priyad. 4,7); cerebral *tha* occurs in A. *uṭṭhabbhāi* (Hc. 3,365,3)¹. On *khambha*, see § 306. — Beside *thera* there occurs more frequently *ṭhera*=*sthavira* (§ 166). — Beside AMg. *tattha*=*trasta* (Uvās.), M. *uttattha* (H.), *saṃtattha* (G.), there occurs, according to Hc. 2,136. also *taṭṭha*. The grammarians (Vr. 8,62; Appendix A 37; Hc. 2,136; Deśin. 8,67; Pāyāl. 260; Triv. 3,1,132) refer M. *hittha* (H. R.) and *āhittha* (R.) also to *trasta*. S GOLDSCHMIDT² refers *hittha* to *bhī*, WEBER³ refers it to *dhvasta* or *adhastāt*, which in M. AMg. JM. forms *heṭṭha*, *hiṭṭha* (§ 107) and HOEFER⁴ thought of aspiration of the initial of *trasta*. Dialectically there occur also *hittha* (noun — shame; Pāyāl. 167), *hitthā* (shame; Deśin. 8,67), *hittha* (ashamed; fearful; Gopāl in Deśin. 8,67; cf. Deśikośa on H. 386), *āhittha* (angry, confused; Deśin. 1,76; Pāyāl. 177), and with cerebralization *hiṭṭha*, *hiṭṭhahida* (confused; Deśin. 8,67). The interchange of *ttha* and *ṭtha* points to *sta*, and hence I consider the derivation from *adhastāt* as correct. — *Ś. pallattha*, beside the dialectical *pallaṭṭa*, *pallaṭṭai* (§ 285)=*paryasta*; *pallaṭṭa* has lost its aspiration, as *saṃattha* beside *saṃattha*=*saṃasta* (§307). M. Ś. A *viṣaṃṭhula*=*viṣaṃsthula*, written in Skt. as *viṣaṃṭhula* as well (Hc. 2,32; Mk. f.l. 21; Pāyāl. 264; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 41,10 v. l.; 117,19; Vikr. 60,18; Prab 39,8; Mallikām. 13,3; Hc. 4,436).

1. FISCHER, BB. 15,122. — 2. Rāvaṇavaho s. v. *bhī*. — 3. On Hāla 386. —

4. ZWS. 2,318.

§309. The oscillation between *ttha* and *ṭtha* is especially shown in the root *sthā* and its derivatives, without one being able, with OSTHOFF¹, to explain *tha* by false analogy. One says: PG. *anuvatṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45; cf 184.189); M. JM. *thāi*=**sthāti*, M. *ṇiṭṭhāi*, *saṃṭhāi*, JM. *thāha*, AMg. *abhuṭṭhanti*; JM. *ṭhāyanti*, but A. *thanti*; A. *uṭṭhāi*, JM. *uṭṭhaha*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhei*, JM.Ś. *uṭṭhehi*, but Ś. also *utthehi*, *utthedu*, (§ 483); M. *thia*, AMg. JM. *ṭhiya*, Ś. *ṭhida*=*sthita* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,6,5,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 42,18; 52,2), but also *thia*, Ś. *thida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 83,20); Mg. AMg. JM. *ṭhavei*, A. *ṭhavahu*, AMg. *ṭhāvei*, JM. *ṭhāveni*, A. *paṭhāvai*, Ś. *paṭhāvai*, beside Ś. *saṃavatṭhāveni*, *paṇjavatṭhāveni* (§551), M. *uṭṭhia*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhiya* (Hc. 4,16; R.; Aṇuog. 60; Vivāhap. 169; Āyār. 1,5,2,2; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also *utthia*, Ś. *utthida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 75,15; v.l. °*tṭhi*°); *paṭṭhia*=*prasthita* (Hc. 4,16), but M. *paṭṭhia* (H. R.), Ś. *paṭṭhida* (Śak. 136,16; Vikr. 16,2; 22,17; Mālati. 102,8; 104,2,3; 124,6; Mudrār. 228,5; 261,3; Prab. 17,9; Priyad. 8,16; AMg. JM. *uṇatṭhiya*=*uṇasthita* (Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.), but also Ś. *uṇatṭhida* (Śak. 13,79; Vikr. 6,19; 10,2; 43,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *ṭhāna*=*sthāna* (Hc. 4,16; Pāyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 2,2,1,1 ff.; Sūyag. 688; Uṭṭar. 37,5; Vivāhap. 1310; Uvās.; Nāyādh.;

Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 29; Pav. 313,44; Mṛcch. 70,25; 141,2; Śak. 123,7; 154,8; Vikr. 23,15; 44,7 etc.; Hc. 4,362), but also M. *thāṇa* (Hc. 4,16; R.); AMg. *thāṇija* (respectable; Deśin. 4,5; Nirayāv. § 10), beside *thāṇija* (Deśin. 4,5) = *sthāṇiya*; M. AMg. JM. *thūi*, Ś. *thidi* = *sthitī* (H. R.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also M. *thūi*, Ś. *thidi* (R.; Vikr. 28,19; 72,16; at Śak. 107,12), and so many others. At the end of compounds *°stha* always becomes *°ttha*; M. *kamalattha*, *karattha* (H.), *dūrattha* (R.); AMg. *āgārattha* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6), *gāratthiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7); JM. *āsanattha*, *jōvvanattha*, *sahavattha*, *hiyaya-ttha* (Erz.), Ś. *ekattha* (Mṛcch. 73,3; Śak. 26,14), *vaattha* = *vayaḥstha* (Śak. 141,9), *paḍiittha* = *prakṛiṣṭha* (Śak. 160,13); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhattha* = *madhyastha* (§ 214). Corresponding to Skt. *°ttha*, *aśvattha* becomes AMg. *amsōttha*, *assōttha*, *āsōttha*, *āsattha* (§ 74); *kapittha* becomes AMg. Mg. *kavittha* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,6; Mṛcch. 21,22), but mostly AMg. *kaviṭṭha* (Nirayāv. 45; Paṇṇav. 31,482; Jiv. 46; Dasav. 623,8; Uttar. 983 f.). — *sthāṇu*, according to Vr. 3,15; Hc. 2,7; Ki. 2,78; Mk. fol. 21, becomes **thāṇu* in the meaning “Śiva”, but in the meanings “stump”, “flock” it becomes *khāṇu*. So M. *thāṇu* “Śiva” (Pāyāl. 21; G.); AMg. *khāṇu* “stump”, “flock” (Paṇbāv. 509; Nāyādh. 335; Uttar. 439), but JM. also *thāṇu* “stump of a tree”, “flock” (Pāyāl. 259; Dvār. 504,9), *khāṇu*, beside which *khaṇṇu* also is said (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27) goes back to a side-form **skhāṇu*. *thāṇu* is related to *khāṇu* as *stubbh* to *ksubbh*, *stambh* to *skambh*, Pkt. *duṭṭha* to *dukkha* (§ 90.120.306.311). — *sthaḡ* has in M. a dental in the beginning: *thaei* (R.), *thaesu*, *thāṣsam*, *thāṣum* (H.), *thāṣa* (H. R.), *utthāṣa*, *saṃutthāṣum* (H.), *ōtthāṣa*, *saṃōtthāṣa* (R.), in JM. a cerebral: *thāṣya*, *thāṣiṇa* (Āv. 30,4). The parallel root **sthak* forms in Pāli *thakeli*, in M. JM. Ś. Mg. *dhakkai*, *°di* (§ 221). Yet there occurs also JM. *thakkissai* (T. 5,19).

1. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 18.8, p. 486.

§ 310. In Mg. *sta* is retained (Hc. 4,289) and *stha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra. 2,12): *hasti* = *hastin*; *uvastida* = *upasthita*; *śamuvastida* = *śamupasthita*; *śustida* = *susthita*. According to Nāmisādhū *sta* becomes *sta*. The Lalitav. has: *tatthastehim* = *tatrasṭhāṭh* (265,20); *uvastidānam* = *upasthitānām*; *kaḍastalāṇam* = *kaṭasthalāṇam*, *pāśastide* = *pārśvasthitah*, *niastāṇādo* = *nijasthānāt* (566,3.9.12.15); *siḍā* = *stithā*, *astāṇastide* = *asthānastithāṭh* (567,1.2). In the Mṛcch. STENZLER and GODABOLE, who here, as in many other places, follows him, mostly write *sta* for *sta*, but *ttha* for *stha*. Thus *haṣṭa* = *hastā* (12,14; 14,1; 16,23; 21,12; 22,4; 121,25; 122,20; 126,24), but *hattha* (32,18; 39,20; 134,1 2,3; 135,1,2; 160,3; 171,3) and *hatthi* = *hastin* (40,9; 168,4); as also at Śak. 117,4; Venis. 34,14 it stands. In the Mṛcch. the MSS. mostly have *°ttha*, only at 16,25; 21,12 one of the MSS. has *°sta*, at 21,22 one of the MSS. has also *hacche*, and once *haṣce*, against this one of them has at 14,1 *hastādo*, at 22,4 five of the MSS. have *haste*, at 126,24 two of them have *haste*, so that *°sta* is better warranted than *°sta*. Further pro ex. *thūṇu* = *stūhi* (113,12; 115,9), the MSS. however *stūṇu*; *stūṇa* (or *ṣūṇu*, *suṇu* and so on = *ṣṇu*); *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* = *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* (12,17; 20,17; 21,22; 149,25; 151,24) but *mattha* (161,7); the MSS. mostly have *°sta*, rarely *°ttha* and only at 161,7 one of them has *°sta*; A points to *°stha* at 12,17; 149,25, as STENZLER writes in *iṣṭhiā* = *iṭṭhiā* = *strikā* (12,3,5; 119,23; 136,13; 140,10; 145,3,4; 146,4; 164,20), against *iṭṭhiā* (112,6; 135,1,25). The MSS. again have mostly *°tthi*, only at 112,6 B, 140,10 E and 145,4 D have *°sti*, on the other hand 112,6 H. has *iṣṭhiā*, C *°stri*, 136,13 DE, 140,10 D *°sti*, to which also points *°snt* 136,13 of B, to *°sthi* at the most A 119,23; 140,10. One reads *iṣṭhiā*. In Prab. at 62,7, there stands *iṭṭhiā* and so also in other

places here and always in Venīś., Mudrār., in other words, and often in Mṛcch. °tthā° stands for °sta°. For *stha* stands *ttha* in Mṛcch. pro ex. in *thāvalaa*, °laka=sthāvaraka (96,17;116,4;118,10;119,11;121,9;122,9 etc.) and thus the MSS., except at 96,17, where ECD have *sthā°*; *thoam*=*stokam* (157,6); *avattthide*=*avasthitaḥ* (99,3); *uvattthida*=*upasthita* (118,23; 138,13;175,17), and *ṭṭha*, pro ex. *paṭṭhāvia*=*prasthāpya* (21,12); *saṁṭhā-vehi*=*saṁsthāpaya* (130,11); *saṁṭhida* (v.l. °tthi°)=*saṁsthita* (159,15); *āhalaṇaṭṭhāṇekim* (v.l. °tthā°)=*ābharaṇasthānaih* (141,2). So also in the other dramas with a few exceptions, as °masti=°mastike, *vastie*=°*vastrike* beside °*hatthie*=°*hastike* (Caṇḍak. 68,16;69,1), *astam* (Caṇḍak. 70,14), beside *saṁutthide* (72,1); *paṭṭide*=*prasthitaḥ*, *nivastide*=*nivastitaḥ* (Mallikām. 114,4,11). The vv. ll. furnish more information. We should, with Hc., everywhere write *st*.

§ 311. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 3,36.51; Hc. 2,53.90; Ki. 2,100.49; Mk. fol. 25.19). *spa*=*ppha*: M. Ś. *phamsa*=*sparśa*, Ś. *pariphamśa* (§ 74), M. AMg. *pharisa*, AMg. *pharisaga* (§ 135), AMg. JM. JS. *phāsa* (§ 62); *phandaṇa*=*spandana* (Hc. 2,53); *paḍipphaddhi*=*pratispardhin* (§ 77). The aspiration does not take place in AMg. *puṭṭha*=*sprṣṭa* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6,7,4;1,6,2,3;1,8,3,6,4,1; Sūyag. 65.111.122.144.170.350; Uttar. 48.51.61.106.126; Vivāhap. 97 f. 116.145; Paṇṇav. 134; Ovav.), *apuṭṭha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,1; Vivāhap. 97 f.), *apuṭṭhaya* (Sūyag. 104), very often immediately beside *pharisa* or *phāsa* and *phusaḥ*=*sprṣṭaḥ* (§ 186). In Āyār. 1,6,5,1 there stands *phuṭṭho*. So also *phusaḥ* and *pusaḥ* (wipes; § 486). In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule (§ 301): M. A. *avarōppara*=*aparaspāra* (G.; Hc. 4,409); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraspara* (Hc. 1,62;2,53; G.; Karp. 77,10;101,1; Paṇḥāv. 68; Paṇṇav. 646; Vivāhap. 1099; Av. 7,11; Erz.; Prab. 9,16; Bālar. 218,11; Mallikām. 124,8;158,19;160,8; 223,12), Ś. also, probably falsely, *parappara* (Mālatīm. 119,6;358,1; Uttarar. 108,1; Mallikām. 184,20). Cf. § 195. — AMg. *dupparisa*=*duḥsparśa* (Paṇḥāv. 508). — *nippīha*=*niḥsprha* (Hc. 2,23). From *bṛhaspati* there occurs, beside *bihapphadi* and *bahapphadi* also AMg. *bahassaḥ*, *bihassaḥ* (§ 53), and numerous other forms in the grammarians (§ 212). Likewise stands in AMg. beside *vaṇapphāḥ*=*vanaspati* (Hc. 2,69; Paṇḥāv. 341; Paṇṇav. 35; Jiv. 213.316; Vivāhap. 93.144), JS. *vaṇapphadi* (Kattig. 401.336), also AMg. *vaṇassai* (Hc. 2,69; Mk. fol. 25; Āyār. 1,1,5,4;2,1,7,3,6;2,2,2,13; Sūyag. 792.857; Paṇḥāv. 29; Jiv. 13.316 (beside °*ppha*°). 969f.; Paṇṇav. 44.742; Uttar. 1039.1048; Vivāhap. 30.430.465 f.; Thān. 25.26.52). The forms with *ssa* presuppose that *pai*, as after vowels, at the beginning of the second member of a compound, has become *vai*, so that *ssa*=*sva*. Cf. § 195.407. The similar phonetic transformation occurs in *sihaḥ*=°*sprhṭi* (Hc. 4,34.192; Mk. fol. 25) for °*svihaḥ*. AMg. has *pihējjā*=*sprhayet* (Thān. 158). *chihā* is not=°*sprhā* (Hc. 1,128;2,23; Mk. fol. 25), but belongs like *chihā* (touches; Hc. 4,182), to a root **kṣibh*, which is a parallel root to *kṣubh* (§ 66). — *spha*=*ppha*: M. AMg. Ś. *phaliha*=*sphatika* (§ 206), M. *phuda*=*sphuṭa* (G. H. R.); *phuliṅga*=*sphuliṅga* (G. R.); *apphodaṇa*=*āsphoṭana* (G.), *apphāliha*=*āsphālita* (G. R.); *papphuraḥ*=*prasphurati* (G. H.). *khoḍaa* is not=°*sphoṭaka* (Vr. 3,16; Hc. 2,6; Ki. 2,76; Mk. fol. 21), and *kheḍaa* is not=°*sphoṭaka*, *kheḍa* is not=°*sphoṭika* (Hc. 2,6), but the words presuppose side-forms with an initial *skha*. Cf. § 90.120.306.309. According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *phoḍaa* alone is permitted; thus *vippphoḍaa*=*visphoṭaka* (Sak. 30,1). — In Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *spa* and *spha* are retained: *buhaspadi*=*bṛhaspati*; according to Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 they become *spa*, *spha*: *bihaṣpadi*. At Mṛcch. 133,24; Śak. 115,11 stands *phulanti*=*sphuranti*, Prab. 58,1, *phalasa*, 58,8 *phamsa*; ed. Bomb. P. have both times.

phalasa, M. more correctly *phaliṣa*. One reads *sphulanti*, *spaliṣa* and so in all similar cases.

§ 312. If the consonant following a sibilant is a nasal the sibilant becomes *h* (§ 262—264) and the order of sounds is reversed. Thus *śna*, *ṣṇa* and *sna*, when they are not separated by a separation vowel (§ 131 ff.), uniformly become *ṇha*; *śma*, *ṣma*, *sma* become *mha* (Vr. 3,32,33; C. 3,6; Hc. 2,74,75; Kī. 2,90,94; Mk. fol. 25,26). — *śna*=*ṇha*: *aṇhai*, AMg. *aṇhāi*=*aśnāti* (§ 512); AMg. JŚ. *paṇha*=*praśna* (Sūyag. 523; Kattig. 399,311); *siṇha*=*śiśna* (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 3,75) — *śma* becomes *mha*: *kamhāra*, Ś. *kamhira*=*kāśmūra* (§ 120); *kumhāṇa*=*kuśmāna* (Hc. 2,74). *raśmi* always becomes *rassi* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 1,35; 2,74,78; Pāiyal. 47); AMg. Ś. *sahassarassi*=*sahasraraśmi* (Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Ratn. 311,8; Prab. 14,17; Priyad. 18,15). In the anlaut *ś* is assimilated to *m*: AMg. *maṁsu*=*śmaśru*, *nimmamsu*=*niśmaśru*, JŚ. *maṁsuga*=*śmaśruka* (§ 74), also *massu* (Bh. 3,6; Hc. 2,86; Kī 2,53) and *māsu* (Hc. 2,86); M. Ś. *maśāṇa*, Mg. *maśāṇa*=*śmaśāṇa*, whilst in AMg. JM. *susāṇa* *m* has been assimilated to *s* (§ 104). — *ṣna*=*ṇha*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (G. H. R.; Karp. 45,5; Āyār 1,5,6,4; Uttar. 58; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 29,5,6; 74,9; Vikr. 48,11); Ś. *aṇuṇhadā*=*anuṣṇatā* (Mālav. 30,6), *uṇhaa*=*uṣṇaka*, *uṇhattāna*=**uṣṇatvana* (Hc. 4,343,1), AMg. *siuṇha*=*śitoṣṇa*, in AMg., however, usually *usiṇa* (§ 133). — *uṇhiṣa*=*uṣṇiṣa* (Hc. 2,75); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha*, AMg. *kiṇha*, beside M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa*, AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kaṇha*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); JM. D. *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (§ 72,119). — *śma*=*mha*: M. *umhā*=*uśman* (Grr.; G.), *umhavia*, *umhāla* (G.); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha*=*grīṣma* (§ 83); M. JM. Ś. *tumhāriṣa*=*yuṣmādrīṣa* (§ 245); M. JM. Ś. A. *tumhe*=*yuṣme* (§ 422). — *mahiṣmatī* becomes in Ś. *mahiṣsadi* (Bālar. 67,14). — *bhīṣma*, according to Hc. 2,54, becomes *bhipphā*, *ślesman*, according to Hc. 2,55, Mk. fol. 25, becomes *sepha* beside *silimha* and AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, AMg. *sēmbha*- (§ 267). The forms presuppose the line of transformation **bhīṣva*, **bhīṣva*, **ślesman*, **ślespan* (§ 251,277). On *kohaṇḍi*=*kūśmāṇḍi*, AMg. *kohaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*=*kūśmāṇḍa* see § 127, on A *gimha*=*grīṣma* § 267. — In the pronominal ending of the loc. sing. -*ṣmin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in -*i* and -*u*, *ṣ* is assimilated to *m*: M. *uahimmi*, JM. *uṇahimmi*=*udadhau*; AMg. *sahassarassimmi*=*sahasraraśmau*; AMg. *uimmi*=*ṛtau*; M. *pahummi*=*prabhau* (§ 366,379). In AMg. -*ṣmin* mostly becomes -*ṛsi*: *kucchiṁsi*=*kukṣau*; *pāṇimsi*=*pāṇau*; *leḷumsi*=*leṣṭau* (§ 74,379), in A. it becomes -*hī* from -*ssim* (§ 263,313): *akkhihī*=*akṣṇī*; *kalihī*=*kalau* (§ 379). — *kṣṇa*, *kṣma* too are treated like *ṣna*, *śma*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa* (§ 315); M. AMg. *paṇha*=*paṣman* (Vr. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; Kī. 2,94; G.H.R.; Ūvās.; Ovav.); M. AMg. Ś. *paṇhala*=*paṣmala* (Hc. 2,74; Mk. fol. 25; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 822; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mālatim. 217,4; Mallikām. 249,10 [text *vahmala*]; Caṇḍak. 87,8); Ś. *paṇhalida* (Mahāv. 101,17). Beside *tiṇha*=*tikṣṇa* (Bh. 3,33; C. 3,6 p. 54; Hc. 2,75, 82; Kī. 2,90) the forms found in the text are M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *tikkha* (C. 2,3; 3,6 p. 48; Hc. 2,82; H.; Karp. 28,7; 38,11; 39,7; 65,2; Sūyag. 280,289; Uttar. 338; Dasav. 625,36; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 135,14; Prab. 4,4 [so correctly the ed. Bomb. M. P.]; Venis. 61,14; Mahāv. 101,16; Bālar. 289,13; Mallikām. 82,14; Hāsy. 32,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,15; A. Hc. 4,395,1); AMg. *sutikkha* (Vivāhap. 424); Ś. *tikkhattāna* (Viddhaś. 99,9); A. *tikkhei* (Hc. 3,344); *tikkhālīa* (sharpened; Deśin. 5,13; Pāiyal. 200) only. According to Mk. fol. 26 one says *tikkha* in literary sense, and *tiṇha* in a secondary sense, as *tiṇho raṭaro* “the sharp sun”. In Karp., however, *tikkha* is used also in a secondary sense — *lakṣmī* always becomes, even as

a proper noun, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. *lacchī* (Bh. 3,30; C. 3,6,36; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Mk. fol. 24; Pāiyāl. 96; G. H. R.; Karp. 31,2;49,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 12; Kattig. 399,319,320; 401,344; Śak. 81,11; Vikr. 35,6,11;52,5; Mālav. 33,17; Prab. 4,8; Mālatim. 218,2; Karp. 22,5;35,3;110,8; Anarghar. 277,1; Mallikām. 73,6; D. Mṛcch. 99,25; A. Hc. 4,436); on the other hand, *lakṣmaṇa* always becomes M. JM. Ś. *lakkhaṇa* (C. 3,6; Mk. fol. 24; R.; KI. 2; Uttarar. 32,5; 127,5;190.1;204.11; Mahāv. 52,14; Anarghar. 115,12;317,16; Unmattar. 6,2; Pras. 88,6).

§ 313. *sna=ṇha*, a' ways also in the anlaut in AMg. JM. JŚ., which otherwise mostly retain *n* (§ 224): *ṇhāi=snāti* (Hc. 4,14); JM. *ṇhāmo=snāmaḥ* (Āv. 17,7), *ṇhāittā* (Āv. 38,2), *ṇhaviūṇa* (Erz.), *ṇhāvesu*, *ṇhāvinti* (T. 6,5); AMg. *ṇhānei*, *ṇhāñittā* (Jiv. 610), *ṇhāñenti* (Vivāhap. 1265), *ṇhāvei* (Nirayāv. 17), *ṇhāvēnti* (Vivāhap. 822), *ṇhāveha* (Vivāhap. 1261); Ś. *ṇhāissam* (Mṛcch. 27,14), *ṇhādum* (Mallikām. 128,11), *ṇhāia* (Nāgān. 51,6; Priyad. 8,13;12,11); M. *ṇhāo*, AMg. JM. *ṇhā'a*, Ś. *ṇhāda=snāta* (Pāiyāl. 238; H.; Sūyag. 730; Vivāhap. 187,790 f.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,8; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,12); *ṇhāvaanto* [text *vayando*]=*snāpayan* (Mallikām. 239,3); AMg. JM. *ṇhāviya=snāpita* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *ṇhāṇa=snāna* (Vr. 3,33; Ki. 2,90; Rāyap. 56; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,358; Mṛcch. 90,14; Vikr. 34,6; Mallikām. 190,16; Hc. 4,399); AMg. *aṇhāṇa=asnāna* (Paṇhāv. 452), *aṇhāṇaja* (Thān. 531; Vivāhap. 135); JM. *ṇhavaṇa=snapana* (T. 6,1.3.6 [text *nhā'*]; Kk.); Ś. *ṇhavaṇaa=snapanaka* (Nāgān. 39,4.13); AMg. *ṇhāviyā=snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964). So also *ṇhāvia=*snāpita*; however, Ś. Mg. *ṇāvida* (§ 210). Ś. *paṇhuda=prasnuta* (Mahāv. 65,4; Uttarar. 73,10). In *sneha* and *snigdha* in M. AMg. JM. A. *s* is assimilated to *n* as a rule (Vr. 3,64; Bh. 3,1; Hc. 2,77,102.109; Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26). Thus M. Ś. *ṇeha* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,332,1.406,2.422,6.8.426,1; Piṅgala 2,118), AMg. JM. *ṇeha* (C. 2,27; Pāiyāl. 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.), in verses *ṇeha* also in Mg. (Mṛcch. 157,6) and D. (Mṛcch. 105,16); M. *niddha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, *niddha* (H. R. Āyār. 1,5,6,4;2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Jiv. 224,351; Paṇhāv. 285; Uttar. 1022; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); *ṇehālu=snehavat* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,59 [*ne°*]); A. *ninṇeha*, JM. *ninneha=niḥsneha* (Hc. 4,367,5; Erz.). Beside these there occur *saṇeha*, A. *sasaṇehi*, *saṇiddha*, M. JM. Ś. *siniddha*, the forms which alone can be used in Ś. (§ 140). In *susā=smaśā* (Hc. 1,261) beside AMg. *ṇhusā*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *suphā*, M. *soṇhā* (§ 148), P. *sunusā* (§ 139.148), *n* has been assimilated. — *sma=mha*: PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *amhe=asme* (§ 419); M. JM. Ś. *amhārisa=asmā-dṛśa* (§ 245); M. Ś. A. *vimhaa*, JM. *vimhaya=vismaya* (G. R.; Erz.; Śak. 38,8; Hc. 4,420,4). — *bhasman*, according to Hc. 2,51 becomes also *bhappa*, which points to the transition steps **bhasvan*, **bhaspan* (§ 251.277.312), in addition to AMg. JM. *bhāsa*, Ś. *bhasa* (§ 65), JM. *bhasama* (§ 132). The pronominal ending *-smīn*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-a*, becomes either *-ssim*, Mg. *śsim*, as in Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taśsim=tasmin* (§ 425), *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, Mg. *edaśsim=etasmin* (§ 426); PG. *caśsimin*, AMg. Ś. *assim=asmin* (§ 429), or M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *-mmi*, as *tanami*, *eammi*, *ejammi* (§ 425.426), M. *jōvvaṇammi=yauvane*, AMg. *bambh-anami kappammi=brāhṃe kalpe*, JM. *pāḍaliputtammi=pāḍaliputre* (§ 366^a), or AMg. mostly *-mīsi*, as *taṃsi*, *imaṃsi* (§ 425.430), *logaṃsi=loke*, *dāragaṃsi=dārake* (§ 366^a), as AMg. also *aṃsi=asmi* says (§ 74.498). *-ssim*, through **-sim*, in all the dialects in the pronominal declension, and in Mg. A. also in the nominal declension, has become *-him*, as in *tahim*, *jahim*, *kahim=tasmin*, *yasmin*, *kasmin*; Mg. *kulāhim=kule*; *gharahi=ghare* (§ 264.366^a.425.427.428).

Instead of *-mmi* Hc. 1,23 permits also *-m̐mi* : *vaṇammi* and *vaṇam̐mi*=*vane*. This orthography is very frequent in AMg. in the MSS., and has often been retained in many editions, perhaps correctly. — *s* has been assimilated with *m* in AMg. *m̐i*=**sm̐i*=*asm̐i*, AMg. JM. *mo*=*smah*, beside the usual *mhi*, *mha*, *mho* (§ 498), on the other hand *m* has been assimilated to *s* in JM. *sarāmi*, *sarai*, AMg. *sarai*, JM. *sarasu*=*smarāmi*, *smarati*, *smara*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JS. *visarida*=*vismr̥ta*, beside JM. *vissariya*, dialectical *vimharaī*=*vismarati*, common *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaredi*, *visumarāmi*, Mg. *śumaledi*, *visumaledi* (§478); *seram*=*smeram* (Hc. 2,78). M. *bharai* (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Ki. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53; G. s. v. *smṛ*; H. R. s. v. *smar*), JM. *bhariya*=*smṛta* (Pāiyal. 194; Erz.), also *bhalaī* (Hc. 4,74), M. *saṁbharāṇa* (G.) will stand for **mharai*, **mbharai* (§267). According to Mk. fol. 54 some taught also *marai*, *vibharai* (MS. *vimbharai*).

§ 314. In Mg. according to Hc. 4,289 *ṣṇa*, *sna* become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma*, *sma* become *sma*; only in *gr̥ṣma*, *ṣma* becomes *mha*: *viṣnu*=*viṣṇu*; *usma*=*ūsman*; *vismaa*=*vismaya*; but *gimha*=*gr̥ṣma*. For *sma*, Śilārka too confirms this; while commenting on the readings of the text *akasmāt* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3), *akasmāddanḍa* (Sūyag. 682) and *asmākam* (Sūyag. 983) he notes *s* that these words were spoken by all in the land of Magadha, even down to the wives of herdsmen, as Skt. So here too they should be pronounced. Similarly Abhayadeva on Thāṇ. 372 *akasmāddanḍa*. For AMg. the sole correct forms are the forms, such as *akamhābhaja* (Samav. 19; Thāṇ. 455); the forms with *sma* have been adopted from Skt. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 teaches *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu* and indirectly also *s* for *ṣ*, *s* in other sound groups. For *ṣna*, *ṣma* the rules are wanting in Hc.; hence it remains uncertain, whether they become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma* or *sna*, *sma* or *ṇha*, *mha*. The manuscripts of the dramas do not have merely *gimha* (Mṛcch. 10,4), but also *paṇha*=*praṣṇa* (Mṛcch. 80,18; 81,5); *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (Mṛcch. 116,17; Venis. 33,12); *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (Prab. 63,15); *tunhia*=*tūṣṇika* (Mṛcch. 164,14); always *amhāṇam*, *amhe*, *tumha*, *tumhāṇam*, *tumhe* (pro ex. Mṛcch. 31,15; 158,23; Prab. 53,15,16; Mṛcch. 139,13; 16,19); *amhāṇisa*=*asmāḍṛisa* (Mṛcch. 164,5); *ṇhāmi*=*snāmi*, *ṇhāde*=*snātah* (Mṛcch. 113,21; 136,11) etc. The ending *-sm̐in* in the MSS. always becomes *-śśim̐*, and *-sma* always becomes *-mha*. So has also the Lalitav.: *edaśśim*=*etasm̐in* (565,6), *yāṇiśśamha*=*jñāśśamah* (565,9), *amhadeśśya*, *amhāṇam*, *tumhāṇam* (565,12,14; 566,9), *payāśśmha* [sic]=*prakāśśāyama* (567,1).

§ 315. In so far as a separation vowel does not appear a semi-vowel following a sibilant is assimilated (§ 131-140), according to the principal rules (§ 279.287.296.297). — *śya*=*ssa*; Mg. *śśa*: JM. Ś. *avassam̐*=*avaśyam* (Erz.; Lalitav. 555,5; Śak. 44,6; 128,9; Vikr. 53,12; Mudrār. 264,5; Karp. 103,6; M. *nāsai*, AMg. *nassai*, JM. *nāsai*. Ś. *nassadi*=*naśyati*; JM. *nassāmo*=*naśyāmah* Mg. *vipaśśadu* (§ 63); Ś. *rāasāla*=*rājaśyāla* (Mṛcch. 23,19; 58,7; 151,16; 173,1); M. *vesā*=*veśyā* (H.), Ś. *veśājāṇa* (Mṛcch. 57,15) and *veśśājāṇa* (Mṛcch. 53,20); AMg. *veśsa*, *vaśssa*=*vaśśya* (§ 61). — *śra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. *misa*. Ś. *missa*, Mg. *miśsa*=*miśra* (§64); M. JM. Ś. *visamai*=*viśrāmyati*, Ś. *vissamiadu* (§ 64.489); Ś. *sussūsidadapuruvvo* *sussūsidadavvo*=*śśr̥ṣitapūroah* *śśr̥ṣitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śśūsūsīde*=*śśr̥ṣitah* (Mṛcch. 37,1); AMg. JM. Ś. *seṭṭhi*=*śreṭṭhin* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 28,20; 142,12; Śak. 139,5; Mudrār. 41,8; 43,1; 243,2; 248,7; 252,1; 254,4). On *aṁsu*=*aśru*, *maṁsu*=*śamśru* see § 74. — *śla* becomes *ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa*¹ (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 1,118; 2,75. 79; Mk. fol. 21,26; H.R.; Vivāhap. 424; Uttar. 1040; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *parisaṇha*=*pariślakṣṇa* (R.); but also with assimilation of *s* M. *laṇha* (Hc. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21; Karp. 88,2; 96,2), *laṇhaa* (Karp. 49,11).

In AMg. both the forms sometimes stand beside one another: *saṇha laṇha* (Savav. 211,214; Paṇṇav. 96; Ovav. §166). AMg. *saggha*=*ślāghya* (Sūyag. 182); Ś. *sāhaṇa*=*ślāghaniya* (Mālav. 32,5), but also *lāhai*=*ślāghate* (Hc. 1,187); A Mg. *sēmbha*; AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, dialectical *sepha*=*śleşman* (§ 267,312), but also AMg. *lissanti*=*ślisyanṭe* (Sūyag. 218). — AMg. *lesaṇayā* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN, to be equated as=(*saṁ*)*śleşaṇatā*, but it is = *reṣaṇatā* (damage). Generally the group is separated either by *a* or *i*. — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. JM. *śśa*, AMg. JM. Ś. *assa*=*aśva* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāsa*=*pārśva* (§ 87), falsely Ś. *passa* (Priyad. 23,16); JŚ. *vinassara*=*vināśvara* (Kattig. 401,339); Ś. *vissāvasu*=*viśvāvasu* (Mallikām. 57,1); Mg. *viśśāvaśu* (Mṛcch. 11,9); M. *sasāi*, *āsasāi*=*śvasiti*, *āśvasiti*; M. *ūsasāi*, AMg. *ussasāi*=*ucchvasiti*; M. *ṇsasāi*, AMg. *missasāi*, Ś. *ṇsasadi*=*niḥśvasiti*; Mg. *śasadi*, *ūśasadu*, *ṇśasadu*, *śamaśśasadu* (§496); M. *sāva*, JM. *sāvaya*, Ś.Ā. *sāvada*=*śvāpada* (G.R.; Erz.; Śak. 32,7; Mṛcch. 148,22). — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: Ś. *abhujissā*=*abhujisyā* (Mṛcch. 59,25; 60,11; 65,1); AMg. *ārussa*=*ārūṣya* (Sūyag. 293), beside *ārusiyaṇam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); Ś. *pussarāa*=*pūṣyarāga* (Mṛcch. 70,25; so we should read)³; AMg. JM. *maṇūsa*, M. AMg. Ś. *maṇussa*, Mg. *maṇūśśa*=*manuṣya* (§ 63); AMg. JM. *śśa*, JM. Ś. *sissa*=*śisya* (§63); in future, as A. *karīsu*=*karisyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4). *phutṭīsu*=*sphutṭisyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12), JM. *bhavissāi*, Ś. *bhavissadi*, Mg. *bhaviśśadi*, M. *hośśam*, A. *hosāi* (§ 521). In M. AMg. JM. A. this *ssa*, after a long vowel, and often also after a short vowel, has become *ha* through *sa*, as *kāhimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*=**kāryāmi*=*karisyāmi*; *hohāmi*, *hohimi*=**bhōsyāmi*; *kittaihim*=*kīrtayisyāmi*; A. *pēkkhihim*=**prekṣisyāmi* (§263.520 ff.). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: AMg. *osakkai*, *paccosakkai*=**apaśvaṣkati*, **pratyaapaśvaṣkati*; M. *parisakkai*=**pariśvaṣkati* (§302); Ś. *parisaadi*=*pariśvajate* (Mālatim. 108,3; Mṛcch. 327,10=484,12 ed. GODABOLE), *parissaadha*=*pariśvajadhvam* (Śak. 90,8; Vikr. 11,2; Uttarar. 204,5), *parissaia*=*pariśvajya* (Śak. 77,9; Mālatim. 210,7). On AMg. *piusiyā*, M. *piussā*, AMg. *piussiyā*, M. AMg. *piucchā*=*pitṛśvaśā*, AMg. *māusiyā*, M. *māussā*, *māucchā*=*mātrśvasā*, dialectical *pupphā*, *pupphiā* see §148. — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. JM. Ś. *rahasa*=*rahasya* (G.H.; Karp. 66,11; Erz.; Mṛcch. 60,7; Vikr. 15,3.12; 16,1.11.18; 79,9; Karp. 67,1); M.Ś. *vaassa*, M. *vaamsa*, JM. *vayaṁsa*=*vayasya* (§74); Ś. *hassa*=*hāsyā* (Mṛcch. 44,1); in the genitive sing. in *-śya*, as M. Ś. *kāmassa*=*kāmasya* (H. 2,148.326.586; Śak. 120,6; Prab. 38,12; Karp. 93,1). Dialectically there occurs *ha* from *sa* (§264), as Mg. *kāmāha* (Mṛcch. 10,24), A. *kāmaho* (Hc. 4,446); beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *taśsa*, Mg. *taśśa*, A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, M. *tāsa*, also Mg. *tāha*, A. *taho*=*tasya* (§425). Likewise in future as AMg. *dāhāmo* beside *dāsāmo*=*dāsyāmaḥ* (§530); JM. *pāhāmi*, AMg. *pāham*=*pāsyāmi*, AMg. *pāhāmo*=*pāsyāmaḥ* (§524). — *sra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. *ūsā*=*usā* (Lalitav. 555,1); JM. *tamissā*=*tamisrā* (Kk.); M. *visambha*, Ś. *vissambha*=*visrambha* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sahasra*, Mg. *śahaśśa*=*sahasra* (§448). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: *bappasāmīhi*=*bappasvāmībhūh* (6,11), *sakakāle*=*svakakāle* (7,44) *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51); JM. Ś. *tavassi*-, Mg. *tavaśśi*-=*tapasvin* (Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 22,7; 76,8), JM. Ś. *tanassiṇi*, Mg. *tavaśśiṇi*=*tapasvinī* (Kk.; Śak. 39,4; 78,11; 123,12; 129,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,6); M. JM. *sarassāi*, Ś. *sarassadi*=*sarasvatī* (G.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,5); M. *siṇṇa*=*svinna* (G. H.); Ś. *sādam*, Mg. *śādam*=*svāgatam* (§ 203). On M. *manāsi*=*manasvin*, AMg. *oyāsi*=*ojasvin* and similar other forms see § 74; on *haṁsa*=*hrasva*, beside *hassa*, *rahasa* see § 354.

1. Hc. and with him JACOBI, KZ. 23,598 wrongly derive *saṇha* from *sūkṣma* and Hc. at 2,75 expressly separates *saṇha*=*sūkṣma* and *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa*. Correctly WEBER,

ZDMG. 28,402; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 68; CHILDERS s. v. *saṃho*. — 2. Aup. S. s. v. — 3. FISCHEL, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgāratilaka p. 102 f.; Mahāvyyutpatti 235,28.

§ 316. In the conjunction tenuis + sibilant, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the tenuis in Skt. : *kṣīra* beside *kṣira*; *vathsa* beside *vatsa*; *aphsaras* beside *apsaras*¹. Pkt. presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of *tsa* and *psa*, in the case of *kṣa* originally only when it goes back to *śsa*². The aspiration passed to the sibilant, which according to § 211 became *cha*. The phonetic groups thus originating, i. e. *ścha* (*kcha*), *tcha*, *pcha* regularly became *ccha*. In the case of original *kṣa*, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Mg. *ska*, *hka* (§ 324) points, and *śka* for *kṣu* became *kha* (§ 302). The assumption of ASCOLI³ that *śa* become *kha* has no support in Pkt. (§ 265), just as little as the theory of JOHANSSON⁴ that the different phonetic changes rest on pronunciation, division of syllables and the accent⁵.

1. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,21 f.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §113. — 2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §116. — 3. Kritische Studien p.236ff. — 4. Shāhbāzgarhi 2,22. — 5. Cf. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 317. The grammarians regard the transition from *kṣa* to *kha* as regular (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,3; Kī.2,88; Mk.fol.24), and they have grouped the words that show *cha* in the *ākṛtiḡaṇa aksyādi* (Vr.3,30; Hc.2,17; Kī.2,82; Pk. p.60). Mk.fol.24 groups the words that always have *cha* for *kṣa* in the *ḡaṇa kṣurādi*, and includes in it the words *kṣura*, *akṣi*, *maksikā*, *kṣira*, *sadrkṣa*, *kṣetra*, *kukṣi*, *ikṣu*, *kṣudhā*, and *kṣudh*. The words which have *cha* and *kha*, he gives in the *ākṛtiḡaṇa kṣamādi*. The statement of the grammarian, however, holds good only for M. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with *kha* beside those with *cha*, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case (§ 321). The Avestā shows best the original relation.

§ 318. If Skt. *kṣa* goes back to *śsa*, so in the Avestā it becomes *s'a*, in Pkt., originally through **śsha*, **scha* (§ 316) it became *ccha* : *chaa* = Av. *s'ata* in *huś'ata* = *kṣaṭa* from *kṣan* (Hc. 2,17); in addition to AMg. *chaṇa* (murder) = *kṣaṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,4; 1,5,3,5); *chane* = **kṣaṇet* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; 1,7,8,9), *chaṇāvae*, *chaṇantam* = **kṣaṇāpayet*, **kṣaṇantam* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); but M. *khaa* = *kṣata* (G.H.R.), *parikkhaa* (R.); AMg. *khaṇaha* = **kṣaṇata* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); AMg. *akkhaya*, JŚ. *da* (Sūyag. 307; Pav. 385,69); Ś. *parikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53,25; 61,24; Śak. 27,9), *aparikkhada* (Vikr. 10,4), *avarikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53,18,24). — M. AMg. JM. *chuhā* = Av. *s'uḡa* = *kṣudhā* (Grr.; H.; Thān. 328; Vivāhap. 40,647; Rāyap. 258; Nāyādh. 348; Ovav.; Dvār. 500,7; Erz.), *chuhāiya* (hungry; Pāiyāl. 183); but also AMg. JM. Ś. *khuḡa* (Thān. 572; Vivāhap. 162,493,816; Paṇhāv. 200; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Dasav. 635,16 [*khuppiṇāsā*]; Dasav. N. 662,1,2; Erz.; Karp. 76,9 ed. Bomb., whilst KONOW 75,6 reads *chuhā*); AMg. *khuḡiya* = *kṣudhita* (Paṇhāv. 340). — M. *chetta*, AMg. *chitta* = Av. *s'oitra* = *kṣetra*, but also AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khētta*, AMg. *khitta* (§ 84). M. AMg. JM. JM. Ś. *acchi* = Av. *as'i* = *akṣi* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; 1,8,1,19; 2,2,2,1,7; 2,3,2,5; Vivāgas. 11; Vivāhap. 1152; Āv. 8,20; 30,4; Śak. 30,5; 31,13; Vikr. 43,15; 48,15; Ratn. 319,18; Karp. 11,2; Nāgān. 11,9; Jivān. 89,3); but also AMg. JM. Ś. A. *akkhi* (Sūyag. 383; Erz.; Vikr. 34,1; Anarghar. 305,13; Hc. 4,357,2). — AMg. *accha* (§ 57), M. AMg. Ś. *riccha* (§ 56) = Av. *arēś'a* = *rṣa*; but also M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (§ 56). — M. *kaccha* = Av. *kaś'a* = *kakṣa* (H.); but also AMg. JM. *kakkha* (G.R.; Nāyādh. 434). — *tacchā* (Hc. 4,194),

AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596 [text °tthi°]) = Av. *taś'a* = *takṣati*, **taṣkita*, but also *takkhai* (Hc. 4,194); *takkhāna* = *taḥṣan* (§ 403).

§ 319. Original *kṣa* becomes *ḥs'a* in the Avestā, *kkha* in Pkt.: AMg. *khattiya*, Ś. *khattia* = *kṣatriya* (Sūyag. 182.373.495.585; Samav. 232; Uttar. 155 f. 506.754; Vivāgas. 152 f.; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 28, 14; 29, 22; 64.21; Uttarak. 167, 10; Anarghar. 58, 8; 70, 1; 155 5; 157, 10; Hasy. 32, 1; Pras. 47, 7; 48, 4.5); JM. *khattiā* (sic.; KI 3); AMg. *khattiyāni* = *kṣatriyāni* (Kappas.), *khatti* = *kṣatrin* (Sūyag. 317); Ś. *nikkhattikada* = *nikkṣatrikṣta* (Mahāv. 27, 6), to Av. *ḥs'a θra*. — AMg. JM. *khīra* = Av. *ḥs'ira* = *kṣīra* (Hc. 2, 17; Sūyag. 817, 822; Vivāhap. 660.942; Paṇṇav. 522; Uttar. 895; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Av. 28, 23; 42, 2); *khīri* = *kṣīri* (Pāiyāl. 240); M. *khīroa*, JM. *khīroja* = *kṣīroda* (G.H.; Erz.); AMg. *khīrodaja* (Ovav.); Ś. *khīrasamudda* = *kṣīrasamudra* (Prab. 4, 7); but also M. *chīra* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 123; G. H.); AMg. *chīrabirālī* = *kṣīrabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532; [text °vi°]). For Ś. Mk. for 67 expressly prescribes *khīra*. — *khivai* = *kṣipati* to Av. *ḥs'viv* (Hc. 4, 143); M. *akkhivai* = *ākṣipati* (R.); *ukkhivai* = *utkṣipati* (H.); *samukkhivai* (G.); JM. *khivasi* (Erz. 83, 18), *khivai* (Erz.); AMg. *khivāhi* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16), *pakkhi-vaha* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 3), *pakkhivējjā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 3; Vivāhap. 270), *nikkhiya-vva* (Paṇhāv. 373); *pakkhippa* (Sūyag. 280.282.288.378); Ś. *khividum* = *kṣeptum* (Vikr. 25, 16), *khitta* = *kṣipta* (Mr̥ch. 41, 6.22), *akkhitta* = *ākṣipta* (Vikr. 75, 12 so we should read); *uvakkhiva* = *upakṣipa* (Mr̥ch. 72, 14), *ukkhivia* = *utkṣipya* (Mr̥ch. 3, 17), *nikkhividum* = *nikṣeptum* (Mr̥ch. 24, 22), *nikkhitta* (Mr̥ch. 29, 13; 145, 11; Śak. 78, 13; Vikr. 84, 8), *nikkhivia* (Vikr. 75, 10), *parikkhivāmo* = *parikṣipyaṃ* (Caṇḍak. 28, 11) etc.; but also *ucchitta* = *utkṣipta* (Bh. 3, 30; Deśin. 1, 124; Pāiyāl. 84) and M. *chivai* (touches; Hc. 4, 182; G. H. R.); *chitta* (touched; Hc. 4, 258; Pāiyāl. 85; H.). — AMg. JM. *khudda* = *kṣudra*, *khuddaja*, AMg. *khuddaga* = *kṣudraka* (§ 294) = Av. *ḥs'udra* (semen). — M. *khunṇa* = *kṣunṇa* (Deśin. 2, 75; Pāiyāl. 222; H.) from Av. *ḥs'usta*; but also *ucchunṇa* = *utkṣunṇa* (Pāiyāl. 201). — M. *khubbhai* = *kṣubhyati* (Hc. 1, 154; R.); *samkkhūia* (G.), AMg. *khobhaium* = *kṣobhayitum* (Uttar. 921), *khobhittae* (Uvās.), *khubhiya* (Ovav.), *kokkhubbamāna* (§ 556); Ś. *samkkhohida* = *samkṣobhita* (Śak. 32, 8); A. *khuhia* (Vikr. 67, 11); M. *khoha* = *kṣobha* (R.); JM. *mohakkhoha* (Pav. 380, 7), but also PG. °*chobhm* = *kṣobham* (6, 32); *vicchuhire* = *vikṣubhyanti* (Hc. 3, 142); AMg. *chubhanti*, *ucchubhai*, *nicchubhai*, JM. *chubhai*, *chuhai*, M. *vicchuhai* etc. (§ 66). — M. *sikkhai* = *śikṣati* (H.); M. A. *sikkhia*, JM. *sikkhiya*, Ś. *sikkhida* = *śikṣita* (G. H.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 37, 5; Vikr. 62, 11), JM. Ś. *sikkhanta* (Erz.; Mr̥ch. 71, 21), Ś. *sikkhitadi*, *sikkhidukāma* (Mr̥ch. 39, 22; 51, 24), *sikkhāvēmi* (Priyad. 40, 4) to Av. *asiḥs'anti*.

§ 320. Sometimes Pkt. and Av. go asunder. *uccha* = *uḥsan* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; 3, 56); *ucchāna* (Hc. 3, 65), but Av. *uḥs'ān*. Mk. fol. 24 permits, however, also *ukkha*, beside *uccha*. — PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* = *dakṣiṇā* (Mr̥ch. 5, 1; Karp. 103, 6), but Av. *daśiṇa*. Yet AMg. has *daccha* (Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *dakkha* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.). — M. *macchiā* (Grr.; H.); AMg. JM. *macchiyā* (Vivāgas. 12; Uttar. 245. 1036. 1064; Ovav.; Dvār. 503, 6), AMg. *macchigā* (Paṇhāv. 72) = *maḥs'i* = *makṣikā*; but also Ś. *nimma-kkhiā* = *nirmakṣika* (Śak. 36, 16; 124, 7; Viddhaś. 62, 2). M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rakkhasa* = *rākṣasa* (R.; Sūyag. 105.339.468; Uttar. 996, 1084; Thān. 90; Ovav.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 68, 8; Śak. 43, 6; 45, 1; Mahāv. 96, 12; 97, 7.15; 99, 2; Bālar. 221, 5), AMg. *rakkhasi* = *rākṣasi* (Uttar. 252) to Av. *raś*, *raś'anh*. — M. JM. *vaccha* = *vīkṣa* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 54; G.; Karp. 64, 2; Erz.; Dasav. N. 645, 5 in an enumeration, of words which mean "tre") to Av. *urvāhs* (to grow). Besides *vaccha*, according to Vr. 3, 31; Hc. 2, 127; Ki. 2, 83; Mk.

fol. 24 *vrkṣa* can form also *rukkha*, and according to Rāmātarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 66 only *rukkha* is used in Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,153;2,17). AMg. Ś. employ only *rukkha* (Āyār.1,7,2,1;1,8,2,3;2,1,2,3;2,3,2,15;2,3,3,13;2,4,2,11.12; Sūyag. 179.314.325.425.613; Vivāhap. 275.445; Samav.233; Paṇṇav.30; Rāyap. 154; Jiv. 548.550 f.; Dasav. N. 645,5; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mrcch. 40,24;72 8;73,6.7;77,16;87,11.12; Śak. 9,10;10,2;12,2,6; Mālav. 72,3); AMg. Ś. *kṛpparukkha*=*kalpa-vrkṣa* (Āyār. 2,15,20; Mallikām. 291,2); M. JM. have *rukkha* (H. R.; Āv. 47,11 ff; Rṣabhap. 29; Erz.), JM. *kapparukkha* (Erz.) beside *vaccha*. The word *rukkha* has nothing to do with *vrkṣa*, but is=*rukṣa*, for which ROTM (Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda p. 3) has shown the meaning "tree" in the Veda.

§ 321. Variation between *kkha* and *ccha* is found also in the words, other than those already mentioned. The M.AMg. JM. *ucchu* beside AMg. Ś. *ikkhu*=*ikṣu*, AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (§ 117.84). — M. AMg. JM. *kucchi*=*kuksi* (G.; Āyār. 2,15,2.4.10.12; Paṇhāv. 281; Vivāhap. 295.1035.1274; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); *kucchimai*=*kuksimati* (pr̥gnant; Deśin. 2,41), beside AMg. Ś. *kukkhi* (Nāyādh. 308; Paṇhāv. 217; Mālav. 65,16), which Hc. Deśin. 2,34 declares as provincial. — *chura*=*ksura* (Grr.), *churamaḍḍi*, *churahattha*=*ksuramardi*, *ksurahasta* (barber; Deśin. 3,31), beside M. AMg. *khura* (Karp. 94,4; Sūyag. 546; Vivāhap. 353.1042; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *khurapatta*=*ksurapatta* (Thān. 321). — AMg. A. *chāra*=*ksāra* (saltpetre; potash; Grr.; Uvās.; Hc. 4,365,3), *chāribhūya*=*ksāribhūta* (Vivāhap. 237), *chāriya*=*ksārita* (Vivāhap. 322 f. 348), beside AMg. JM. *khāra* (Sūyag. 520.281; Ovav.; Kk.). — Cf. § 326. — M. AMg. JM. *pe cchāi*, but Ś. *pekkhadi*=*prekṣate* (§ 84). — M. AMg. JM. *vaccha*=*vakṣa* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Karp. 84,4; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *vakkhatthala*=*vakṣaṣṭhala* (Mrcch. 68,19; Dhanamjayav. 11,9; Hāsy. 40,22), against the dialect *vacchatthala* (Bālar. 238,9; Mallikām. 156,10 [text °tṭha°]; 201,13 [text °tṭa°]; Cait. 38,11;44,9). — M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha*, but AMg. Ś. A. *sārikkha*=**sādrkṣya* (§ 78.245). The variation shows that on the Indian soil, even in the same dialect, without regard to the different origin of *kṣa*, both the pronunciations proceeded side by side.¹ One says for example *akkhi* and *aḥṣi*, and their contaminations in Pkt. are *acchi* and *akkhi*.

1. Thus correctly ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 238 f.; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,20. Cf. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 322. With the different treatments of *kṣa* in *kṣaṇa* and *kṣamā* is connected the difference in meaning. *kṣaṇa* becomes, according to Bh. 3,31; Hc. 2,20; Mk. fol. 24, *chaṇa* in the meaning "festival", on the other hand it becomes *chaṇa* in the meaning "moment". Thus M. AMg. JM. *chaṇa* "festival" (Pāyāl. 284; G. H.; Śak. 119,7; Nāyādh. 266; Vivāhap. 822; Kk. 271,24), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khāṇa* "moment" (G. H. R.; Nāyādh. § 135.137; p. 300; Dasav. 613,39; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 2,14; 126,6; Viddhaś. 99,1; Karp. 58,3; 59,6; 105,4). According to Mk. fol. 67 *cha* never enters into Ś. Hence in Śak. 118,13, with three MSS., we should read *uwaṭṭhidakkhaṇe*. Kī. 2,83 teaches *khāṇa* and *chaṇa* with a difference of meaning. — *kṣamā* becomes, according to Hc. 2,18, *chamā* in the meaning "earth", but *khamā* in the meaning "patience". Vr. 3,31; Kī. 2,83; Mk. fol. 24 place *khamā* and *chamā* beside one another without distinguishing between their meaning; C. 3,4 has only *khamā*. In AMg. *chamā*= "earth" (Dasav. 641,13), in M. AMg. JM. *khamā*= "patience" (H.; Vivāhap. 162; Dvār. 502,19), AMg. *khamāsamaṇa*=*kṣmāśramaṇa* (Kappas.).

§ 323. In AMg. JM. sometimes a long vowel is retained before *kṣa*. Then *kkha* becomes *ha* (§ 188) through *kha* (§ 87). Especially frequent it is the case in the root *īkṣ* and its derivatives : AMg. *īhā=īkṣā*¹ (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *anuppehanti=anuprekṣante* (Ovav. § 31), *anupehāe* (Āyār. 2,1,4,2), *anuppehā=anuprekṣā* (Thān. 211,213; Uttar. 899; Ovav.), *uwehējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5,9,2;2,3,1,16,18;2,3,2,1,3,8), *uwehamāṇa=upekṣamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3;1,4,4,4;2,16,4), *pehe=prekṣeta* (Uttar. 726), *peha=prekṣa-sva* (Sūyag. 139), *pehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11;1,8,4,7;2,3,1,6); JM. *pehamāṇo* (Av. 17,10); AMg. *pehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5;1,8,1,20;1,8,4,10;2,1,1,3;2,1,4,1,4 ff.; 2,1,9,2;2,4,2,6; Uttar. 33), *pehiya* (Uttar. 919), *pehiyā* (Sūyag. 104), *pehiyam* (Dasav. 633,3), *pehā=prekṣā* (Dasav. 613,21), *pehi=prekṣin* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; Uttar. 30), *pehiṇi* (Uttar. 663), *samuppehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4), *samuppehamāṇa* (Sūyag. 506), *samuppehiyā* (Dasav. 629,39), *sampehei* (Vivāhap. 152,248,841,916; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *sampehāi* (Dasav. 643,10), *sampehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4;1,5,3,2;1,6,1,3[sā°]; Sūyag. 669), *sāpehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,23), *sampehiṭṭā* (Vivāhap. 152,248). Further AMg. *lūha*, beside *lukkha=rūkṣa*, *lūhei*, *lūhiya=rūkṣayati*, *rūkṣita*² (§ 87,257); AMg. JM. *seha=Pāli sekha=Skt. śaiṣka* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24; Sūyag. 165,511,520; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); AMg. *sehanti=*śaiṣanti* (Sūyag. 115), *sehāvei=*śaiṣā-payati*³ (Vivāhap. 797; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). *sehāviya* (Vivāhap. 1246). — The same phonetic change has taken place in secondarily shortened vowels in AMg. *suhuma*, *suhama=sūkṣma* (§ 82,131,140), and in secondarily lengthened vowels in M. AMg. JM. *dāhiṇa=dakṣiṇa*; AMg. *dāhiṇilla*, *āyāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa* (§ 65) and AMg. *dehāi*, *dehae=*drkṣati*, **drkṣate*, A. *drehi* (§ 66,554).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely equated as=*ihā* by JACOBI, *Kalpas. s. v.* and STEINTHAL, *Specimen s. v.* — 2. So rightly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely equated as=*lūṣita* by JACOBI and STEINTHAL l. c. — 3. So rightly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely STEINTHAL l. c.=*sedhayati*.

§ 324. In Mg., according to Vr. 11,8 *kṣa* becomes *ska* : *laskāse=rākṣasah*; *daske=dakṣah* Hc. 4,297 and Nāmīśādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 teach this phonetic change only for *prekṣ* (that is to say *īkṣ* with *pra*) and *ācakṣ* (i. e. *cakṣ* with *ā*): *pēṣkadi=prekṣate*; *ācakṣadi=ācāṣte*. In all other words, according to them (Hc. 4,296) *kṣa* becomes *hka*¹ in the anlaut; *yahke=yakṣah*; *lahkase=rākṣasah*; *pahka=pakṣa* (Hc. 4,302). In the anlaut *kṣa* is treated according to the rules that hold good for the other dialects: *khaṇyalahālā=kṣayajaladharāḥ*. Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report p. 344 teaches *ska* : *paṣka=pakṣa*; *laskā=lākṣā*; *paṣkaladu=prakṣālayatu*, for which C. 3,39 p. 52 and Hc. 4,228 have *pakkhāladu* in the same verse with *kṣa* treated as in the anlaut. Lalitav. has throughout *ska*: *alaskiyyamāṇa=alakṣyamāṇa* (565,7); *laṣikidaṁ=lakṣitaṁ* (566,4); *bhiṣkaṁ=bhikṣam* (566,8); *yujjhaṣkamāṇa=yuddhakṣamāṇam* (566,11); *laṣkaṁ, laṣkāṁ=lakṣam, lakṣāṇi* (566,11). Likewise also *pēṣkiyyamdi*, *pēṣkiyyaṣi* [so to be read], *pēṣkidum=prekṣyante*, *prekṣyase*, *prekṣitum* (569,13,15,19; 566,7). Against the dialects offends *pac[c]akkhikadaṁ* — *pratyakṣikṛtam* (566,1). The MSS of the dramas and the editions based on them treat *kṣa* in Mg. exactly in the same way as in the rest of the dialects, not merely in the anlaut, as *khaṇa=kṣaṇa* (Mrch. 136,15,16; 160,11; Prab. 50,9), but also throughout in the anlaut. From quite isolated variants of some of the MSS, like that of Mrch. 13,6 *peṣa*, *peṭṭha*, 21,15, *peṣcha*, 132,20, *laṣcide*, *laṣchide*, 132, 21 *pēṣāmi*, *pe cchāmi*, the rules of the grammarian cannot be established. Nevertheless they are to be framed out. For *jeṇa attāṇo pakkhaṁ ujjhā parapakko pamāṇikariadi* (Mudrār. 178,6)² Hc. 4,302 read *ye appaṇo pakkhaṁ ujjhā palaṣṣa pakkhaṁ pamāṇikaṣṭi*³ and for *amaccapakkhasam pēkkhidum ido*

eva āacchadi (Mudrār. 154,3)⁵ he read *amaccalaḥkaśaṃ pēskidum idō yveva āacchadi*. Hence, for example in Mṛcch. 120,3 instead of *akkhāhim bhakkhādi dantehim pēkkhādi*=*akṣibhyāṃ bhakṣyate dantaiḥ prekṣyate* we should read *ahkṣihim bhahkṣadi dantehim pēskādi*. The MSS. give no variant.

1. In the edition at p. 14,2 they have printed *krasya śko 'nādaul yathā yaśke laskase yakṣo rākṣasa it*. The best MS. (KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 34 Nr. 53), however, reads *hko, yahkṣ, lahkase* [sic]. — 2. From the words of Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita: *jihvā-mūlyāśca kvacichaurasenyādaul vakṣyate|takṣaḥ taḥko|śakāraśca māgadhyāṃ vakṣyate|pakṣaḥ paśko* [sic] |*lākṣā lākṣā* [sic] indeed does not necessarily follow, that he supported *taḥka* for *ś*, at times the manuscript gives *o* in the nom. sing. in Mg. too; however, the following words make it apparent that *taḥka* cannot be Mg. Triv. and Sr. agree with Hc. here also. — 3. So TELANG. From the manuscripts it is not possible to ascertain whether *pala* or *palāśā*, and *kaliad* or *kaleśi* are to be inserted here rightly. — 4. Correctly there would be *uyyha* (§ 236). — 5. So TELANG. The MS. E correctly has *yveva*, elsewhere quite false *eva* or *jīēva* and *rakḥkaśaṃ*, as also the edd. Calc.

§ 325. As in Pāli, in AMg. JM. also *kṣulla*, with loss of the aspiration, becomes *culla* (Deśin. 3,22; Pāyāl. 58); JM. *cullatāya*=*kṣullatāta* (uncle; Erz.); AMg. JM. *cullapiu*=*kṣullapitr* (uncle; Dasav. 628,5; Erz.); AMg. *cullamāyā* (aunt; Antag. 70; Nāyādh. §84-87.95 96; Nirayāv.); AMg. *cullasāyaya*, °ga=*kṣullaśataka* (Uvās.), *cullahimavanta*=*kṣullahimavat* (Thān. 72.74.176.177); *cullodaa* (the eldest brother; Deśin. 3,17). *cullaka* has been taken also into Skt. of the Jainas (BÜHLER, Pāyāl. s. v. *cullo*).

§ 326. If *kṣa* goes back to early *z'za*, through *z'zha*, *z'jha*, it becomes *jḥha*¹ in Pkt.: *jharai*=*kṣarati* (Hc. 4,173), JM *jharai* (Erz.); *nijharai*=*nih-kṣarati* (Hc. 4,20); M. *ōjjhara*=**avakṣara* (Hc. 1,98; Deśin. 1,160; Pāyāl. 216; H. R.), equated by Hc. as=*nirjara*, which itself arises from Pkt.², and becomes M. Ś. *nijjhara* (G. H.; Pras. 124,7; Ś. Mallikām. 134,7; Bālar. 241,6; 263,22 [text °jja°]), AMg. JM. *nijjhara* (Pāyāl. 216). Beside one another stand *ōjjhara* and *nijjhara* in AMg. (Paṇṇav. 80.84 ff. 94 [text *uyjhara* and several times *nijjara*]). A. *pajjharai*=*prakṣarati* (Hc. 4,173; Piṅgala 1,102); *pajjharia* (Ki. 2,84); Ś. *pajjharāvedī* (Karp. 105,8). To it probably belongs also *haraa* (goldsmith; Deśin. 3,54). — AMg. *jḥhiāi* for **jḥāi*=**kṣāti*=*kṣāyati*³ (burns [intransitive]); Sūyag. 273; Nāyādh. 1117; Thān. 478), *jḥpāyanti* (Thān. 478); M. *viḥḥai* (Hc. 2,28; H.), *viḥḥānta* (H.); M. *viḥḥā* (G. H. R.), AMg. JM. *viḥḥāya* (Nāyādh. 1113; Dasav. 641,29; Āv. 25,3); M. *viḥḥavai* (G.), *viḥḥavei* (H. R.), *viḥḥavia* (H. R.); AMg. *viḥḥavōjja*, *viḥḥaventu* (Āyār. 2,2,1,10), *viḥḥaviya* (Uttar. 709). *samiḥḥai* (Hc. 2,28) is an analogical formation in connection with *Vindhā*⁴. — AMg. *jḥāma*=*kṣāma* (scorched; ashes; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,10,22), *jḥānei* (Sūyag. 722; Vivāhap. 1257), *jḥāmāvei*, *jḥāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jḥāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 1251), *jḥāmāvei*, *jḥāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jḥāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 321.1251; Āv. 25,1,26,17); JM. *nijjhāmemo* (Dvār. 505,9), beside M. Ś. *khāma* (meagre; G.; Karp. 41,1). — M. AMg. *jḥijjai*=*kṣiyate* (Vr. 8,37; Hc. 2,3,4,20; H. R.; Lalitav. 562,21; Uttar. 633); M. *jḥijjae*, *jḥijjāmo* [so to be read], *jḥijjhisi* (H.), *jḥijjanti* (G. H.); JM. *jḥijjāmi* (Rsabhap. 35 [so to be read with ed. Bomb.]); A. *jḥijjā* (Hc. 4,425,1); M. JM. *jḥijjanta* (G. H. R.; Kk. III, 68); Ś. *jḥijjanti* (Viddhaś. 99,2); M. Ś. A. *jḥiṇa*=*kṣiṇa* (Hc. 2,3; Ki. 2,84; Pāyāl. 181; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 29,5; 69,23; 74,20; A. Vikr. 56,21), beside M. AMg. Ś. *khīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; H.; Anug. 282 ff.; Sūyag. 212; Samav. 88; Kappas.; Anarghar. 293,10, where, however, the ed. Calc. 216,6 has *jḥiṇa*), and *chīṇa* (Hc. 2,3). — *jḥodai*=*kṣotayati* (throws; hurls; Dhātupāṭha 35,23) in *jḥodā* (hunter; Deśin. 3,60); *nijjḥodai*=**niḥkṣotayati* (tears asunder; splits; Hc. 4,124), perhaps also in *jḥōṇḍaliā* (a game analogous to the shepherd's dance; Deśin. 3,60). — Apparently *jḥampai* (wanders about; Hc. 4,161) also belongs to it, however, it might have developed from *kṣap*

jhampittā=*amiṣṭavacanāṇakāśaṁ kṛtvā* (having blamed; Samav. 83) and *jhampiā*, JM. *jhampiyā* (torn; shaken; Deśin. 3,61; Erz. 85,28) and *jhampanī* (eye-brow; Deśin. 3,54; Pāiyāl. 250)⁵. — *jharua* (midge; Deśin. 3,54), will be derived from the root *kṣar* with the suffix *-uka* (§ 118. 596), to which belongs *kṣāra* (sharp; pricking; biting) which forms AMg. A. *chāra*, AMg. JM. *khāra* in the meaning “saltpetre”, “potash” (§ 321) — Hc. 4,181 mentions also *avaajjhaī* beside *avacchāī*=**avacakṣatī* (§ 499).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie 3,54; Altind. Gr. § 209. — 2. JACOBI in ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 59. — 3. Not to be interchanged with AMg. *jhiyāī*=*dhyāī* (§ 131.280.479). — 4. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,376.428; on H. 109.333.407; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛica p. 16 f. *vijjhāī* as *vidhyā* has entered also into Śkt. of the Jains (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Anekārthasamgraha, Wien, 1893 p. 1 ff — 5. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl., s. v. *jhampanī*).

§ 327. *tsa* becomes *ccha* (Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25), Mg. *śca* (§ 233), through *tsha*, *tsha*, *tcha* (§ 316): AMg. *kucchañijja* = *kutsañiya* (Paṇhāv. 218); *kucchia* = *kutsita* (Ki. 2,92); *ciicchāī* = *cikitsatī*, Ś. *cikicchidavva*, AMg. *tigicchāī*, *vitigicchāmi* (§ 215. 555); AMg. *ticchā*, *tigicchā* = *cikitsā*, *vitigicchā* = *vikitsā*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (§ 215), Ś. *ciicchāa* (Mālav. 27,12; so to be read with the Peral MSS. and with the Telugu manuscript of BOLLENSSEN for *cikissaa*, *ciissaa* ed. PANDIT 52,2); AMg. JM. Ś. *bibhacca* (Uvās. § 94; Äv. 8,19; Dvār. 506,21; Kk. 264,26; Mālatīm. 215,1), Ś. *bihacca* (Prab. 45,11; so to be read), Mg. *bhaśca* (Mṛcch. 40,5; so to be read)= *bibhatsa*; M. JM. Ś. A. *macchara*=*matsara* (C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; G. H. R.; Erz.; Śak. 161,12; Mālav. 64,20; Hc. 4,444,5); JM. Ś. *vaccha*=*vatsa* (Bh. 3,40; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 94,15; 150,12; Vikr. 82,6.8.13; 87,17), Mg. *vaśca* (Hc. 4,302); AMg. JM. *sirivaccha*=*śrivatsa* (Paṇhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Ovav.; Erz.); M. JM. Ś. *vacchala*=*vatsala* (G. H.; Dvār. 501,3; 503,38; 507,30; Erz.; Śak. 158,12), Mg. *vaścala* (Mṛcch. 37,13; so to be read). — Beside AMg. *charu*=*tsaru* (Pāiyāl. 121; Deśin. 5,24; Paṇhāv. 266; Samav. 131; Ovav.; Nāyādh), dialectically was used also *tharu* = **staru* (Deśin. 5,24). In Paṇhāv. 322, the text has *ccharu* and the commentary, *tharu* —.

§ 327^a. In compounds, in which *t* stands at the end of a syllable and the following syllable originally begins with *śa* or *sa*, the phonetic groups **tśa*, *tśa* become *ssa*, or with lengthening of the vowel standing before *t* they become *sa*. *t+śa*: AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrapayata*, *ūsaviya*=*ucchrāpita*; AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta*, AMg. also *ussiya*, *samussiya*, *ussaviya*; Ś. *ussāvedi* (§ 64); M. *ussūna*=*ucchūna* (G.); AMg. *ussumka*=*ucchulka* (§ 74); M. *ūsasāī*=*ucchvasitī*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūsasadu*; AMg. also *ussasāī* (§ 64.496); AMg. *ussāsa*=*ucchvāsa* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.), M. A. *ūsāsa* (G. R.; Hc. 4,431,2); *ūsasira*=**ucchvasira* (Hc. 2,145); M. *ūsasra*, JM. *ūsasiya*, Ś. *ūsasida*=*ucchvasita* (G. H. R.; Śak. 119,6; Kk. III, 513,1; Śak. 132,13; Vikr. 7,12); *sūsāsa*=*socchvāsa* (Hc. 1,157); *ūsisa* (Pāiyāl. 118), JM. *ūsisaa* (Äv. 16,8)= *ucchirṣaka*, the synonymous *ūsaa* (Deśin. 1,140) is= **ucchoya* from *ud+śaya*; *ūsua*=**ucchuka* from *ud+śuka* (Hc. 1,114); AMg. *tassanīkiṇo* = *tacchanīkinah* from *tad+śanīkinah* (Sūyag. 936). — *t+sa*: AMg. *ussagga*=*utsarga* (Bhag.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *ussaṭṭhiṇī*=*utsarpiṇī* (Kappas.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. *usseha* = *utsedha* Pāiyāl. 168; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *tassanni*=*tatsañjñin* (Āyār. 1,5, 4,2), *tassamdhicārī*=*tatsamdhicārīn* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); *ūsaraī*=*utsarati* (Hc. 1,114), *ūsāra*=*utsānta* (Hc. 2,21), JM. *ussarittā* (Erz. 37,28; v. l. *ūsā*); AMg. *ūsatta*=*utsakta* (Kappas.); *ūsitta*=*utsikta* (Hc. 1,114; Pāiyāl. 187), but also *ussikkai*=**utsiknati* (lets loose; throws up; Hc. 4,91.144). —

According to Hc. 1,114 *tsa* in *utsāha* and *utsanna* becomes *ccha* only: M.Ś. A. *ucchāha* (G. R.; Śak. 36,12; Mālav. 8,19 [to be 'o read with v. l.]; Piṅgala 1,96^a); *ucchanna* (Hc. 1,114); Dh. *ucchādida*=*utsādita* (Mr̥cch. 38, 18,39,1). In *utsuka* and *utsava*, according to Vr. 3,42; Ki. 2,93; Mk. fol. 25 *ccha* never appears: Hc. 2,22 permits it beside *s*. So M. *ucchua* (Hc.; on H. 984), but mostly M. Ś. *ūsua* (Grr.; G. H. R.¹; Śak. 87,14; Karp. 58,2), Ś. also *ussua*, AMg. JM. *ussuya* (Śak. 84,13; Mālav. 35,1;37,20; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *pajjussua*=*paryutsuka* (Śak. 19,6;57,11) and *pajjūsua* (Vikr. 21,19); Ś. *samūsua*=*samutsuka* (Śak. 142,4; Vikr. 67,12); M. *ūsua*=*utsukita* (H.); AMg. *osuja*=*autsuka* (Ovav.). — M. Ś. *ūsava*=*utsava* (G. H. R.; Śak. 121,12; Cait. 244,18); AMg. *ussava* (Vivāhap. 822) and *ūsava* (Nirāyāv.); M. *gāmūsava*=*grāmotsava* (G.); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava*=*mahotsava*; Ś. *vasantūsava*=*vasantotsava* (§ 158), beside M. Ś. *ucchava*= (H. 369; Mallikām. 209,18), Ś. *nirucchava* (Śak. 118,13)². — *utsaṅga* always becomes M. AMg. JM. A. *ucchaṅga* (G. H. [read 422]. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Hc. 4,336; Vikr. 51,2). — I would prefer, with the Indians, to derive M. CP. *ucchallā* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,326), JM. *ucchallija* (Erz.) beside *ūsala* (Hc. 4,202), *ūsalia* (Deśin. 1,141), *ūsaliya* (Pāiyāl. 79) from *śal* with *ud* than to derive it, with ZACHARIAE³ from **sal* with *ud*. — *utthallā* (Hc. 4,174; cf. Ki. 4,46), *utthallija* (Pāiyāl. 179) *utthalia* (Deśin. 1,107) is with BÜHLER⁴ to be derived from *sthala*+*ud*. Like *t+śa* is treated *t+śa* too in AMg. *chassaya*=*ṣaṣṣata* (Kappas.).

1. The v. l. to H. 479 points, as that on Vr. 3,42, rather to *ūsua* than to *ussua*. — 2. Wrongly doubted by LASSEN, Inst. p. 151 and rejected by BÖHTLINGER on Śak. 77,6. — 3. KZ. 33,444 ff. — 4. Pāiyāl. s. v. *utthallijam*,

§ 328. *psa* through *phsa*, *psha*, *pcha* becomes *ccha* (§ 316; Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25)¹: *chāa*=Pāli *chāta*=*psāta* (hugry; Deśin. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 183). In the meaning 'meagre' (Deśin. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 87), *chāa* is = **kṣāta*². — *accharā*, *accharasā*=Old Hindi *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*³=*apsarā*, *apsarāḥ* (§ 410), from *chara*=*psaras* (form) in M. *samaccharehīm*=*samarūpāḥ* (R. 7,62) and AMg. *uttarakurumāṇusaccharāo*=*uttarakurumāṇusarūpāḥ* (Panhāv. 288)⁴. — *jucuchā*=*juguṣā*; M. *juucchaḥ*, AMg. *duguchāḥ*, Ś. *jucuchedi*=*juguṣati* (§ 215.515). — JM. *ghēcchāmo*=**ghṛpṣāmāḥ* (Āv. 23,6) — *licchā*=*līpsati* (Hc. 2,21); *licchā*=*līpsā* (Bh. 3,40; Mk. fol. 25); AMg. *licchu*=*līpsu* (Uttar. 961).

1. Wrongly the transition to *ppa* too has been assumed by WEBER, Bhag. 1,414 and to *ppha* by FISCHER, Ved. Studien 1,79. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v. *chāyāṁ*, FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,96. As *chāta* (the word has entered into Skt. too (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena to his edition of the Anekārthasaṅgraha, Wien 1893, p. 15 note 2). — 3. BRAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,309. The form *abbharā*, which LASSEN, Inst. p. 267 mentions, and of which the etymology has been given by ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 262 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,722, is a false reading, as shown by FISCHER, ZDMG. 51,589 ff. — 4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,93 ff.

§ 329. *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, according to Hc. 2,77 more correctly *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, are treated like the corresponding phonetic groups with a sibilant (§ 301 ff.), therefore, become *kha* (in compounds), *kkha*, *ppa* (in compounds), *ppha*: Ś. *antakkaraṇa*=*antahkaraṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); Ś. *nikkhatikāda*=*nihkṣairīkṛta* (Mahāv. 27,6); M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. Mg. D. A. *dukkha*=*duhka* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,3,3,5,6,2 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 9,6;10,20; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 380,12; 381,14. 20; 383,75; 385,67. 69; Mr̥cch. 28,11; 78,12; Śak. 51,14; 84,14; 136,13; Vikr. 9,19; 51,12; 53,11; Mg. Mr̥cch. 159,12; Prab. 28,17; 29,7; D. Mr̥cch. 101,12; A. Hc. 4,357,4; Vikr. 59,6; 60,18); Ś. *niddukkha*=*nirduhka* (Śak. 76,8); Ś. *dukkhida*=*duhkhita* (Vikr. 16,6;34,1).

—In AMg.JM.JŚ. is found beside *dukkha* also *duha* (Sūyag.126.156.259.406; Uttar. 505.574.599.626; Paṇhāv. 504; Dasav. N. 646.6.14; Nāyādh. 478; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 401.349). Likewise M. *duhia* (Hc. 1.13 [so to be read]; Ki. 2.113 [so to be read]; H. R.), AMg. JM. *duhiya* (Uttar. 599; Vivāhap. 116; T. 6.10; Dvār. 501.10; Kk.), JŚ. *duhida* (Pav. 383, 75)=*duhkhita*; M. *duhāvia* (G.); AMg. *duhi*=*duhkhin* (Sūyag.71; Uttar.577). The forms with *h* are found almost exclusively in verses, and *duha* often stands directly beside or in parallel with *suha*=*sukha*, which has influenced its form¹. Conversely *sugga* (comfort; well-being; Deśin. 8.56) is formed according to *dugga*=*durga* (pain; Deśin. 5.53; Triv. 1.3.105)². — *puṇapūṇakkaraṇa*=*puṇahpuṇahkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1.32); *antappāa*=*antahpāta* (Hc. 2.77). Whether in Mg. the phonetic groups have been rightly treated in the MSS. is doubtful. Cf. also § 342.347. *hśa*, *hṣa*, *hṣa* become *ssa*, Mg. *śśa*, or with lengthening of the preceding vowel *sa*, Mg. *śa* (§ 64): Ś. *cadussāla catuḥśāla* (Mallikām. 209.19; 215.5; text *caū°*), *cadussāla*=*catuḥśāla* (Mṛcch. 6.6; 16.11; 45.25; 93.16.18; Dhūrtas.6.5); Ś. *cadussamudda*=*catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55.16; 78.3; 147.17); Mg. *niśśalida*=*niḥśṛta* (Lalitav. 566.15); M. *niśaika*=*niḥśaika*, JM. *nissanka* (§64); M. Ś. *niśa*=*niḥśa*, beside *nissaha* (§64); JM. *niśesa*=*niḥśeṣa* (KI.1); Ś *dussanta*=*duḥśanta* (Śak. 16.12; 76.10), Mg. *duśśanta* (Śak. 160.10); *dussamcara* and *dūsamcara*=*duḥsamcara* (Ki. 2.113); Ś. *dussiliṭṭha*=*duḥśliṭṭha* (Mahāv. 23.19); M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha* beside Ś. *dussaha*=*duḥśaha* (§64); Ś. *suṇasseha*=*śuṇahśeṣha* (Anarghar. 58.5; 59.12); *dussila*=*duḥśila* (Deśin. 6.67). Cf. § 340.

1. Cf. JACOBI, KZ. 25.438 ff.; where, however, there are many errors.—2. FISCHEL, BB. 6.95.

§ 330. The phonetic combinations *hpa*, *hna*, *hma*, *hla* become *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha* (Vr. 3.8; Hc. 2.74.75.76; Ki. 2.95.96.99; Mk. fol. 21) through transposition of the consonants. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *avarāṇha*=*aparāṇha* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.75; G.H.; Anuog. 74; Bhag.; Erz.; Kattig. 402.354; 403.373; Vṛṣabh. 41.2); AMg. JŚ. *puvvaṇha*=*pūrvāṇha* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.75; Mk. fol. 21; Thāp. 244; Anuog. 74; Bhag.; Kattig. 402.354); AMg. *puvvaṇha* (Nāyādh. 332.481; Thāp. 244; Kappas. § 212.227; Nirayāv. 53.55; Vivāgas. 124 [text *paccā°*]); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhaṇha*=*madhyāṇha* (Hc. 2.84; H. 494; Karp. 94.6; 96.2; Thāp. 243; Āv. 46.6; Erz.; Kattig. 402.354; Ratn. 321.32; Dhūrtas. 7.20; Karp. 59.4; Viddhaś. 40.5; Cait. 92.13; Jivān. 46.10.17). On *majjhaṇṇi*=*madhyamāṇa* see § 148.214. — M. AMg. JM. A. *gēṇhai*, JŚ. *giṇhadi*, Ś. Mg. *gēṇhadi*=*grhṇāti* (§ 512). — M. Ś. Mg. A. *ciṇha*=*cinha*, beside M. AMg. JM. *cindha* (§ 267). — *janhu*=*jahnu* (Bh. 3.33; Hc. 2.75). — *niṇhavaī*=*niḥnute*, AMg. *niṇhavaījja*, *niṇhava*, *anīṇhavamāṇa*, M. *niṇhuviṇṇanti*, Ś. *niṇhuviṇṇanti*, *niṇhuviṇṇa* (§ 473). — AMg. JM. Ś. *vaṇhi*=*vahni* (Bh. 3.33; Hc. 2.75; Ki. 2.99; Vivāhap. 417; Erz.; Mudrār. 253.8). — M. D. *bamha*=*brahmaṇ* (Hc. 2.74; H.; Mṛcch. 105.21; PG. Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa*=*brāhmaṇa* (§ 287); Ś *bamhaṇṇa*=*brāhmaṇya* (§282); *bamhacera*, *brahmācarya* (§176); beside dialectical *bambha*, *bambhaṇa*, *bambhacera* (§250.267). — *sumhā*=*suhmāḥ* (Hc. 2.74). — *alhāda*=*āhlāda* (Bh. 3.8); AMg. *kahlāra*=*kahlāra* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.76; Ki. 2.95; Mk. fol. 21; Paṇpav. 35; Sūyag. 813); *palhāa*=*prahlāda* (Hc. 2.76); AMg. *palhāyaṇijja*=*prahlādaniya* (Jiv. 821; Nāyādh. § 23), AMg. *palhāyaṇa*=*prahlādana* (Uttar. 838); M. AMg. Ś. *palhattha*=**prahlata*, M. *palhatthai*, AMg. *palhatthiya* (§ 285); AMg. JM. *palhava*=*pahlava* (Paṇhāv. 42 [text *°hla°*]; Dvār. 498.17); AMg. *pahlavi* (Nāyādh. § 117), *palhaviyā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav § 55); *lhasai*, *parilhasai*=*hlasi*, *parihlasati* (Hc. 4.197), A. *lhasi* (Hc. 4.445.3).

§ 331. Through transposition of the sounds, according to Hc. 2,124, *hya* may become *yha*: *guyha*=*guhya*; *sayha*=*sahya*. The grammarians teach the same for the stem of the pronoun of the second person: *tuyha*, *uyha* (§420ff.). This phonetic alteration, which is common in Pāli, has not as yet been authenticated in Pkt. It is apparently to be assumed for Mg.P CP. in correspondence with the phonetic rules otherwise valid for these dialects (§236 252.280.287). The editions write *jjha* in Mg.; yet in Mṛcch. 170,18=463,8 ed. GODBOLE, the MSS. have *sahya*, *sattha*, *ṣattha*, *ssattha* for *saijha* of the text, so that *sayha* will have to be written. So in spite of § 252, in all other dialects, *ya* after its transposition has become *ja*, so that *hya* appears as *jha*, and in the inlaut, as *jjha* (Vr.3,28; C. 3,20; Hc. 2,26.124; Kī. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). Ś. *anugējjhā*=*anugrāhā* (Mṛcch. 24,11); AMg. *abhirujjha*=*abhiruhyā* (§ 590), *abhinigijjha*=*abhinigrhya*, *parigijjha*=*parigrhya* (§ 591); *najjhaī*=*nahyate* (Hc. 2,26), M. *saṃnājjhaī* (R.); JM. *gujjha*=*guhya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Erz.); *gujjhaa*=*guhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); *dujjha*=*dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); *vajjha*=*vāhya* (C. 3,20; Kī. 2,87), *vajjhaa*=*vāhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); Ś. *saijha*=*sahya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Śak. 51,15); M. *saijha*=*sahya* (R.). On *hijjo*, Ś. *hio*=*hyas* see § 134.

§ 332. *hra* and *rha* are mostly separated by a partition-vowel (§132-140). *daśārha* becomes AMg. *dasāra* (Hc.2,85; Antag. 3; Thāp. 80.133; Nāyādh. 528.537.1235.1262.1277; Nirāyāv. 78 ff.; Samav. 235; Uttar. 665.671). *hrada* becomes AMg. *haraya* (§132), or with transposition of the consonants AMg. A. *draha*, AMg. *daha* (§268.354). — *hva*, as in Pāli, is firstly transposed as *vha*, which becomes *bha*, in the inlaut -*bbha*- (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Kī. 2,97; Mk. fol. 26). *gabbhara*=*gahvara* (Kī. 2,97). — AMg. JM. *jibbhā*=*jihvā* (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Mk. fol. 26; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; p. 137,1; Sūyag. 280.639; Uttar. 943.986; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 42,3); AMg. *jibbhindiya* (Vivāhap. 32.531; Thāp. 300; Paṇhāv. 529), A. *jibhindiū* (Hc.4,427, 1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś *jihā*, Mg. *yihā* (§ 65). — *vibbhala*=*vihvala* (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Kī. 2,72), AMg. *vebbhala* (Bh. 3,47; Paṇhāv. 165), beside M. JM. *vihala* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JM. *vihaliya*=*vihvalita* (Erz.). On *bhibbhala*, *bimbhala*, M. *bhēmbhala*, Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* see § 209

§ 333. As in the case of simple consonants (§ 218 ff.), so also in the case of conjunct explosives of the same class we find here and there c-rebrals in place of dentals of Skt. — *ita*=*ṭṭa*: Ś. *maṭṭiā*, AMg. JM. *maṭṭijā*=*mṭṭikā* (§49). — AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṭṭa* (round; §49); AMg. *oniyaṭṭa*=*avanivṭṭa* (Kappas.), *viyaṭṭa*=*vivṭṭa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. *vatta* (Ovav.), *nivatta* (Ovav.); JM. *jahāvatta*=*yathāvṭṭa* (Erz.), and throughout *tt* in the rest of the dialects — From both *pattana* and *paṭṭana*, the words that occur side by side in Skt., AMg. JM. A. have only *paṭṭana* (Vr. 3,23; Hc. 2,29; Mk. fol. 23; Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,11,7; Thāp. 347; Paṇhāv. 175.246.406.486; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40.295; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,407) — *ttha*=*ṭṭha*: AMg. JM. *utṭhi*, A. *utṭhā*-**utthāti*, M. *utṭhiā*, AMg. JM. *utṭhiya*, beside Ś. *utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthidha*; AMg. *kaviṭṭha* beside AM. Mg. *kaviṭṭha*=*kapiṭṭha* (§309). — *ddha*=*ḍḍha*: AMg. JM. *iddhi* beside usual *riddhi* (§57). — AMg. *vaddhi*, *vuddhi*=*vṛddhi*, M. *parivaddhi*=*parivṛddhi*; M. AMg. JM. S. Mg. *vuddhi*=*vṛddhi* (§ 53). — AMg. *saddhā*=*śraddhā* (Hc. 2,41; Sūyag. 603.611.620; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *jāyasa-ddha* (Vivāhap. 11.101.115.191), *uppannasaddha*, *saṃjāyasaddha* (Vivāhap. 11.12); AMg. JM. *saddha*=*śraddha* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,2,2,8.10; Erz.); AMg. *saddhi*=*śraddhin* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 71; Kappas.); AMg. *mahāsaddhi*- (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), *saddhiya*=*śraddhika* (Thāp. 152), *saddhā*=*śraddhakā* (Ovav.), beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *saddhā* (Hc. 1,12; 2,41; H.;

Āyār.1,1,3,2; Uvās.; Erz.; Śak. 38,5; Prab. 42,2,8; 44,11; 46,8; 48,1,2 etc.), Mg. *saddhā* (Prab. 47,2; 63,4), M. *saddhālua* (H.) and always AMg. *saddahāi* (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Mk.fol.54; Vivāhap. 845,1215; Uttar. 805), *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804), JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kaṭtig. 399,311); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134; Nāyādh. § 133); M. *saddahimo* (G. 990); AMg. *saddahanti* (Vivāhap. 841 f.), *saddahe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Uttar. 170), *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151), *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *asaddahanta* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahāna* (Hc. 4,238; Sūyag. 322), *asaddahāna* (Sūyag. 504); AMg. JŚ. *saddahamāna* (Hc. 4,9; Sūyag. 596,625; Pav. 388,6); AMg. *asaddahamāna* (Vivāhap. 1215); M. *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; R. 1,38); JŚ. *saddahāna* (Pav. 388,6). — *nta=ṇṭa*: AMg. *vinṭa*, *tālavinṭa*, M. *veṇṭa*, M. AMg. Ś. *tālavēṇṭa*, AMg. *tāliyaṇṭa=vrṇṭa*, *tālavrṇṭa* (§ 53). — *ntha=ṇṭha*: *gaṇṭhai=grathnāti* (Hc. 4,120), beside *ganṭhoi* (Mk. fol. 54); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. *gaṇṭhi=granṭhi* (Hc. 4,120; G. H.; Karp. 10,2; 76,4; Sūyag. 719; Vivāhap. 104; Uttar. 877; Ovav.; Erz.; Pav. 385,69; Śak. 144,12; Prab. 18,1; Bālar. 36,3; 130,6; 148,16; 297,16; 299,1; Viddhaś. 71,1; 83,1; Karp. 23,2; 76,10; 112,5; Karpas. 11,1; D. Mrcch. 104,7); AMg. *gaṇṭhilla* (Vivāhap. 1308); AMg. *gaṇṭhiga=granṭhika* (Sūyag. 869); AMg. *gaṇṭhibheya* (Vivāgas. 100; Uttar. 289; Paṇhāv. 151 [°da]); but *gaṇṭhibheya* (Paṇhāv. 121); *gaṇṭhicchea=granṭhiccheda* (Deśin. 2,86; 3,9); AMg. *gaṇṭhicchedaya* (Sūyag. 714), *gaṇṭhiccheda* (Sūyag. 719); Mg. *gaṇṭhiścedaa* (Śak. 115,4,12; so to be read); Ś. *niggaṇṭhidagaṇṭhira* (Bālar. 131,14); JŚ. *duggaṇṭhi* (Pav. 385, 68); AMg. *niyaṇṭha=nirgrantha* (Sūyag. 962,986,989,992; Vivāhap. 149 ff.), *mahāniyaṇṭha* (Uttar. 635), but AMg. *ganṭhima* (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Paṇhāv. 519; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Dasav. N. 561,10; Anuog. 29, Nandis 507; Ovav. § 79 XI [so to be read]), seldom *ganṭhima* (Nāyādh. 269); AMg. JŚ. *ganṭha=granṭha* (Āyār. 1,7,8,11; Paṇhāv. 506; Kappas; Kattig. 399,317. 318; 404,386. 387); AMg. *saṃganṭha* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); AMg. JŚ. *niggaṇṭha=nirgrantha* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1; 2,6,1,1; 2,15,29; p. 132,4 ff.; Sūyag. 938,958,964,992; Vivāhap. 381; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.; Kattig. 404,386); AMg. *niggaṇṭhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1). — *nda=ṇḍa*: *kaṇḍaliā=kandarikā* (Hc. 2,38), of uncertain meaning. Cf. *kaṇḍali vva* as v.l. for *viśalaa vva=viśalateva* at H. 410. — AMg. *bhiṇḍimāla* beside usual *bhiṇḍivāla=bhiṇḍipāla* (§ 248). — In the case of consonants of different classes, in cases other than those mentioned in § 289 ff. 308 f., the cerebralization is present in the sound-group *gdha* in *thadḍha* (Pāiyāl. 75), M. *thadḍha* (Hc. 2,39; H. 537)=**stagdha* from **Vstagh*, to which belong Pāli *ṭhahati* (stands), Pkt. *thāha* (ground; bottom), *thaha* (residence), *thaggha* (deep), *atthāha*, *atthaggha* (bottomless, deep; § 88), and *utthaṅghai* (throws up), M. *utthaṅghia* (§ 505), *utthaṅghaṇa*, *utthaṅghi-* (G.). — *chūḍha* with its compounds=*ṣubdha*, is a formation of analogy (§ 66).

§ 334. The rules given in the preceding paragraphs hold good for conjuncts of more than two consonants: pro ex. *upphāvei=utplāvayati* (Hc. 2,106); M. *uppha=utphuta* (H.); *utthala=utsthala* (R.); M. *ucchevaṇa=utkṣepaṇa* (R.); AMg. *niṭṭhāna=niṭṭhāna* (Vivāgas. 102); AMg. *kayasāvattā=kṛtasāpatnyā* (Deśin. 1,25); M. *māhappa=māhātmya* (G. R.); M. AMg. Ś. *maccha=maṭṭya* (R.; Sūyag. 71,166,274; Uttar. 442,595,944; Vivāgas. 136; Vivāhap. 248,483); Mg. *maṣca* (§ 233); AMg. *macchattāe* (Vivāgas. 148); *macchabanda* (Erz.); M. *ujjoa=uddiyata* (G. H. R.); M. Ś. *aggha=arghya* (H.; Śak. 18,3; 72,3); M. *sāmagga=sāmagryaka* (R.); M. AMg. *taṃsa=tryasra* (§ 74); JM. *vattā=vartman* (path; Deśin. 7,31; Erz.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṇṭi=paṇṭi* (§ 269); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vinṇha=vindhya* (§ 269); M. *attha=astra* (R.) etc. Numerous examples have been quoted in appro-

prate places. *jyotsnā* forms M. AMg. JM. Ś. D. A. *jōṇhā* (Hc. 2,75; G. H. R.; Karp. 1,4; 2,5; 29,1; 88,2; Mallikām. 29,3; Jiv. 787; Kk.; Śak. 55,2; Mālav. 28,10; Bālar. 292,15; Anarghar. 277,3; Mallikām. 124, 7; 243,15; 252,3; Kārṇas. 16,8; D. Mṛcch. 101,9; A. Hc. 4,376,1), *jōṇhāla* = **jyotsnāla* (Hc. 2,159), Ś. *jōṇhiā* = *jyautsnikā* (Mallikām. 238,9), or AMg. *dosinā* (§ 215), Ś. *dosinī* = *jyautsnī* (§ 215). M. JM. *sāmaṭṭha* (Hc. 2,22; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); presupposes one **sāmartha* (§ 281); *sāmarthyā* regularly becomes *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22). — Pāli *disvā* makes it apparent that in AMg. *dissā* (Sūyag. 728; Vivāhap. 1414), *padissā* = **pradiṣṭvā* (Vivāhap. 1415) too the long is original and the short is metrical. There-to points also AMg. *dissam āgajam* = *drṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695), where *dissam* stands, according to § 349 for *dissam*, and this again stands for *dissā* according to § 114. The regular form from *drṣṭvā* would be **diṭṭhā*. On the loss of aspiration in conjunct consonants see § 213.

III. DROPPING OFF AND ENTRY OF CONSONANTS IN THE ANLAUT.

§ 335. The consonants may drop off when they begin the second member of a compound and stand between vowels. It so takes place also in the case of consonants standing in the beginning of enclitics and sometimes also after proclitics, whilst in the case of compounds the homogeneous words are deemed to be forming them (184). Otherwise dropping off of initial consonants is merely isolated and dialectical: *ūā* = Pāli *ūkā* = *yūkā* (Deśin. 1,139; Triv. 1,3,105) beside *jūā* (Deśin. 1,159), AMg. *jūyā* (Āyār. 2,13,18; Anug. in WEBER, Bhag. 2,265 note), *jūva* (§ 230)¹; *ōkkaṇi* = **yūkani* (louse; Deśin. 1,159). — AMg. *ahā* = *yathā* (Hc. 1,245); pro ex. *ahāsujam* = *yathāśrutam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; p. 137,26); *ahāsuttam ahā-kappam ahāmaggam* = *yathāśrutam yathākalpam yathamārgam* (Āyār. p. 137,26 [*°suyam*]); Nāyādh. 369; Vivāhap. 165; Uvās.; Kappas.); *ahārāṇi* = **yathārāṇikāya* (Āyār. 2,3,3,5; Thān. 355 f.); *ahānupuvvī* = *yathānupūrvyā* (Āyār. 2,15,13; Ovav.); *ahārīham* = *yathārtham* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Sūyag. 695; Uvās.); *ahāsamṭhaḍam* = *yathāsamstritam* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14); *ahāsuḥuma* = *yathāsūkṣma* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Vivāhap. 213); *ahattahīyam* = **yāthātathīyam* (Sūyag. 484,506) *āhākaḍam* = **yāthākṛtam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17; Sūyag. 405, 408); *āhāpariggahīya* = **yāthāparigṛhīta* (Ovav.). — AMg. *āva* = *yāvat* in *āvakahā* = **yāvatkathā* (Sūyag. 120); *āvakahā* = **yāvatkathāyai* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; Thān. 274); *āvakaham* = **yāvatkathām* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16); *āvakahīya* = **yāvatkathīka*, all in the meaning "continuously", "for life". — AMg. *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,1 ff.). Dropping off of initial *t* or *y* occurs also in *uyha*, *ujjha*, *ubbha*, *umha* (§ 420 ff.). Cf. *jāim* § 427.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,241.

§ 336. *y*, as in Pāli, is put before *eva* in Mg. P. *yeva*, behind short or shortened vowels *yveva*. Mg. *idō yveva*, *mama yveva* (Hc. 4,302), false *eva* (Lalitav. 567,1); P. *savvaṣṣa yveva* = *sarvasyaiva*; *tīrāto yveva* = *durād eva* (Hc. 4,316,323). As in the case of original *y* (§ 252), here also the MSS. of the dramas to not authenticate the rule, but they write *jveva*, *jjeva*, *jēvva*, *jjevva*, that is to say, the forms of the words that can be used in Ś. (§ 95). Vr. 12,23 teaches for Ś. *jēvva*, Hc. 4,280 *yveva*, which is found in only one part of South Indian manuscripts¹. In A. *jeva* with the dropping off of the syllable *va* (§ 150) and transition of *e* to *i* (§ 85) becomes *ji* (C. 2,27⁷; Hc. 4,420 with Word-Index). The older form *je* is found in M. (H.

524 v. l. = Hc. 2,217; R. 4,36), AMg. (Uttar. 669) and JM. (Āv. 12,24) and is considered by the grammarians (Hc. 2,217; cf. C. 2,27^a p. 46; Ki. 4,83) as an expletive. The v.l. *cia* in H. 524 points to the correct reading *ya* enters in A. before *iva* also, which becomes *jīva*, *jeṭṭha* = **yiva* (§261). A. *jīva* seems to report for the usual derivation of Pāli *viya* from **yiva* through transposition². But Pāli *viya* cannot be separated from M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, and these from AMg. JM. *viva*, *piva* and dialectical *miva*. Hence Pāli *viya*, M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya* are to be derived from *viva*, which is to be equated as = *v*+*iva* according to § 337. *via* is the single prevailing form in Ś. Mg. (Vr. 12,24; Mrcch. 2,16,19,21. 22,25; 3,17,20; 8,3 etc. Mg. Mrcch. 10,1; 133,12,24; 134,2; 136,14 etc.), more rarely in M. (Vr. 9,16; Hc. 2,182; H. R.; Kaip. 1,4; 16,4; 64,8), yet more rarely *viya* in AMg. JM. (C. 2,22; Bhag.; Erz.), since these dialects use *va*, *viva*, *iva* (§ 92,143). *viva* is found in AMg. JM. behind vowels (Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83; Pañhāv. 505,6,7,10; Nāyādh. §35,92; p.349. 1450; Uttar. 593,596,634; Vivāgas. 83,239; Vivāhap. 171; Nirayāv.; Kaṇṇas.; Erz.; Kk.), as v. l. also in M. (H. R.). After anusvāra *viva* becomes in M. AMg. JM. *piva* (C. 2,22; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), where on the analogy of *vi*, *pi*=*api* might have had a hand. The derivation of *piva* from *pi*=*api*+*iva*³ makes the meaning improbable. So *piva* M. (G. s. v. *iva*; H.; WEBER on H. 1); AMg. (Sūyag. 758; Pañhāv. 231,340,508; Nāyādh. § 23,122; p. 269,271,289,354,439,740,1045,1433; Vivāgas. 112; Rāyap. 255; Vivāhap. 794,807,823,943; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 7,29; Dvār. 497,37; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). Vr. 10,4, hence wrongly, restricts *piva* to P. — *miva* (Vr. 9,16; C. 2,27i; p. 47; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), which is found after anusvāra in M. (H.; WEBER on H. 1; R.) and is not with BLOCH⁴ to be doubted⁵, will have originated either from *viva* or *piva*, through assimilation with the preceding *m*⁶, as we find also *mi* for *vi*, *pi*=*api*⁷. Cf. *hem meva*, *hevaṃ meva* in the inscription of Aśoka in SENART S. V.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,280. — 2. CHILDERS s. v. *iva*; E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 64; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 62; WINDISH, BKSGW. p. 232; doubtfully WEBER on H. 1, note 2. — 3. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra p. 100; cf. also GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 30; WEBER on H. 1; BLOCH Vr. und Hc. p. 34. — 4. Vr. und Hc. p. 34 ff. — 5. correctly against him WINDISH, l.c. p.234 f.; KONOW, GGA, 1894, p. 478. — 6. Other explanations in WEBER H. 1 p. 47; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen, p. 69; Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v.; WINDISCH, l.c. p. 234. In Vr. 9,16 we should probably read *piva* for *mmiva*. — 7. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 31; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,459; WEBER, H. s. v. *mi*. Also inscriptionally in JM. (Ki. 10; beside *vi* and *pi*).

§ 337. *v* is thrust forward in M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, AMg. JM. *viva*=*iva* (§ 336); AMg. *vuccai*, Ś. Mg. *vuccadi*=*ucyate* (§544); AMg. JM. *vutta*=*ukta* (Sūyag. 74,844,921,974,986,993; Uttar. 717; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; T. 4,19;5,2; Āv. 11,22; Erz.; M. AMg. JM. *vubbhai*=*uhyate* (§ 266,541). *vuccai*, *vutta*, *vubbhai* may be derived also from the present stem¹=**vacate*, **vakta*, **vabhyate* with transition of *a* to *u* according to § 104, as it is certain for M. *vuttha*=**vasta*=*uṣita*, from *vvas* (to live; § 303,564)², and for AMg. *parivusiya* from *Vvas* (to put on; Āyār. 1,6,2,2,3,1;1,7,4,1,5,1). JS. Ś. Mg. have *utta* (Pav. 382,42; Cait. 41,10; 72,5; 127,17; Kāleyak. 23,11; Mg. Mrcch. 37,12), and so throughout in compounds, as M. *paccutta*=*pratyukta* (H. 918); AMg. *nirutta*=*nirukta* (Pañhāv. 406); M. Ś. *puṇarutta* (G. H.R.; Mrcch. 72,3; Śak. 56,16; Mālav. 86,4; Bālar. 120,6; Vṛṣabh. 15,16; Mallikām. 73,3), AMg. *apūṇarutta* (Jiv. 612; Kappas.). — A. *vuṭṭhae*=*uttiṣṭhanti* (Piṅgala 1,125^a); M. JM. *vūḍha*=*ūḍha* (R.; Erz.), beside M. *ūḍha* (G.)³; JM. *vuṭṭhān*=*uṭṭhān* (Āv. 25,29); *voṭṭattha* (inverted cohabitation; Deśin. 7,58)=

**uccastha* from *ucca*, as AMg. *vuccattha* (= *pariyasta*; *bhraṣṭa*; Uttar. 245) points.

1. WINDISCH, BKS GW. 1893, 230, note 1. — 2. Cf E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 37. — 3. Sometimes it cannot be said with certainty whether or not *vūḍha* in R., as otherwise often, is = *vyūḍha*. *vu*, *vo* often is = *vi* + *ud*.

§ 338. Prothesis of *h* is found in *hare* (Hc. 2,202; Ki. 4,83), *hīre* (Vr. 9,15), beside *are*¹; *hira* (Hc. 2,186; § 259) beside M. *ira* = *kira* (§ 184); AMg. *huṭṭha* = *oṣṭha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5); AMg. *havvāe*, dative from **arvāka* = *arvānc* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 565.575.578.601.616.625 f.). The adverb AMg. *havvaṃ* "quickly", which the commentators explain with *ṣighram* or *arvāk* and with WARREN² and LEUMANN³ they trace back to *arvāk*, also supports this. JACOB⁴ doubtfully equates it as = *bhavyam*, WEBER⁵ earlier, likewise doubtfully = *savvaṃ* = *sarvam*, la. er⁶ = *havyam* = "at call" (Thāp. 124.125.127.155 ff. 207.208.285 ff. 539.585; Antag. 14.18 f. 30.32; Samav. 89.95.110; Vivāgas. 18 ff. 130; Nāyādh. § 94; p.306.378.565.620.624 f. 737.792.819 etc.; Vivāhap. 96 f. 125 f. 146 f. 154 f. 170.181 f. 334 etc.; Rāyap. 248 ff.; Jiv. 260.356.411; Aṇuog. 394.436.454.455; Paṇṇav. 838; Nīrayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. FISCHER, KB. 7,462; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 474. — 2. Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's p. 52 ff. — 3. Aup. S. v. — 4. Kalpas. s. v. — 5. Bhag. 1,416, note 1. — 6. Verzeichniss 2. 2, 423, note 3.

IV. FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 339. Finally only a simple or nasalized vowel can stand in Pkt. Hence final consonants, excepting the nasals, are dropped: *maṇā* = *manāk* (Hc. 2,669); M. AMg. JM. S. Mg. *tāva* = *tāvat* (§ 185); M. AMg. JM. S. *paścā* = *paścāt* (§ 301); AMg. *abhū* = *abhūt*; *akāsī* = *akārṣit* (§ 516); AMg. *akarimsu* = *akārṣuḥ* (§ 516). Cf. § 395. The vowels standing in the auslaut were sometimes nasalized (§ 75.114.181), and short vowels were also lengthened (§ 75.181).

§ 340. The final consonant of the first member of a compound is assimilated with the initial consonant of the following member, as a rule (§ 335), so much so that the stems ending in consonants go over to the *a*-declension (§ 355 ff.). Sometimes, predominantly in verses, the member before the consonant is treated as absolutely in the auslaut. So M. *uamahihara* = *udak* + *mahādhara* (G. 631); *uasindhu* = *udak* + *sindhu* (395); M. *eaguṇā* = *etadguṇaḥ* (Hc. 1,11); *jaarakkhaṇa* = *jagadrakṣaṇa* (G. 50), and several times in *jagat* in G. R.; AMg. *taḍṭitaḍṭi* = *taḍṭitaḍṭi* (Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 13); M. *taḍṭibhāva* = *taḍṭibhāva* (G. 316); M. *viāsia* = *viyāt* + *ṣṛita* in rhyme with *viāsia* = *vikasita* (R. 6,48); M. *vijjuvilāsia* = *vidyudvilāsitā* (4,40), and more often in *vidyut* in G. R.; M. *sarisamkula* = *saritsamkula* in rhyme with *sarisam kulam* = *sadrśam kulam* (R. 2,46); M. *saṭṭisa* = *saṭṭipura* (G. 992), beside frequent *sappurisa*; *sabbhikkhu* = *sabbhikkṣu* (Hc. 1,11). Particularly frequent is the dropping off of *s* of *dus*, in dependence upon the compounds with *su*, that often stand directly by its side: M. AMg. JM. *dulaha* = *durlabha* (Ki. 2.114; Mk. fol. 32; G. 1133; H. 844; Karp 92,4; Dasav. 618,12 in parallel with *sulaha* 14; Kk. 271,33). M. *dulahattaṇa* = *durlabhātva* (G. 503); AMg. *duciṇṇa* = *duściṇṇa* (Ovav. § 56 p. 62,14), according to *suciṇṇa* = *suciṇṇa* standing before it; AMg. *dumuha* = *durmukha* (Paṇḥāv. 244), beside *sumuha*: AMg. *durūva* = *dūrūpa* (Sūyag. 585.603.628.669.738, Vivāhap. 117.480; Thāp. 20), mostly beside *surūva* = *surūpa*; AMg. *duvanna* = *durvarṇa* (Sūyag. 628.669.738; Vivāhap. 480[^ṛṇa]), beside *suvaṇṇa*; M. *dusaha*

=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1,115; G. 158,511; H. 486); *duhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115; cf. §231); M. *dohagga*=*daurbhāgya* (H.).

§ 341. Inversely the final consonant is sometimes retained, especially before vowels, in addition to in compounds, particularly before enclitics. AMg. *chac ca*=*ṣaṭ ca*, *chac ceva*=*ṣaḍ eva*, *chap pi*=*ṣaḍ api* (§ 441); AMg. *asiṇād i vā avahārād i vā*=*aśanād iti vā apahārād iti vā* (Āyār. 2,1,5, 1); AMg. *sucirād avi*=*sucirād api* (Uttar. 235); AMg. *tamhād avi ikkha*=*tasmād apikṣasva* (Sūyag. 117); AMg. *jad atthi*=*yad asti* (Thāp. 33); AMg. *anūsaraṇād uvatthāṇā*=*anusmaraṇād upasthānāt* (Dasav. N. 656,1); Mg. *yad iścaṣe*=*yad icchase*; *mahad antalam*=*mahad antaram* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 136,18). In compounds: AMg. *tadāvaraṇiija*=*tadāvaraṇiṇya* (Uvās. § 74); AMg. *tadajjhavasiyā*, *tadappi yakkarāṇā*, *tadaṭṭhovaṭṭiā*=*tadadyhavasitāḥ*, *tadarpitakaraṇāḥ*, *tadarthopayuktāḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 50,31 ff.); AMg. *tadubhaṇya* (Ovav. § 117,122); JM. *taduvikkhākāriṇo*=*tadupekṣākāriṇaḥ* (Kk. 261,27), beside the cases like M. *ēvatthā*=*etadavasthā* (R. 11,132), AMg. *eyāṇurūva*=*etadanurūpa* (Kappas. § 91,107). In AMg. *tārūvattāe tāvanattāe tāphāsattāe*=*tadrūpatvāya tadvarṇatvāya tatsparśatvāya* (Paṇṇav. 523 ff. 540), *tāgan-dhattāe tāraṇatvāe*=*tadgandhatvāya tadrasatvāya* (Paṇṇav. 540), and in the frequent AMg. JM. *eyārūva*=*etadrūpa* (Āyār. 2,15,23. 24; Sūyag. 992; Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151. 170. 171; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *a* is to be explained either according to § 65 or § 70. AMg. *saḍaṅgavi*=*ṣaḍaṅgavid* (Ovav.; Kappas.). *r*, originating from *s* in *duś* and *nis*, is always retained before vowels (Hc. 1,14; Ki. 2,124): *duravagāha* (Hc. 1,14); AMg. *duraikkama*=*duratikrama* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); M. *durārōha* (H.); JM. *duraṇucara*, *duranta*, *durappa*=*durātman* (Erz.); AMg. *durahiṇyāsa*=*duradhivāsa* (Uvās.); S. *durāgada*=*durāgata* (Vikr. 32,11); M. JM. *dura*=*durita* (G.; Ki. 1,22); *duruttara* (Hc. 1,14); M. S. *nirantara*, JM. *nirantara* (Hc. 1,14; G. H.; Erz. Mṛcch. 68,19; 73,8; Prab. 4,4); M. *niravēkkha*=*nirapekṣa* (R.); M. *nirālama* (H.); M. *nirikkhaṇa*=*nirikkṣaṇa* (H.); A. *niruvama*, JM. *niruvama*=*nirupama* (Hc. 4,401,3; Erz.); *nirūsua*=*nirutsuka* (G.). The rule holds good also for *prāduś*: AMg. *pāduresae*=*prādureṣayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *pādura-kāsi*=*prādurakārṣi* (Sūyag. 123), beside AMg. *pāubbhūya*=*prādurbhūta* (Vivāgas. 4,38; Vivāhap. 190; Kappas.), *pāubbhaviithā* (Vivāhap. 1201) and *pāukujjā*=*prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474), *pāukarissāmi*=*prāduṣkarissāmi* (Uttar. 1), against *karissāmi pāum* (Sūyag. 484), *karēnti pāum* [text *pāu*], *karemi pāum* (Sūyag. 912,914). Cf. § 181. So also M. *bāhir uṇhāim*=*bāhir uṇṇāṇi* (H. 186). On original *r* see § 342 ff., on *m* § 348 ff.

§ 342. In all the dialects *aḥ*, arising from the original *ar*, mostly becomes *o*: M.AMg. *anto*=*antaḥ* from *antar* (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 2,1,2,7,3; 10,2,7,2,1; Sūyag. 753; Uvās.); AMg. *aho*=*ahaḥ* from *ahar* (§ 386); AMg. *pāo*=*prātaḥ* from *prātur* (Kappas.). *puṇaḥ* from *puṇar* becomes M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. Dh. *ā. puṇo* in the meaning "again", "afresh" (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,5,3; 1,2,1,1 2,2; 1,4,1,3,2,2; 1,6,4,2; Sūyag. 45,151,178,277,433, 468,497; Uttar. 202; Āv. 28,14; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 383,24; 384,49; 386,10; 388,8; Kattig. 403,375; Mṛcch. 29,11; 58,8,13); Mg. Mṛcch. 176,5,9; Prab. 58,8; Dh. Mṛcch. 39,17; A. Mṛcch. 103,3), especially in the compounds M. JM. JŚ. S. Mg. D. *puṇo vi* (Ki. 2,126; G.H.; Āv. 8,34,52,12, 35; Erz. 27,6; 33,37; Kattig. 402,367; Mṛcch. 20,24; 21,7; 41,6; 45,16; 81,9; 94,19; Śak. 22,2; 68,2; Vikr. 11,2; 13,18; 28,1; 82,17; Mahāv. 65,2; Candak. 93,14; Mg. Mṛcch. 80,5; 115,9; 117,3; 132,22; 148,14; 162,9; D. Mṛcch. 103,17), for which AMg. prefers *puṇar avi* (Ki. 2,126; Āyār. 1,8,2,6; 2,1,7,3; Sūyag. 100,643,842; Vivāhap. 1038,1496; Jīv. 287,288,296; Paṇṇav. 848;

Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), that is known also to JM. (Āv. 11,24; Dvār. 497,26; 498,14; Erz.); according to Ki. 2,126 one says also *puṇa vi*. For *puṇo* M. has after vowels and anusvāra also *uṇo*, with dropping off of *p* according to § 184 (G. H. R.). In the meaning "but", "now" *puṇaḥ* becomes in AMg. JM. JŚ. *puṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 2,1,1,3. 4. 14; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 46,292; Vivāhap. 139; Dasav. 642,2; Dasav. N. 648,33; 652,11; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,50; 12,2; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 404,387. 389). There is found in M. too sometimes *puṇa* after anusvāra (G. H.), but mostly *uṇa*, as in Ś.Mg. (§ 184). For Mg. *kiṃ puṇa* (Mṛcch. 169,4) we should read with GODABOLE (458,9), *kiṃ uṇa*. In M. are found in the meaning "but", "now" also *puṇo*, *uṇo*. In A. *puṇaḥ*, in both the meanings, becomes *puṇu* (Hc. 4,226 and Word-Index; Pīṅgala 1,33.34.37.42 ff. 77. 84.90.95.100; Vikr. 71,10). After dropping off of the final *r* the words sometimes go over to the *a*-stem and are inflected. So AMg. *antaṃ* (Āyār. 2,10,6), *anteṇa* in the combination *anto anteṇa* (Āyār. 2,5,1,14; 2,6,1,11), *antāo* (Āyār. 2,10,6); AMg. *pājariṃ=prātar* (Sūyag. 337.341); *na uṇā=na *punāt* (Hc. 1,65); AMg. *puṇāim* (Panhāv. 389; Uvās. §119. 174), *puṇāi* (Hc. 1,65; Panhāv. 414), *na uṇāi* (Hc. 1,65), which are to be considered as in the acc. plur. Cf. § 345. From *anto* AMg. forms also *antohimto*, that is to say, an ablative="from within" (Āyār. 2,7,2,1; Thāp. 408; Kāyap. 254 f.). Cf. § 343.365.

§ 343. Original *r*, as the secondary one (§ 341), is mostly retained before the vocalic initial of the second member in a compound: *antarappa=antarātman* (Hc. 1,14); M. *antaria*, AMg. JM. *antariya*, Ś. *antarida=antarita* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 67,2; 73,10; Vikr. 31,1; 41,17; 43,7); M. Ś. *puṇarutta=puṇarukta*, AMg. *apuṇarutta* (§ 337); AMg. *apuṇarāvatti=apuṇarāvarin* (Uttar. 859; Kappas.), *apuṇarāvattaga* (Ovav.). So also AMg. JM. *puṇar avi* (§ 342), and cases, like AMg. *puṇar ei*, *puṇar eṇti=puṇareti*, *puṇar yanti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3.2,1). Before a consonantal initial of the second member, as a rule, comes in the form of the absolute final: M. *antomuha=antarmukha* (G. 94); *antoviśambha=antarvisrambha* (Hc. 1,60); M. *antohutta* (Deśin. 1,21; H. 373), *antosindūria* (H. 300); AMg. *antojala* (Nāyādh. 764), *antōjjhusira=antaḥsuśira* (Nāyādh. 397; cf. § 211), *antoduṭṭha=antarduṣṭa* (Thāp. 314), *antomāsa* (Thāp. 364); AMg. JM. *antomuhutta* (Vivāhap. 180.273; Samav. 215; Jiv. 49.322; Uttar. 977 f. 997.1003.1047 ff.; Kappas.; Rṣabhap. 43); AMg. *antomuhuttiya* (Vivāhap. 30), *antomuhuttūna* (Samav. 215), *antosālā=antaḥśālā* (Uvās.), *antosalla=antaḥśalya* (Sūyag. 695; Thāp. 314; Samav. 51; Vivāhap. 159; Ovav.); JM. *antonikkhanta=anīarniṣkrānta* (Rṣabhap. 45); AMg. *pāosināna=prātaḥsnāna* (Sūyag. 337). The same form is found sometimes also before vowels: M. *antouvarim=antarupari* (Hc. 1,14), for which in G.1056 (the place meant by Hc.) stands *antovarim*, which with P (cf. J) is to be read as *anto avarim ca pariṭṭhena*; AMg. *antoanteura* (§ 344). In M. *antovāsa=antaravakāsa* we should add *anta* (§ 342), which is found also before consonants, as AMg. *antabhamara=antabhrāmara* (Kappas.), *antarāyalehā=*antarrājallekhā* (Kappas.); *puṇapuṇakkaraṇa=puṇaḥpuṇakkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1,32); AMg. *puṇapāsaṇāyāe=*puṇaḥpāṣyaṇatāyāi* (Vivāhap. 1128). Before consonants there takes place also assimilation: Ś. *antakkaraṇa=antaḥkaraṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); *antaggaa=antargata* (Hc. 2,60); *antappāa=antaḥpāta* (Hc. 2,77); JM. Ś. *puṇaṇṇava=puṇarṇava* (Dvār. 504, 5; Karp. 83,3); JŚ. *apuṇabbhava=apuṇarbhava* (Pav. 386,5); *puṇapuṇakkarāṇa* (Deśin. 1,32). The ablative *puṇā=*punāt* (§ 342) is to be assumed in M. *apuṇāgamāṇā* (G. 1183); AMg. *apuṇāgama* (Dasav. 640,22); likewise *antā* should be viewed in *antāvei=antarvedi* (Hc. 1,14). The lengthening in *ā* can be explained also according to § 70.

§ 344. In *antahpura* and its derivatives *ah* becomes *e* in lieu of *o* in all the dialects, as in Pāli: M. AMg. JM. *Š. anteura* (Hc. 1,60; G. R.; Sūyag. 771; Panhāv. 262; Nāyādh. § 19.102; p. 1079 ff. 1273.1290.1327.1460.1465; Vivāgas. 156.159.172 ff.; Vivāhap. 792.1278; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,13; Erz.; Śak. 38,5; 57,11; 70,7; 137,8; 138,1; Mālav. 33,1; 38,3; 74,7; 84,16; 85,6; Bālar. 243,12; Viddhaś. 83,7; Karp. 35,3; 45,10; 99,4; Pras. 45,4.13; Jivān. 42,16; Kamsav. 55,11; Karṇas. 18,22; 37,16 etc.); M. *anteuraa* (at H. 980); AMg. JM. *anteuriyā*, *Š. anteuriā=antahpurikā* (Nāyādh. 1229; Erz.; Kk.; Viddhaś. 11,1). Against it there appears *anto* in AMg. *antoanteura* (Nāyādh. 723.1301; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.), *antoante-puriya* (Ovav.). At Vivāgas. 145 *antapuriyaṃsi* is edited. *e* appears for *ah* also in *anteāri=antaścārin* (Hc. 1,60).

§ 345. In all the dialects, except in the nom. sing. of the *a*-stems in AMg. Mg. and in certain adverbs in AMg., where it becomes *e*, *ah* arising from *as* becomes *o*. AMg. JM. *aggao*, *Š. Mg. aggado=agratah* (§ 69); AMg. *piṭṭhāo=prṣṭhāi*, AMg. JM. *piṭṭhao*, *Š. D. piṭṭhado=prṣṭhatah* (§ 69); in the nom. sing. PG. *paṭibhāgo=paṭibhāgaḥ* (§ 363); M. *rāo=rāgaḥ* (H. 12); JM. *putto=putrah* (Erz. 1,2); JŚ. *dhammo=dharmaḥ* (Pav. 380,7); *Š. nioo=niyogaḥ* (Mṛcch. 3,7); Dh. *puliso=puruṣaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,12); *Ā. D. govāladārao=gopāladāraḥ* (Mṛcch. 99,16; 102,15); P. *tāmotaro=dāmodaraḥ* (Hc. 4,307); CP. *mekho=meghaḥ* (Hc. 4,325); *A. kāmō=kāmaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,4); but AMg. *purise*, Mg. *puliṣe=puruṣaḥ* (Āyār 1,1,1,6; Mṛcch. 113,21). Likewise *maṇo=manaḥ*, *saro=saraḥ*, *jaso=yaśaḥ* (§ 356). In AMg. there is found *-o* also, instead of *-e*, for *-ah* of the nominative in verses (§ 17), and before *iva* in prose: *khuro iva=kṣura iva*, *vālyūyākavalo iva=vālukāḥkabalā iva=vālukāḥkabalā iva*, *mahāsamuddo iva=mahāsamudra iva* (Nāyādh. § 144); *kummo iva=kūrma iva*, *kuñjaro iva=kuñjara iva*, *vasabho iva=vṛṣabha iva*, *sīho iva=sīmha iva*, *mandaro iva*, *sāgaro iva*, *cando iva*, *sūro iva* (Sūyag. 758=Kappas. § 118). Beside Kappas. *saṅkho iva* at the place cited, Sūyag. has *saṅkha* [sic] *iva*; Kappas. has *jīve* [sic] *iva*, Sūyag. *jīva* [sic] *iva*; both of them have *vihaga* [sic] *iva*, and the adjectives always end in *-e* beside them. All this makes it probable that these are cases of Sanskritism and that *-e* has to be written throughout and that perhaps *va* is to be written for *iva*, that in AMg. is found in the text just feebly and is uncertain (§ 143). The same phonetic change occurs in all other cases, in which Skt. *-ah* goes back to *as*, as in the ablative singular in *-tas*: M. *koḍarāo*, JM. *koṭṭarāo=*koṭarātaḥ=*koṭarāt* (H. 563; Erz. 1,10); AMg. *āgārāo=āgārāt* (Uvās. § 12); JŚ. *carittādo=caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6); *Š. mūlādo=mūlāt* (Śak. 14,6); Mg. *haḍakkādo=haḍakāt* (Mṛcch. 115,23); in the first pers. plur. indicative in *-maḥ=mas*: M. *lajjāmo*; AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo*; JM. *tālemo*; *Š. pavisāmo* (§ 455); AMg. *bhavissāmo*; JM. *peccissāmo*; AMg. *Š. jānissāmo* (§ 521.525.534) etc. In AMg. one always says *bahave=bahavaḥ* and *bahūn* (§380 ff.), in M. AMg. *ne=naḥ* (§419). In adverbs the sound sometimes varies in AMg. in the texts, *adhaḥ* becomes M. JM. *aho* (G.; Erz. 50,30 [so with A. to be read]; Rṣabhap. 30), AMg., however, mostly *ahē* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2; 1,6,4,2; 1,8,4,14; 2,1,1,2.3,2.10,6; 2,15,8; Sūyag. 52.215.222.271.273.304.397.428.520.590; Uttar. 1031.1033; Vivāhap. 105 f. 260.410.753; Uvās.: Ovav.; Kappas.), *ahedisāo=adhodisaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); *ahēbhāga* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4), *ahēbhāgi=adhobhāgin* (Sūyag. 829), *ahēcara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,9), *ahēgāmiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13), *ahēvāya=adhovāta* (Sūyag. 829), *ahesiram=adhaśiraḥ* (Sūyag. 288), but *ahosiram* (Sūyag. 268; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), *aheloga* beside *adhologa* (Thāp. 61 f.) and *ahē ahologe* (Thāp. 189), also independently standing, probably falsely, *aho* (Sūyag. 476; Uttar. 513); *pure=puraḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,2), *purekamma=*puraskarman* (Hc. 1,57; Āyār. 2,1,

6,4,5; Paṇhāv. 492); *purēkaḍa*, *purēkkhaḍa* and *purakkaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§49. 306), *porekacca*=**paurahkṛtiya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *porevacca*=**pauvorttiya* Paṇṇav. 98.100 103; Vivāgas. 28.57; Samav.134; Ovav.; Kappas.), everywhere beside *āhevacca*=*ādhipatiya* (§ 77); *rahe*=*rahaḥ* (Uttar. 331.333), but *rahokamma*- (Ovav.); Ś. *suvo*=*śvaḥ*, but AMg. *suve*, *sue* (§ 139), beside AMg. *suṇarāe*=*śvarātre* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 10). As in *suṇarāe* so in AMg. *adham*=*adhaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3), *aham* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4; 1,7,1,5) and *puram*=*purah* (Nāyādh.) there has occurred transition to the *a*-stem. Cf. § 342. It still remains uncertain whether in compounds as well we should throughout read or not read *ahē°*, *rahe°*. On AMg. JM. *hēṭṭhā* and derivations see § 107.

§ 346. In A. *o* from *ah* mostly becomes *u* (Hc. 4,331; Ki. 5,22); *janu*=*janaḥ* (Hc. 4,336); *lou*=*lokaḥ* (Hc. 4,366.420,4), *sīhu*=*simhaḥ* (Hc. 4, 418,3); *bhamaru*=*bhramarah*, *makkaḍu*=*markaṭaḥ*, *vāṇaru*=*vānaraḥ* (Piṅgala 1,67); *nīsiaru*=**nīśicarah*, *dhārādharu*=*dhārādharah* beside *sāmalo*=*śyāmalaḥ* (Vikr. 55,1,2); *tavu*=*tapah*, *sīru*=*śirah* (Hc. 4,441,2.445,3); *aṅguliū jajjariāu aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4,333); *vilāsiniū*=*vilāsiniḥ* (Hc. 4,348); *sallaiu*=*sallakāḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). The same phonetic change is common in Dh.: *luddhu jūḍialu papalīnu*=*ruddho dyūtakarah* *prapalāyitah* (Mṛcch. 30,1); *vipḍaḍiū pādu*=*vipraṭipah pādah* (Mṛcch. 30,11); *esu vihavu*=*esa vibhavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,17) beside nominatives in *o* (§25 345). Further in the abl.sing. in P. *tūrātu*, *tumātu*, *mamātu*, beside *tūrātō*, *tumātō*, *mamātō*=*dūrāt*, *ivat*, *mat* (Hc. 4,321); M. *naḥaalāu*=*nabhasatalāt*, *raṇṇāu*=*anyaūt* (§365); JŚ *udāyādu* (Pav.383,27), according to which Hc. permits this form also in Ś. Mg. (§365). In the first pers. plur. indicative: AMg. *icchāmu*, *accemu*, *dāhāmu*, *vucchāmu*, A. *lahimu* (§ 455). Cf. § 85.

§ 347. At the end of the first member of a compound *o* may enter for Skt. *as*, *ah* before consonants, as in the auslaut. Commonly there appears sometimes, however, assimilation in M.AMg.JM. in the stem in *-a* (§407): M. *jasavamma*=*yaśovarman* (G.), JM. *jasavaaddhaṇa*=*yaśovaradhana* (Ki.4), beside *jasoā*=*yaśodā* (G.H.); AMg.JM. *namōkkāra*, beside *namōjāro*, *navajāra* M. *ṇamakkāra* (§ 306); *naḥaara*=*nabhaścara* (§ 301); M. *naḥaala*=*nabhasatala* (G. H. R.); *naḥavaṭṭha*=*nabhaḥṇṣṭha* (G.), *tamaraaṇiara*=*tamoraṇiṇikara* (R. 3,34); AMg. *tavalova*=*tapolopa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. JM. *tavokamma*=*tapahkarmān* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *tavovaṇa*=*tapovana* (Śak. 16,13; 18,10; 19,7; 90,14; Vikr.84,20); JM.Ś. *tavaccaraṇa*=*taṇaścaraṇa* (§301); M. A. *avarōppara*=*oparaspara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraspara* (§195. 311); M. AMg. JM. *maṇahara*=*manohara* (Hc. 1,156; G. H.; Rāyap. 114; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside AMg. JM. A. *maṇohara* (Hc. 1,156; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr.66,15); M. *maṇaharaṇa* (Karp. 51,6; 55,4); AMg. *maṇapaoga*=*manahprayoga*, *maṇakaraṇa* (Thān. 114) beside *maṇajoga* (Thān.113); *uraada*=*urastaṭa* (Ki. 2,110); AMg. *uraparisaṇṇa*=*urahparisaṇṇa* (Thān.121); AMg. *mihokahā*=*mīthahkathā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9); AMg. *maṇosilā* (Hc. 1,26; Ki. 2,153; Āyār. 2,1,6,6; Sūyag. 834; Jiv. 519; Rāyap. 123; Paṇṇav. 25; Uttar. 1041), beside *maṇasilā* (Hc. 1,26; 4,286; Ki. 2,153), *maṇāsilā* (Hc. 1,26,43; cf. § 64) and *maṇāsilā* (Hc. 1,26; cf. § 74); M. *sirovihatta*=*śirovibhakti* (G. 51), beside *śiraśchea*=*śiraścheda* (G. 322), *śirakamala*=*śirahkamala* (G. 342), *śiralagga*=*śirolagna* (H. 529); but Ś. *sirodhara* (Śak. 144, 12), Mg. *śiloluha*=*śiroruha* (Mṛcch. 17,2). The stem *accharā* (§ 97.410) is from *apsaras* (§97 410). On AMg. *ahē°*, *pure°* see §345. If the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the *a*-stem tends to enter into the first member. The vowels in such cases follow the rules of the vocalic sandhi (§ 156 ff.): M. *mahiraantaria*=*mahīrajantariṭa* (R. 13,52), *mahiraṭṭhāṇa*=*mahīrajaṭṭhāṇa*, *mahiraṭṭhāṇa*=*mahīrajaṭṭhāṇa* (R. 13,37.49), *asuroraṭṭhi*=*asurorosthi*=*asura*+*uras*+*asthi* (G. 7), *naḥaṇṇa*=*nabhoṇṇa* (G. 139.231).

235 etc.), *nahāho* = *nabhaābhoga* (G.416), *nahuddeso* = *nabhaūddesa* (G.558), *tamānubandha* = *tamonubandha* (G. 506), *tamugghāa* = *tamaūddghāta* (G. 1179) etc.

§ 348. Final *n* and *m* become anusvāra (Vr. 4,12; Cl. 2,11; Hc. 1,23; Mk. fol. 34); Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taśsim* = *tasmīn*; *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, = *etasmīn*; Ś. *jassim*, Mg. *yaśsim* = *yasmīn*; Ś. *kassim*, Mg. *kaśsim* = *kasmīn*; AMg. Ś. *assim* = *asmin*; Ś. *imassim*, Mg. *imaśsim* = **imasmin* (§ 425 ff.); AMg. P. *bhagavaṃ*, Ś. Mg. *bhaavaṃ* = *bhagavān*; Ś. Mg. *bhavaṃ* = *bhavān*; AMg. *āyavaṃ* = *ātmavān*, *nāṇavaṃ* = *jñānavān*, *bambhavaṃ* = *brahmavān*; AMg. *ciṭṭhaṃ* = *tiṣṭhan*, *paṇaṃ* = *pacan*, *kuvaṃ* = *kurvan*, *haṇaṃ* = *ghnan* (§ 396); AMg. *rājaṃ*, Ś. *rāṇaṃ*, P. *rājāṃ*, Mg. *lāṇaṃ* = *rājan* (§ 399); A. *vāṇaṃ* = *vāṭena*, *koheṃ* = *krodhena*, *daiveṃ* = *daivena*, after dropping off of the final *a* (§ 146). — *ahaṃ* = *aham*; *tumaṃ* = *tvaṃ*; M. Ś. *aam*, AMg. JM. *ayam* = *ayam*; Ś. *iam* = *iyam* (§ 417 ff.); AMg. JM. JS. *iyāṇim*, *idāṇim*, Ś. Mg. *dāṇim* = *idāṇim* (§ 144); Ś. *sādaṃ*, Mg. *śādaṃ* = *svāgatam* (§ 203); M. *jalam*, *jalahim*, *vahum* = *jalam*, *jaladhīm*, *vadhūm* (H. 161; G. 147; Hc. 3,124); Ś. *aṅgāṇaṃ* = *aṅgānām*, *deviṇaṃ* = *devīnām*, *vadhūṇaṃ* = *vadhūnām* (Śak. 32,8; 43,11; 89,6); Mg. *devadāṇaṃ* *bamhaṇāṇaṃ* *ca* = *devatānām* *brāhmaṇānām* *ca* (Mṛcch. 121,10); M. AMg. JM. *kāum*, Ś. Mg. *kāduṃ* = *kartum* (§ 574). Cf. also § 75.83.181. A vowel with bindu (§ 179, note 3) is equivalent to a long vowel (§ 74.75.83.86.114). If, therefore, in verses, the metre requires a short syllable, the old *m* remains unaltered before the following vowel (Vr. 4,13; Hc. 1,24; Mk. fol. 34)¹: M. *surahim iha gandham āsirasibālamauluggamaṇa jambūna maarandam āravindaṃ ca* = *surabhim iha gandham āsīrabālamukulodgamānām jambūnām makarandam āravindaṃ ca* (§ G. 516); M. *tam aṅgam eṇhiṃ* = *tad aṅgam idāṇim* (H. 67); AMg. *anīccam āvāsam uveṇti jantuno* = *anīyam āvāsam upayanti jantavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *cittamantam acittam vā* (Suṣag. 1); JM. *kāraṇam acalam imam bhavaṇam* (Kl. 22); *appiam eam bhavaṇam* (Kl. 23); *vissariyam tuham egam akkharam* = *vismṛtam tvayaikam akṣaram* (Āv. 7,33); JM. *tavassinim eyam* = *tapasvinim etām* (Kk. 262,19); JS. *adisajam ādasamuttham visaṇḍidam aṇovamam anantam* = *atīṣayam ātmasamuttham viṣaṇḍitam anupamam anantam* (Pav. 380,13); Mg. *maṇam anaṇgam* = *madanam anaṇgam*, *saṃkalam iṣalaṃ vā* = *saṃkaram iṣvaraṃ vā* (Mṛcch. 10,13; 17,4)².

1. WEBER, H¹. p. 47. 2. The MSS. and, with them, the Indian editions write, often falsely, the nasal instead of the vowel with bindu. So also in the inscriptions (Kl. 10.11.12; PG. 7,45.49). False is also *vanso* (Kl. 2), *rohinsakūa* (Kl. 20,21). Cf. § 10.

§ 349. In AMg. JM. JS. *m* remains, instead of being transformed into anusvāra, when the word ending in *m* is to be strongly emphasized, especially before *eva*, before which in this case a small vowel is often lengthened, and against § 83, a long one is retained (§ 68): AMg. *evam eyam bhante tahaṃ eyam bhante avitahaṃ eyam bhante icchīyam eyam bhante paḍicchiyam eyam bhante icchīyapaḍicchiyam eyam bhante* (Uvās. § 12; Cf. Vivāhap. 946; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. § 13.83, and above § 114); AMg. *evam akkhāyam* = *evam ākhyātam* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); AMg. *evam egesim no nāyam bhavaṃ* = *evam ekeṣām no jñātam bhavati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); AMg. *jam eyam bhagavayā paveiyam tam eva abhisamēccā* = *yad etad bhagavatā praveditam tad evābhisametya* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1); AMg. *ayam teṇe ayam uvacareṇa ayam hantā ayam e'ttham akāsi* = *ayam steno 'yam upacarako 'yam hantāyam ittham akāṣīt* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); AMg. *aham avi* = *aham api* (Āyār. 2,5,2,4); JM. *amhānam eva kule samuppannā paramabandhavā* = *asmākam eva kule samutpannāḥ paramabāndavāḥ* (Dvār. 500,1); JM. *evam imam kajjam* = *evam idaṃ kāryam* (Erz. 5,35); JM. *evam avi bhaṇe* = *evam api bhaṇite* (Āv. 16,24); JS. *pattegam eva pattegam* = *pratyekam eva praty-*

kam (Pav. 379,3); *sajam evādā=svayam evātmā* (Pav.381,15). Sometimes even secondary anusvāra (§181) is transformed into *m* under this condition: AMg. *iham egesim āhiyam=ihaikeṣām āhitam* (Sūyag. 18); *sōccam idam=śrutvedam* (Āyār. 2,16,1; cf. § 587), *dissam āgajām=dyṣṭoāgatam* (Uttar. 695; cf. § 334), under the pressure of metre; AMg. *iham āgas=ihāgatah* (Ovav. § 38), *iham āgacchejjā=ihāgacchet* (Ovav. § 21), where, as the context shows, the accent lies on *iha*. The MSS., even in cases other than those cited above, very often write *m* instead of *ṁ*, which is considered as correct by JACOBI¹, and has been included in the text by all the publishers without any consequence and rule. Even the MSS., other than those of the Jainas, in Pkt., very often write *m* for *ṁ*, as stands very often in earlier European and many recent Indian editions. Thus pro ex. the ed. Bomb. (Karp. 6,4) writes *dhuvāgīdam ālaviadi*, KONOW 3,3, however, correctly has *dhuvāgīdam ālaviadi*; ed. Bomb. 20,8 has *cāruttanam avalambedi*, but KONOW 17,7 *caṅgattanaṁ avalambedi*; ed. Bomb. 25,2 *āsanam āsanam*, but KONOW 23,9 *āsanam āsanam* etc. As here, so in AMg. JM. too, we should review the writing *m* for *ṁ*, i.e. the MSS. are to be corrected. However, it only remains doubtful whether *m* is right or not, as particularly in strictly homogeneous words as admitted by JACOBI. The M^s.S. are not clear on the point. Sanskritism has its play also in *uparilikhitam ajātāye = uparilikhitam *adyatōya* (PG. 7,45) and in *sayam ānataṁ=svayam ājñaptam* (PG. 7,49), whilst *evamādikehi=evamādīkaiḥ* (PG. 6,34) may be interpreted as a compound. On *m* for *ṁ* HOFER²'s opinion is more correct than that of LASSEN³.

1. ZDMG. 35,677; Erz. § 24, xxx. Among the examples quoted by JACOBI, good many are from verses, hence incapable of verification, as *mukuttam aṁ* (Āyār. 1, 2,1,3); *īnam eva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4); *attānam eva* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), where *eva* should be deleted, as also after *saccam*, so that the verse reads: *saccam samabhiyāñāhi mehāvī māmam tarai*; *sattihāram evam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1) etc. A thoroughly doubtless Sanskritism is *tenam iti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4). The same holds goods for *m* as for *t* (§ 203).— 2. De Prakrita dialecto § 66. — 3. Inst. § 53.

§ 350. An ansvāra, that originated from original *n*, *m*, disappears often before vowels and consonants. M.AMg. JM. JS. *tammi*, *jammi*, *kammi*, AMg. *taṁsi*, *jaṁsi*, *kaṁsi=tasmin*, *jasmin*, *kasmin* (§ 425 ff.); M. *jōvvanammi = *yauvanasmin=yauwane*; AMg. *logaṁsi=loke*; JM. *tihujanammi=tribhuvane*; JS. *nānammi=jñāne* (§ 366^a): in the first person singular optative: M. *kuppejjā=kupyeyam*, in AMg. with lengthening of the final *hañejjā=hanyām*; even S. *kuppe*, from **kupyem=kupyeyam*, has the dropping off, (§ 460); in the absolute in **tōṇam*: AMg. *ciṭṭhittāna* (§ 583), *kāūāna* (§ 584); M. AMg. JM. *gantūna* (§ 586); JS. *kādūna* (§ 21,584); likewise for AMg. *-ccāna*, *-yāna* beside *-ccānaṁ*, *-yānaṁ* (§ 587,592). In the genitive plural the forms without anusvāra are dominant in M. (§ 370). They are found also in AMg. (§ 370), especially before enclitics, as *duhāna ja suhāna ja=duḥkhānām ca sukhānām ca* (Uttar. 626); *subhaddappamuhāna ja devīnaṁ=subhaddāpamuḥkhānām ca devīnām* (Ovav. § 40,47,56) against *subhaddappamuhānaṁ devīnaṁ* = (Ovav. § 43); *dasāṇha vi vaṭṭamānānaṁ=dasānām api vartamānānām* (Uvās. § 275). Further in JM., as **purisāna aṭṭhārasapagaibbhanānaṁ=purisānām aṣṭādasaparakṛtyabhyantarānām* (Āv. 12,44,45); *dōṇha *viruddhāna naravarindāna=doṇayor *viruddhayor naravarendrayoḥ* (Āv. 26,7); *savaṇāna=śravāṇayoḥ* (Erz. 2,13); *puttāna=putrānām* (Erz. 29,8), and in JS., as *saṅgāsattāna tadha [text taha] asaṅgānaṁ=saṅgāsaktānām tathāsaṅgānām* (Kattig. 398,304), *radānāna [text ra jā]*, *savvaṇa yāna riddhīna=rainānām, sarvadyotānām, rddhinām* (Kattig. 400,325); *disāna savvāna suppasiddhānaṁ=disān sarvāṇām suprasiddhānām* (Kattig. 401,342). In the last example and similar ones, where the forms with and without anusvāra stand beside one another (§ 370), as in

other analogous cases (§ 180), the forms will have to be written with ardhacandra in place of denasalization. To me it appears necessary, especially in places where in the texts at present there stands a denasalized form in the nominative and accusative singular on account of metre. Thus M. *ṇisasia varāā=ṇiṣvasitam varākyā* (H. 141) which is to be read as *ṇisasia varāā*, since the ardhacandra does not make position; AMg. *tajjā sam ca jahā; serajam=tvacā svām ca jahāti svairokam* (Sūyag. 118); *pāṇehi nam pāvā vijojananti=prāṇair nūnam pāpam vijojananti* (Sūyag. 278); *apṇe ve vā jūhanti=*apṇe *vācīm [=vācām] yūhanti* (Sūyag. 169); *vāsam vayam vittī pakappayāmo=varṣam vayam vrttim prakappayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 948); *taṁ isī tālayanti=tam ṛṣim tādayanti* (Uttar. 360); *taṁ jaṇā tālayanti* (Uttar. 365); *aṇṇam vā pupphā saccittam=anyod vā puṣpam sacittam* (Dasav. 622,39); *tilapiṭṭhā pūpipinnāgam=tilapiṭṭam pūtipiṇḍam* (Dasav. 623,7); AMg. *gaṇṇā gaṇcante=gogaṇam gaṇchan* (Mṛcch. 113,11); *khaṇṇā yūlake=kṣaṇam jūtakah* (Mṛcch. 136,15); *khaṇṇā uddhacūde=kṣaṇam ūrdhvacūdah* (Mṛcch. 136,16); A. *māim jāṇā mialoanī=mayā jñātām mṛgalocanīm; navatālī=navatāḍitam; puhaṇī, piā=prthivīm, priyām* (Vikr. 55,1,2,18). Likewise in all cases, where at present *m* is printed, but the metre requires a short syllable, as AMg. *abhirujja kāyā viharimsu ārusiyāṇā tattha himsimsu=abhirujja kāyā vyahārsur āruṣya tatrahimsiṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); AMg. *samvaccara sāhiyam māsam=samvatsaram sādhiyam māsam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3); AMg. *na vijjai bandhanā jassa kimci vi=na vidiyate bandhanam soṣya kiñcid api* (Āyār. 2,16,12). The same rules hold good also for the nasal vowel marked with bindu. So are found in M. AMg JM. JŚ. A. in the instrumental plural the *m* in *-him, -hī, -hi* beside one another (§ 180,368), and in AMg. M. the denasalized form is used before enclitics. So AMg. *kāmehi* [text *him*] *ja samthavehi ja=kāmaīs ca samstavaīs ca* (Sūyag. 105); AMg. *hatthehim pāehi ja=hastābhyām pādābhyām ca* (Sūyag. 292); AMg. *bahūhim dīmbhaehi ja=dīmbhiyāhi ja dāraehi ja dāriyāhi ja kumārehi ja kumāriyāhi ja saddhim* (Nāyādh. 431,1407); AMg. *pariyaṇaṇaṇaramahiliyāhim saddhim=pariyananagaramahilikābhiḥ sadhrim* (Nāyādh. 449), but *pariyanamahilāhi ja saddhim* (Nāyādh. 426); AMg. *bahūhim āghavanāhi ja paṇṇavanāhi ja viṇṇavanāhi ja saṇṇavanāhi ja=bahvibhir ākhyāpanābhiīs ca prajñāpanābhiīs ca vijñāpanābhiīs ca samjñāpanābhiīs ca* (Nāyādh. 539; cf. Nāyādh. § 143; Uvās. § 222).

§ 351. A final *-am*=Pkt. *-am* becomes *u* in A. So in the accusative singular of the masculine and the nominative, accusative singular of the neuter of *a*-stems, in the genitive singular of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first person singular of the future of Parasmaipada, in the absolutive in original *tvīnam* and in isolated adverbs: *vaasu=vāyasam* (Hc. 4,352); *bharu=bharam* (Hc. 4,340,2); *hatthu=hastam* (Hc. 4,422,9); *vaṇavāsu=vaṇavāsam* (Erz. 3,22); *aṅgu=aṅgam* (Hc. 4,332,2); *dhaṇu=dhanam* (Kk. 272,35); *phalu=phalam* (Hc. 4,341,2); *mahu, majju=mahyam* (Hc. s. v. mā; mahu pro ex. also Vikr. 58,9; 59,13,14). *tujju=*tuhyam* (Hc. s. v. tu); *pāvīsu, karīsu, paīsīsu*=Pkt. *pāvissam karissam pāvissam=prāpyāmi, karīsyāmi, praveksyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4); *gampiṇu, gamēppīṇu=*gantvīnam, gamītvīnam; karēppīṇu=*karitvīnam; brōppīṇu=*brūtvīnam* (§ 588); *niccu=nityam* (Erz. 3,23); *ṇisaṅku=ṇiṣsaṅkam* (Hc. 4,396,1) *paramatthu=paramārtham* (Hc. 4,422,9); *samāṇu=samānam* (Hc. 4,418,3). So also *viṇu* (Hc. 426 and s.v.; Vikr. 71,7) from **viṇam=vinā* (§ 114). Also in Dh. *-am* becomes *u*: *paḍimāṣṇu deulu=pratimāṣṇyam devakulam; ganthu=grantham; dasasavaṇṇu kallavattu=dasasavaṇṇam kalyavartam* (Mṛcch. 30,11; 31,16; 34,17); but very often beside it stands the accusative in *-am*: *samavisamam=samaviṣamam; kulam; deulam; jūdam; sapam suvaṇṇam; dasasavaṇṇam kallavattam* etc. (Mṛcch.

30,8.9.12.18;32,8;34,12). Also in A. of Piṅgala and Kālidāsa the form in *-am* and *-ā* is dominant.

§ 352. Final *-kam* of Skt. becomes *-um*, *-ū* in A. So in the nom. acc. sing. neuter of the *a*-stems, in the nomin. sing. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first pers. sing. of the indic. pres. and in certain adverbs: *hiṇḍaū=hrdayakam* (Hc.4,350.2 and s v); *rūḍaū=rūpa-kam*; *kuḍambaū=kuṭumbakam* (Hc.4,419.1.422,14); *haṇḍ=ahakam* (Hc.4,375 and s. v.); *tuhū=tvakam* (§ 206); *jāṇaū=janakam=jānāmi*; *jivaū=jivāmi*; *cajaū=tyajāmi* (§ 454); *maṇḍaū=JM. maṇḍagām* (§ 114)=Skt. **manākam=manāk* Hc. 4,418.426); *sahuṁ saḥū=sākām* (§ 206). Further in the infinitively used nouns in original *-kam*, as *akkhaṇaū=ākhyānakam* (§ 579) and in *ehaū=esa-kam* in the meaning of *etad* (Hc. 4,362).

V. SANDHI CONSONANTS.

§ 353. The consorants, that were originally authorized to stand finally in Skt. as sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, are employed dialectically in Pkt. too, as in Pālī, whereby the cases mentioned in § 341. 343.348.349 spring forth. Especially frequently *m* is so employed: AMg. *anna-m-anna°=anyonya°* (Āyār. 2,14,1; Uttar. 402; Vivāhap. 105 106); *anna-m-anno* (Āyār. 2,14,1), *anna-m-annam* (Āyār. 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 630; Paṇhāv. 231; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 402; Kappas. § 46), *anna-m-annanam* (Vivāhap. 123; Kappas. § 72; Nirayāv. § 11), *anna-m-annāe* (Vivāhap. 931), *anna-m-annassa* (Āyār. 2,5,2,2.3.5;2,8,6,2; Vivāhap. 187.508.928; Uvās § 79; Thān. 287; Nirayāv. § 18; Ovav. § 38.89), *anna-m-annehim* (Sūyag. 633.635; Nirayāv. § 27), *anna-m-annānam* (Vivāgas. 74); JŚ. *anna-m-annehim* (Pav. 384,47). Whilst in Vedic *any-ānya*, M. *annanā*, JM. *annanna* (§ 130) the stem stands in the first member, in Skt. *anyonya*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *anṇo nṇa* (§ 84) the nominative is benumbed, it is the case in AMg. JŚ. with the accus., so that *m* is here originally authorized. The same holds good for M. AMg. A. *ēkka-m-ēkka*, AMg. *ega-m-ega=ekaika*, M. *ēkka-m-ēkka°* (R. 5,85.87;13,87); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkam* (Hc. 3,1; R.5,48;8,32); AMg. *ega-m-egam* (Sūyag. 948.950; Nāyādh. § 125); A. *ēkka-m-ēkkaū* (Hc. 4,422,6); *ēkka-m-ēkkeṇa* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *ega-m-egāe* (Vivāhap. 224; Nāyādh. § 125); M. AMg. *ēkka-m-ēkkassu* (H.416.517; Śak. 101,14; Uttar. 401); AMg. *ega-m-egassa* (Thān. 456; Vivāhap. 215.222); M. *ēkka-m-ēkke* (R.3,56); AMg. *ega-m-egamsi* (Vivāgas.50; Vivāhap.1043ff. 1191); AMg. *ega-m-ege* (Vivāhap. 214); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkā* (R. 7,59; 10,41).—Sandhi-consonant is *m* in: *aṅga-m-aṅgammī=aṅge* 'ṅge (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *virāiyaṅga-m-aṅge=virājitāṅgāṅgāh*, *ujjorīyaṅga-m-aṅge=uḍḍyotitāṅgāṅgāh* (Ovav. § 11.16), *haṭṭhatuṭṭhacitta-m-aṇandiya=hr̥statuṣṭacittānandita* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 17; Kappas. § 5.15; Bhag. 2,260), beside *°cittie aṇandiye* (Kappas. 50). Often before *ādi*: AMg. *haja-m-āi gona-m-āi gaja-m-āi siha-m-āiṇo=hayādayo gavādayo gajādayaḥ siṁhādayaḥ* (Uttar. 1075); AMg. *sugandhateḷla-m-āiehim=sugandhataḷḷadikāih* (Kappas. § 60); AMg. *candana-m-ādiehim* (Uvās. § 29); AMg. *°rayana-m-āieṇam=°rainādikena* (Kappas. § 90; cf. § 112; Ovav. § 23); AMg. *āhāra-m-āiṇi* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *paṇḍulasuṇa-m-āihim* (Āv. 40,18); JM. *kāmadheṇu-m-āiṇa*, *logapāla-m-āiṇam* (Kk 270,29;275,37); JŚ. *rūva-m-āiṇi=rūpāḍini* (Pav. 384,48). Other examples are: AMg. *ārīya-m-aṇariyāṇam* (Samav.98; Ovav. § 56); AMg. *sārassaja-m-āicoā=sārasvatādityau* (Thān.516); AMg. *esa-m-aṭṭhe=eso°rihaḥ* (Vivāhap.193; Nāyādh. § 29; Ovav. § 90; Kappas. § 13), *esa-m-āghāo=esa āghātaḥ* (Dasav. 625,39), *esa-m-aggi=eso°gniḥ* (Uttar. 282), *eja-m-aṭṭhassa* (Nirayāv. § 8), *ājāre-m-aṭṭhā=ācārārthāt* (Dasav.636,9),

lābha-m-aṭṭhio = *lā* 'hārthikah' (Dasav. 641,42); AMg. *savvajīna-m-anunnāa* = *sarvajinānujñāta* (Panhāv. 469.539); AMg. *vattiḥagandha-m-alamkāraṁ* (Sūyag. 183; Thān. 450; Dasav. 613,17); AMg. *tiyāṭṭhanna-m-aṇāga-yāṁ* = *aṭṭito-ṭṭannānāgātāni* (Sūyag. 470; cf. Vivāhap. 155; Dasav. 627,27); AMg. *dīha-m-addha* = *dirghādhvan* (Thān. 41.129.370 570; Sūyag. 787.789; Vivāhap. 38.39.848.1128.1225 f. 1290; Panhāv. 302.326; Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 464.1137); AMg. *atthāha-m-atāra-m-aporisīyaṁsi udayaṁsi* = **astāghātārāpauruṣīya udaya* (Nāyādh. 1113); AMg. *āukkhemassa-m-appaṇa* = *āyūhḥksemasyātmanah* (Āyār. 1,7,8,6); JM. *aṭṭhārasa-m-aggalesu* = *aṭṭhādaśārgalesu* (Kī. 19), *ūru-m-antare* (Āv.15,18); AMg. *pura-m-aggao ya* = *purato 'grataś ca* (Vivāhap.830). *y* and *r* are employed more rarely as saṁdhi-consonants. In AMg. *egāheṇa vā dūyāheṇa vā tiyāheṇa vā caūyāheṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,5,2,3,4) — cf. *egāham vā dūyāham vā tiyāham vā* (Jiv. 261.286.295). — *caūyāheṇa* = *caturāheṇa* might have been influenced by *dūyāheṇa* = *dvyāheṇa* and *tiyāheṇa* = *tryāheṇa*, as the lengthening of the vowel is explained through analogy after *egāheṇa*, *egāham*. AMg. *kiṁ aṇeṇa bho-y-aṇeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3); AMg. *su-y-akkhāya* = *svākhyāta* (Sūyag. 590.594), beside *suakkhāya* (Sūyag. 603.620); AMg. *vejavi-y-āyarakkhe* = *vedavid ātmarakṣitaḥ* (Uttar. 453); *bahu-y-aṭṭhiya* = *bahuvasthika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5; cf., however, § 6, where excepting *y*); AMg. *mahu-y-āsava* = *madhvāsava* (Ovav. § 24); JM. *rāyā-y-u* = *rājā + u* (Āv. 8,1); JM. *du-y-aṅgula* = *dvyāṅgula* (Erz. 59,13). *r* is established etymologically in AMg. *vāhi-r-ivosahem* = *vyādhir ivausadhah* (Uttar. 918), *sīhi-r-iva* (Dasav. 633, 34), *vāyu-r-iva* (Sūyag. 758; Kappas. § 118), where *r* is the old ending of the nominative, therefore, *vahir ivo*^o, *sīhir iva* (so LEUMANN), *vāyur iva* (so JACOBI may be written. *r* is the saṁdhi-consonant after analogy in cases like AMg. *anu-r-āgayam* = *anvāgatam* (Vivāhap. 154)³; AMg. *du-r-aṅgula* = *dvyāṅgula* (Uttar. 767; commentary *duāṅgula*; cf. above JM. *dūyāṅgula*); AMg. JM. *dhi-r-atthu* = *dhig astu* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105; Nāyādh. 1152.1170 ff.; Uttar. 672.677; Dasav. 613,31; Dvār. 507,21). AMg. *su-r-aṇucara* = *svanucara* (Thān. 350) is built according to *duṇucara*, already cited above⁴, and reversely *duāikkham* (Thān. 349) would have been formed according to *suāikkham*, if the reading is correct.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 61 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 63; WINDISCH, BKS.GW. 1893, 228, ff.—2. The texts oscillate also in the following examples from AMg. between *nna*, and *ṇṇa*. — 3. Abhayadeva says: *rephasyāgamikavādd anvāgatam anurūpam āgamanam he skandaka taveti dṛṣyam*. — 4. Aṇhba adeva: *rephaḥ prākṛtatvāt*. Cf. BEZZENBERGER, BB. 4,340, note 2.

VI. TRANSPOSITION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 354. In certain cases, sometimes two syllables standing side by side are transposed and that without existence of any phonological ground: *airāhā* = *acirābhā* and *aiḥārā* (lightening; Deśin. 1,34). — *alacapura* = *acalapura* (Hc. 2,118). — *āṇāla* = *ālāna* (Vr. 4,29; Hc. 2,117; Kī. 2,117), *āṇālakhambha*, *āṇālakkhambha* = *ālānastambha* (Hc. 2,97). — *kaṇeru* = *kareṇu* (Vr. 4,28; Hc. 2,116; Kī. 2,119; Mk. fol. 38). The grammarians restrict the transposition to the feminine, which corresponds with Pāli¹. In AMg. *kareṇu* is used in the feminine (Nāyādh. 327.328.337.338; Uttar. 337.954), and in Ś. in the masculine (Pāiyāl. 9; Mālatīm. 203,4). So also JM. *kareṇujā* = *kareṇukā* (Pāiyāl. 9; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 68 transposition never takes place in Ś. — M. *ṇāḍāla*, M. AMg. JM. *ṇāḍāla* = *lalāṭa*, beside *ṇalāḍa*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*, Ś. *lalāḍa* (§ 260). — JM. *A. draha* = *hrada* (Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14; Āv. 42,27; Hc. 4,423,1), AMg. *daha* (Hc. 2,80.120; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,2; Aṇuog. 386; Paṇṇav. 80; Nāyādh. 508 ff.; Vivāhap. 119.361.659; Thān. 94), frequently also in compounds, as

kesariddaha, *tigicchaddaha* (Thāṇ 75,76), *paṇimaddaha*, *puṇḍariyaddaha* (Thāṇ. 75 ff.; Jiv. 582 f.); M. AMg. *mahaddaha* (H. 186; Thāṇ. 75,382); AMg. A. *mahāddaha* (Thāṇ. 176; Hc. 4,444,3), beside AMg. *harayā* with a separation vowel (§ 132). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *ḍihara* for **ḍiraha* (§ 132)² = *ḍirgha* (Hc. 2,171; G. H. R.; Karp. 43,11; Nandis. 377; Erz.; Uttarar. 125,6; Bālar. 235,15; Mallikām. 81,9; 123,15; 161,8; 198,17; 223,9; Hc. 4, 414,4). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo*=*upānahau*, *aṇovāhaṇaga*, *ḥya*, AMg. *chattovāhaṇa*, beside Ś. *uvāṇaha* (§141). — JM. Ś. A. *marahaṭṭha*=*mahārāṣṭra* (Hc. 1,69; 2,119; Kk.44; Bālar. 72,19; Piṅg. 1,91.116^a.140^a), M. *marahaṭṭhi* (Viddhaś. 25,2), beside *maradhī* (§ 67). — AMg. *rahasa* for **harassa*=*hrasva* (Thāṇ. 20.40.445.452), beside *hasa* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,4,2,10; Vivāhap. 38,39), *hassikarēnti* (Vivāhap. 126). The MSS. and texts more often have *hrassa* (Thāṇ. 119; Nandis. 377; WEBER, Bhag. 1,415). According to Bh. 4,15 one says *hamsa* as well (§ 74). — AMg. JM. A. *vāṇārasī*=*vārāṇasī* (Hc. 2,116; Antag. 63; Nāyadh. 508.787.791.1516.1528 [text *vārāṇasī*]; Nirayāv. 43 ff.; Pannav. 60; Thāṇ 544; Uttar. 742; Vivāgas. 136.148 f.; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Erz.; Piṅgala 1.73 [*vaṇarasi*; GOLDSCHMIDT *varaṇasī*]; Hc. 4,442,1). In Ś. stands *vārāṇasī* (Bālar. 307,13; Mallikām. 156,24; 161,17; 224,10), likewise in Mg. (Prab. 32,9), for which the ed. Bomb. 78,11 rightly reads *vālāṇasī*, which is to be corrected as *vālānaśī*. — *haliāra* beside *hariāla*=*haritāla* (Hc. 2,121). — *halua* beside *lahua*=*laghuka* (Hc. 2,122). — *hulāi* beside *luhaī* (wipes off; Hc. 4,105). For *luhaī* Vr. 8,67; Ki. 4,53 have *lubhaī*. Through this it becomes probable that *hulāi* may be equated as=**bhulāi*, and that it is identical with *hulāi* (throws; Hc. 4,143), to which might be connected *bhullāi* (falls down; Hc. 4,177), the passive, and JM. Ś. *bhulla* (forgotten; forgetfully; bewildered; Āv. 46,5; Karp. 113,1) the past passive participle³. — It is phonetically impossible to equate M. *iharā* (Pāiṇyāla. 241; G.), with the grammarians (Hc. 2,212; Mk. fol. 38) as=**itarathā*, and to explain it through transposition from **iarahā* with Mk. and WEBER⁴. Since in M. the MSS. mostly have *iarā* (H. 711; R. 11,26), *iharā*, as stated in § 212, will have originated from **itharatā*. According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *idaradhā*.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,116. — 2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,177. — 4. On Hāla 711.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

A. THE NOUN.

§ 355. Following the rule, that in Pkt. the consonants in the final position fall off (§ 339), the consonantal declension is almost entirely lost. Its numerous remnants are found only in the stems in *t*, *n*, *ś*, *s*, otherwise almost isolated in verses. So M. *vivaā*=*vīpadā* (Sukas. 33,7); AMg. *dhammavio*=*dharmavidaḥ* (nom. plur.; Sūṭyag. 43); AMg. *vāyā*=*vācā* (Dasav. 630,32; Uttar. 28); AMg. *vejavido*=*vedavidaḥ* (nom. plur. Uttar. 425). *āo* (water)=*āpaḥ* (Triv. in BB. 3,239) too is to be considered as a remnant of the consonantal declension. The neuter *āpas*, which is quoted by Ujġvaladatta on Unādisūtra 2,58 and is found in the texts, should be traced back to the nom. plural². In AMg. *āo* has become one masculine *āu* (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 1,61), likewise *teo*=*tejaḥ* has become *teu*, however, in the formula combination *āu teu vāu*=*āpas tejo vāyuḥ* the vowel has been arranged according to *u* of *vāu*=*vāyu*. Likewise *kāyasā* is said for *kāyena*, beside *maṇasā vāyasā*, and *balasā* for *balena* beside *sahasā* (§ 364) and others in details (§ 358. 364. 367. 375. 379. 386). So *āu teu vāu*

(Sūyag. 606; Samav. 228 [text *teo*]; Dasav. 614, 40 [text **u*] Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 13 [text *āo teo vāu*]); also *vāu teū āu* (Vivāgas. 50); *āu teū vā vāu* (Sūyag. 19); *āu teū ja tahā vāu ja* (Sūyag. 37); *āu agaṇi ja vāu* (Sūyag. 325); *puḍhavi āu gaṇi vāu* (Sūyag. 378); *āuteuvāuvaṇassaśarira* (Sūyag. 803); *āuteuvāuvaṇassaṇṇānavihāṇam* (Sūyag. 806); *āusarira teusarira vāusarira* (Sūyag. 792); *āuteuvāuvaṇassaī°* (Vivāhap. 430); *teuvāuvaṇassaī* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 3); *āukāya teukāya vāukāya* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 11; Samav. 17); *āukāya* (Vivāhap. 1439); *āukāiya teukāiya vāukāiya* (Vivāhap. 1438 f. [text mostly **ū*]); *Aṇuog. 260*; *Dasav. 614, 38*), *āukkāiya* (Jiv. 41); *āule'sse* (Vivāhap. 10); *āubahula* (Jiv. 226); *āujivā tahāgaṇi vāujivā* (Sūyag. 425; cf. Uttar. 1045. 1047); *teuphāsa=tejahsparsa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 7, 1; 1, 8, 3, 1); *teujiva* (Uttar. 1053); *teū vāu ja* (Uttar. 1052). The two words are used as wholly independent *u*-stems as well: nom. sing. *āū* (Sūyag. 332; Paṇṇav. 369³); nom. plur. *āū* (Thān. 82); gen. plur. *āūṇam* (Uttar. 1047), *teūṇam* (Uttar. 1055). In a non-technical sense *tejas* is treated in AMg. as the remnant of a neuter noun in *-as*.—From the nom. plur. *sarao=śaradaḥ* of *śarad* (autumn), in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A., a masc. sing. *saraa*, AMg. JM. *saraya*=Pāli *sarada*⁴ has been inferred (Vr. 4, 10, 18; Hc. 1, 18, 31; Ki. 2, 133; Mk. fol. 34; G.H.R.; Thān. 238. 527; Nāyadh. 916; Kk. 264, 6; Bālar. 127, 14; Hc. 4, 357, 2); likewise *diso* from *disaḥ* (Ki. 2, 131; in case the word is not to be read as *disā*). In other respects the treatment of the consonantal stem is a twofold one. In a small number of cases the word, after loss of the final consonant, is made end in the vowel preceding it and crosses over the vocalic declension corresponding to the gender, and in majority of words the stem is augmented by insertion of *-a* in the masculine and neuter, and of *-ā* or *-ī* in the feminine. See § 395 ff.

1. STENZLER, BB. 6, 84. — 2. So with WEBER, Bhag. 1, 397, note 2 and E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 67, more correctly than BB. 3, 240. — 3. Malayagiri on Paṇṇav. 369 remarks: *āū iti puṁlīṅgatā prākṛtalakṣaṇavastāḥ saṁskṛte tu sritvām eva*. — 4. So with CHILDERS, Dictionary s. v. more correctly than BB. 3, 240.

§ 356. The gender of Skt. has not always been preserved in Pkt. The oscillation has been partly produced through the rule of the final syllable. Thus in M. JM. the neuter in *-as*, in pursuance of the nomin. in *-o* (§ 345), is used in the masculine (Vr. 4, 18; Hc. 1, 32; Ki. 2, 133; Mk. fol. 35): *M. tuṅgō ccia hoi maṇo=tuṅgam eva bhavati manah* (Hc. 284); *esa saro=etat sarah* (G. 513); *khudḍo mahēndassa jaso=*kṣudītam mahāndrasya gaṣaḥ* (R. 1, 4); *aṇṇo aṇṇassa maṇo=anyad anyasya manah* (R. 3, 44); *māruḷad-dhatthāmo mahirao=māruḷatābhadhasthāma mahirajaḥ* (R. 4, 25); *tamālakasaṇo tamo=tamālakṣṇam tamah* (R. 10, 25); *tāriso a uro=tādṛśam corah* (Subhadrāh. 8, 3); JM. *bārasāiccodayāhio teo=dvādasāḍḍityodayāhitam tejah* (Erz. 26, 33); *taso kao=tapaḥ kṛtam* (Erz. 26, 35). *nabhas* and *śiras*, according to the grammarians (Vr. 4, 19; Hc. 1, 32; Ki. 2, 134; Mk. fol. 35), only as neuter, are used according to the *a*-declension: *M. ṇaṇam* (G. 451. 495. 1036; R. 4, 54; 5, 2. 6. 35. 43. 74 etc.); *M. siram* (R. 4, 56; 11, 36. 56. 132 etc.). In AMg. too the neuter nouns in *-as*, not rarely, are used as masculine, and then form the nomin. sing. in *-e* (§ 345): *māuṇye=mātrojaḥ* (Thān. 159); *tame=tamah* (Thān. 248); *tase=tapaḥ* (Samav. 26); *maṇe=manah* (Vivāhap. 1135 f.); *pejje=preyaḥ* (Ovav. § 56); *vacche=vakṣaḥ* (Uvās. § 94); *ee sojā=etāni srotāsi* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 2). AMg. *ajam=ayas* (Sūyag. 286); AMg. *sejam=śreyaḥ* (Hc. 1, 32; § 409); *vajam=vayas* (Hc. 1, 32), beside AMg. *vao* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3 in the verse); *sumanam=sumanah* (Hc. 1, 32). Ś. Mg. so form

almost exclusively (§ 407). In A. *maṇu* (Hc. 4,350.422,9) and *siru* (Hc. 4,445,3), phonetically rather=*manah*, *śiraḥ* (§ 346), may be equated as =**nanam*, **śiram* (§ 351). The voc. *ceu*=*cetaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,4^b; text *ceja*; v. l. *ceḍa*; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 528) speaks in support of -*aḥ*.

§ 357. Like the neuter nouns in -*as*, many neuter nouns in -*a* have dialectically become masculine in Pkt. This change has probably been produced from the nomin. accus. plur., which beside the endings -*āṇi*, -*āīm*, as in the Veda, have also the ending -*ā*, which is like that of the masculine (§367). So one says AMg. *tao thāṇāṇi* (Ṭhāp. 143), *tao thāṇāīm* (Ṭhāp. 158) and *tao thāṇā* (Ṭhāp. 163.165)=*triṇi sthānāni*. The nomin. sing. *thāṇe* may be inferred from the last form : AMg. *esa thāṇe aṇārie*=*etat sthānam anāryam* (Sūyag.736). Examples in AMg. are numerous beyond measure: *esa udagarajane*=*etat udakaratnam* (Nāyādh.1011); *uṭṭhāṇe kamme bale virie*=*uṭṭhānam karma balam vīryam* (Vivāhap. 171; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 73); *duvihe dāmsaṇe pannatte*=*dviividham darśanam prajñaptam* (Ṭhāp. 44); *marane*=*maranam* (Samav. 51.52); *mattae*=*mātrakam*, beside the plural *mattagāīm* (Kappas. S. § 56), and many others¹. In Āyār. 2 t 1,2,1,3 stand in the verse beside one another : *vao accai jōvvanam ca jivie*=*vayo 'ityeti yauvanam ca jivitam*. In AMg. sometimes the pronouns too are moved into the neuter in the masculine: AMg. *eyāvanti savvāvanti logaṇsi kammamārambhā*=*etāvantaḥ sarve karmasamārambhāḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); *āvanti ke jāvanti logaṇsi samaṇā ja māhaṇā ja*=*yāvantaḥ ke ca yāvanto loke śramaṇās ca brāhmaṇās ca* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; cf. 1,5,2,1,4); *yāīm tumāīm jāīm te janagā*=*yas tvam yau te janakau* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8); *yāīm* [§ 335.353] *bhikkhū*=*ye bhikkṣavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,1); *jāvanti vijjāpurisā savve te dukkhasambhavā*=*yāvanto 'vidyā puruṣāḥ sarve te duḥkhasambhavāḥ* (Utar. 215); *je garahi jā saṇijāṇappaogā ṇa tāṇi sevanti sudhīradhammā*=*ye garhitāḥ sanidānaprayogā ṇa tān sevante sudhīradharmāḥ* (Sūyag 504). So is explained *no in' atṭhe*, *no inam atṭhe* (§ 173) too; cf. also *se*, Mg. *se*=*tad* § 423. In JM. the predicate is generally of the neuter when it refers to persons of different genders : *tao sāgaracando kamalāmelā ja*.....*gahijāṇuvvayāṇi sāvagāṇi saṇvuttāṇi*=*tataḥ sāgaracandrah kamalāpīdā ca*.....*grhātānuvratāu śrāvakau saṇvuttāu* (Āv. 31,22), and previously (31,21) it is said about the same: *pacchā imāṇi bhoge bhuñjamāṇāṇi viharanti*=*pacād imau bhogān bhuñjāṇau viharataḥ*; *tāni* is used (Āv.38,1) with reference to *māyāpūṇam*=*mātāpitroh*; *tāṇi ammaṇijaro pucchijāṇi*=*tau ambāpitarau prṣṭau* (Erz. 37,29); *tāhe rāyā sā ja jayakatthimmi ārūdhāīm*=*tadā rājā sā ca jayakastinī ārūdhau* (Erz. 34,29); [*māyamañjariyā kumaro ca*] *niyāyabhavane gayāṇ sānandahi jayāīm*=*[madanamañjarikā kumārā ca] nijakabhavane gatau sānandahṛdayau* (Erz. 84,6). More exmples in JACOBI, Erz. p. LVI, § 80. Transition of the neuter *a*-stems to the masculine is frequent in Mg. too, in other dialects almost only sporadic. So Mg. *ese se daṣaṇāmake māi kaḷe*=*etat tad daṣaṇāmakam mayā kṛtam* (Mṛcch. 11,1); *āmalāṇāṇike vele*=*āmaraṇāṭikam vāram* (Mṛcch. 21,14); *duāḷae*=*dvārakam* (Mṛcch. 79,17); *pavahane*=*pravahanam* (Mṛcch. 96,22;97,19.20;99,2;100,20 etc.); *ese cīvale*=*etac cīvaram* (Mṛcch. 112,10); *śohide*=*sauhrdam* (Śak. 118,6); *bhoṇe sāmicide*=*bhojanam saṁcitam* (Venis. 33,3); *uspe luhile*=*usṇam rudhiram* (Venis. 33,12); *bhatte*=*bhaktam*, *ese se suvaṇṇake*=*etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mṛcch. 163, 19;165,7). In Ś. D. we find the following used in the masculine: *pavahane* (Mṛcch. 97,7; D.100,15) beside the more frequent *pavahanam*; in Ś. *pabhādo* (Mṛcch. 93,7) beside *pabhādam*=*prabhātam* (Mṛcch. 93.5.6); more often Ś. *hiao*=*hṛdayam*, particularly, when the heart is spoken of (Vikr. 22,21 [so with A. to be read]; 23,10; cf. 46,17.19; Ratn. 298,11.12; Mālatīm. 348,6 [so with v. l. to be read; Viddhaś. 97,10; Priyad. 20,2; Nāgān. 20,

13.15)². The dialect is not determined in *catto*=*cattram* (spindel; Deśin. 3,1). Cf. also § 360.

1. HOERNLE, *Uvās*, Translation, note 55. — 2. FISCHER, *De gr. Pr.* p. 5.

§ 358. According to the grammarians (Vr. 4.18; Hc.1,32; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35) the neuter in *-an* becomes masculine in *-a*: *kammo*=*karma*; *jammo*=*janma*; *nammo*=*narma*; *mammo*=*marma*; *vammo*=*varma*. Thus we have found PG *sammo*=*śarma*(7,46); AMg. *kamme*=*karma*(Sūyag.838.841 f. 844.848.854; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 51.73.166); Mg. *camme*=*carma* (Mṛcch. 79,9). In all the dialects, however, they, more frequently become neuter of *a*-stems¹, what is commanded by Mk. for *preman* and by Hc. for *dāman*. So M. *kammañ* (R. 14.46); M. Ś. *ṇāmañ* (H. 452.905; Vikr. 30,9); M. *dāmañ* (H. 172); M. *peṇmañ* (R. 11,88; Ratn. 299,18); M. *romañ* (R. 9,87); *cammañ sammañ* (Hc. 1,32). The masculine in *-iman* may become feminine, to which the nomin. in *-ā* gave rise: *esā garimā*, *mahimā*, *nillajjimā*, *dhuttimā* (Hc. 1,35; cf. Mk. fol. 35). So M. A. *candimā*=**candriman* (§103); AMg. *mahimāsu* (Thāp. 288). In the same way AMg. *addhā*=*adhvā* from *adhvan* (Ovav.); M. *umhā*=*ūsmā* from *uśman* (Bh. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; G. R.); JM. *vaṭṭā*=*varimā* from *vartman* (Deśin. 7,31; Erz. 6,30 34.35; cf. § 334); *seṃbhā*=*śleṣmā* from *śleṣman*(Mk. fol. 25; cf. § 267) have become feminine. AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthīni* (Samav. 102; Jiv. 621) is derived from the stem *sakthan* with a separation-vowel according to § 132, therefore, from **sakathan*, nomin. sing. **sakahā*. The Jains divide the year according to the old custom into the three seasons *grīṣma*, *varṣāḥ* and *hemanta*². As in other cases (§ 355.364.367.375.379.386), the gender and the number of *grīṣma* and *hemanta* have, in AMg., been regulated, when the season is to be indicated as such, according to the feminine plural *varṣāḥ*, as a sequence to the formulär combination. One says: *gimhāhi*=**grīṣmābhīḥ* (Sūyag. 166); *gimhāsu* = **grīṣmāsu* (Vivāhap. 465): *hemantagimhāsu* . . . *vāsāsu* (Kappas. S. § 55); *gimhāṇaṁ* (Āyār. 2,15.2.6.25; Nāyādh. 880; Kappas. § 2.96.120.150.159 etc.); *hemantāṇaṁ*(Āyār.2,15,22; Kappas. § 113.157.212.227). The neutral forms, which might have been contributed to, here as well(cf § 357), by the similarity of the ending *-ā*, are formed dialectically, not seldom, in the nomin. accus.plur. from the masculine in *-a*. So M.AMg. Ś. *guṇāim*=*guṇān* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35; G. 866; Sūyag. 157; Vivāhap. 508; Mṛcch. 37,14); M. *kaṇṇāim*=*kaṇṇau* (H. 805); M. *pavaāi*, *gaāim*, *turaāi*, *rakkhasāi*=*plavagān*, *gajān*, *turagān*, *rākṣasān* (R. 15,17)³; AMg. *paṣiṇāṇi*=*praśnān* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *paṣiṇāim* (Nāyādh. 301.577; Vivāhap. 151 973.978; Nandis. 471; Uvās. § 58 121.176), as already in Skt. *praśna* is neuter (Maitryupaniṣad 1,2); AMg. *māsāim*=*māsān* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *pāṇāim* (Āyār. 1,6 5.4; 1,7,2,1 ff.; 2,1,1,11; p. 132,6,22), *pāṇāni* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; p. 132,28) beside usual *pāṇe* (e. g. Āyār. 1,1,6 3; 1,3,1,3; 1,6,1,4)=*prāṇān*; AMg. *phāsāim* (Āyār. 1,4 3,2; 1,8,2,10,3,1; Sūyag. 297) beside *phāse* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3,3,2,5,1; 1,7,8,18) = *sparsān*. AMg. *rukkhāim* (Hc. 1,34), AMg. *rukkhāṇi*=*rukkṣān* (trees; Āyār. 2,3,2,15; cf. § 320); *devāim* (Hc. 1,34), *devāṇi* (C. 1,4)=*devāḥ*; JS. *ṇibandhāṇi*=*ṇibandhān* (Pav. 387,12); Mg. *dantāim*=*dantān* (Śak. 154,6), *goṇāim*=*gāḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,15; 132,16) beside the usual mascul. (§ 393). Hc. 1,34 mentions in the singular too *khaggaṁ* beside *khaggo*=*khaḍgah*; *maṇḍalaggaṁ* beside *maṇḍalaggo*=*maṇḍalāgrah*; *kararuhaṁ* beside *kararuho*=*kararuhah*, as reversely Mk. fol. 35 has *vaano* beside *vaapaṇaṁ*=*vadanam*; *naano* beside *naapaṇaṁ*=*nayanam*. Neutral plural forms of the masculine are found from *i*- and *u*-stems too: AMg. *sālīṇi vā viṭṭīṇi vā* = *sālīn vā viṭṭīn vā* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682), in dependence upon the following neuter: AMg. *uṭṭim*=*ṭṭūn*

(Kappas. § 114); *bindūim* (Hc 1,34; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *hetūim*=*hetūm* beside *paṣiṇāim* (Vivāhap. 151). Neuter forms from the feminine are seldomer. So AMg. *tayāni* (Āyār. 2,13,22; Nāyādh. 1137; Vivāhap. 908) from the singular *tayā* (Paṇṇav. 32; Vivāhap. 1308. 1529); cf. *tayā-pāṇae* (Vivāhap. 1255) and *tayāsuhae* (Kappas. § 60)=**toacā=tvak*; AMg. *pāujāim*=*pādukāh* (Nāyādh. 1484); Ś. *ricāim* from **ricā=rk* (Ratn. 302,11); AMg. *paṁtiyāni* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5) beside *paṁtiyāo* (Vivāhap. 361; Anuog. 386)=**paṁtikāh*; AMg. *bhamuhāim* (Āyār. 2,13,17) beside *bhamuhāu* (Jiv. 563)=**bhruvuke* (§ 124. 206); even AMg. *iṭṭhīni vā purisāni vā=striyo vā puruṣā vā* (Āyār. 2,11,18), probably to be comprehended in the meaning "something womanish", "something manly". *akṣi* may be used as feminine (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,33. 35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35), according to Hc. 1,33 also as masc. Hc. 1,35 teaches that the masculine nouns *añjali*, *kukṣi*, *granthi*, *nidhi*, *raśmi*, *vali*, *vidhi*, which have been included by him in the *gaṇa añālyādi*, may become feminine. So is explained AMg. *ayam aṭṭhī*, *ayam dahī*=*idam asthi*, *idam dadhi* (Sūyag. 594), the dative *aṭṭhīe* (§ 361), and so the nomin. *sappi=sarpih* (Sūyag. 291) and the nomin. *havi=havih* (Dasav. N. 648,9) too must be comprehended, in which the *s*-stem, after dropping off of *s*, have gone over to the *i*-declension. Cf. § 411, note. Beside *paṇho=praśnah* Pkt has *paṇhā* too (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35; Sr. fol. 14), which occurs in AMg. *paṇhāvāgarāṇāim* (Nandis. 471; Samav), the name of the 10. aṅga. In the v. l. to C. 3,6 *paṇham* too occurs; the plural AMg. *paṣiṇāim*, *paṣiṇāni* have been mentioned above. In the sense of *arśāmsi* AMg. has *amsiyāo*=**arśikāh* (Vivāhap. 1306). Beside *paṭṭha*, *piṭṭha*, *puṭṭha*=*prṣṭha* frequent are *paṭṭhī*, *piṭṭhī*, *puṭṭhī* (§ 53). The feminine *āsaṁsā* becomes M. Ś. *āsaṁgho* (§ 267); *prāvṛ* becomes in M. AMg. JM. Ś. a masculine *pāusa*=Pāli *pāvusa* (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,31; Kī. 2,131; Mk. fol. 35; G. H.; Nāyādh. 81.638 f. 644.192; Vivāhap. 798; Erz.; Vikr. 33,14); *taraṇi*, according to Hc. 1,31,2 used only as masculine⁴. On *diso=dik*, *sarao=sarad* see § 355, on the numerals 2—4 see § 436. 438. 439.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 151, note 2.—2. JACOB on Kalpas. § 2 p. 99.—3. It is not very certain whether these forms constitute a proof rather of the spurious nature of R. 15,16. 17, as presumed by S. GOLDSCHMIDT R. p. 318, note 9.—4. Cf. in general already FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 5 f.

§ 359. In A. the gender is more flexible than in the rest of the dialects, if not almost wholly irregular, as meant by Hc. 4,445. In verses, very often the gender is determined by the metre and the rhyme: *jo pāhāsi so lehi=yat prārthayase tal labhasva* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. Vikr. p. 530 f.); *maṭṭāim=mātrāh* (P. 1,51. 60. 83.127); *rehāim=rekhāh* (P. 1,52); *vikkamaṁ=vikramaḥ* (P. 1,56); *bhuape=bhuvanāni* (accus. ; P. 1,62b); *gāhassa=gāthāyāh* (P. 1,128); *sagaṇāi=sagaṇān* (P. 1,152); *kumbhaḥ=kumbhān* (Hc. 4,345); *anṭraḍi=antram* (Hc. 4,445,3); *dālaḥ* (Hc. 4,445,4), plural of *dālā* (branch; Pāṭyāl. 136; Deśin. 4,9, where *dālī*); however, AMg. too has *dāla* in *egamāsi rukkhadālayamāsi ṭhiccā* (Nāyādh. 492), and *dāla ga* (Āyār. 2,7,2,5); *khalāim=khalān* in rhyme with *raṇāim* (Hc. 4,334); *viguttāim=vigupitāh=vigopitāh* (Hc. 4,421,1); *niścintāḥ harināḥ=niścintā harināh* (Hc. 4,422,20); *amhāim* beside *amhe=asme* (Hc. 4,376).

§ 360. The dual, with the exception of the numerals *do=doau* and *duve*, *be=dve*, is completely lost. In its place the plural has entered both into the noun and the verb (Vr. 6,63; C. 2,12; Hc. 3,130; Kī. 3,5; Āv. 6,12), which is combined even with the numeral for 2 (§ 436.437). M. *balakeśa-vāṇam=balakeśavayoh* (G. 26), *hatthā tharatharanti=hattau tharatharāyete* (H. 165), *kaṇṇesu=kaṇṇayoh* (R. 5,65), *achāim=akṣiṇi* (G. 44); AMg. *janagā=janakau* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *pāhaṇao=upānahau* (Thāp. 359), *bhumagāo* *acchīni*, *kaṇṇā*, *uṭṭhā*, *aggahatthā*, *hatthesu*, *thaṇayā*, *jāṇūim*, *jaṅghāo*,

pāyā, *pāesu* = *bhruvau*, *akṣiṇī*, *karnau*, *oṣṭhau*, *agrahastau*, *hastayoḥ*, *stanakau*, *jānuni*, *jaṅghe*, *pādau*, *pādayoḥ* (Uvās § 94); JM. *hatihā*, *pāyā* = *hastau*, *pādau* (Āv. 6,14), *tanhāchuhāo* = *tiṣṇākṣudhau* (Dvār. 500,7), *do vi puttā jamalagā* = *dvāv api putrau yamalakau* (Erz. 1,8) *cittasambhūheṣi* = *cittasambhūtābhyām* (Erz. 1, 26); Ś. *māhavamaarandā āacchanti* = *mādhavamakarandāv āgacchataḥ* (Mālatim. 293,4), *rāmarāvāṇāṇam* = *rāmarāvāṇayoḥ* (Bālar. 260, 21), *sidārāmehiṃ* = *sītārāmābhyām* (Pras. 64,5), *sirisarassadiṇam* = *śrīsarassatyoḥ* (Viddhaś. 108,5); Mg. *lāmakaṇhāṇam* = *rāmākṣṇayoḥ* (Kāmsav. 48, 20), *amke vi . . . luhilām pīvamha* = *āvām api rudhiraṃ pīvāva* (Veṇis. 35, 21), *kalēṃha* = *karavāva* (Caṇḍak. 68, 15; 71,10); D. *candaṇṇavāraheṣiṃ* = *candanakavīrakābhyām* (Mṛcch. 105,8), *sumbhaṇisumbhe* = *sumbhaṇisumbhau* (Mṛcch. 105,22); A. *rāvaṇarāmāḥa*, *paṭṭaṇagāmāḥa* = *rāvaṇarāmāyoḥ*, *paṭṭanagrāmāyoḥ* (Hc. 4,407). In cases like Ś. *duve rukkhasecanake* = *dve rukṣasecanake* (Śak. 24,1) there is no dual, but the accus. plur. (§ 367^a) with a change of gender according to § 357¹.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto. p. 136 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 309; BOLLENSEN on Vīkr. 347; WEBER, IS. 14,280 f.

§ 361. According to Vr. 6,64; C. 2,13; Ki. 3,14; Sr. fol. 7; in a quotation in Āv. 6,12 in Pkt. the genitive occurs in the place of the dative. Hc. 3,132 teaches that Dative may stand when it expresses a purpose. The texts are in accord with him. A dative of the singular is found almost only in PG. M. AMg. JM., mostly in the case of the *a*-stems, as the dative of goal and purpose. PG. *ajātāe* = **adyatāyā* (7,45); *vāsasatasahasāya* = *varṣasatasahasrāyā* (7,48); M. *niṇvāraṇāa* = *niṇvāraṇāyā*, *āśāa* = *āyāsāyā*, *marāṇāa* = *marāṇāyā*, *harārāhaṇāa* = *harārādhanāyā*, *hāsāa* = *hāsāyā*, *gāravāa* = *gauravāyā*, *mohāa* = *mohāyā*, *apūṇāgamaṇāa* = *apūnarāgamanāyā* (G. 15. 90. 324. 325. 340. 869. 946. 1183); M. *vaṇāa* = *vanāyā* (Bālar. 156,14), *tāvapaṛikkhaṇāa* = *tāvapaṛikṣaṇāyā* (Karp. 52,3). H. and R. do not have the dative. AMg. *ahīyāya* = *ahīlāyā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *gaḥbhāya* = *garbhāyā* (Sūyag. 108); *aiṇvāyāya* = *atipālāyā* (Sūyag. 356); *tāṇāya* = *trāṇāyā* (Sūyag. 377); *kiḍāya* = *kūḍāyā* (Uttar. 201), all in verses. Generally the dative ends in AMg. JM. in *-āe* (§ 364) and it is so extraordinarily frequent in AMg.: *parivandanamāṇanapūjanāe* = *jāimarāṇamojanāe* = *parivandanamāṇanapūjanāyā* *jāimarāṇamocanāyā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,7); beside *tāṇāya* in verse, there stands in prose *tāṇāe* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4), and likewise in verse (Uttar. 217); *mūlatāe* *kandattāe* *kandhattāe* *tajattāe* *sālattāe* *pavālattāe* *pattattāe* *pupphattāe* *phalattāe* *bijattāe* *viṇṇanti* = *mūlatvāyā* *kandattvāyā* *kandhattvāyā* *vakattvāyā* *sālatvāyā* *pravālatvāyā* *puṣpatvāyā* *phalatvāyā* *bijattvāyā* *viṇṇante* (Sūyag. 806); *eyam ne peccabhave iḥabhave ja hiyāe suhāe khamāe nissejāsāe āṇugāmiyattāe bhavissai* = *etan naḥ pretyabhava iḥabhave ca hiṭāyā sukhāyā kṣamāyāi niḥśreyasāyānugāmikattvāyā bhaviṣyati* (Ovav. 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162) etc.; AMg. JM. *vahāe* = *vadhāyā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Vivāhap. 1254; Āv. 14,16; so to be read); *vahatṭhāyāe* = *vadhātṭhāyā* (Erz. 1,21); *hiyattihāe* = *hiṭārthāyā* (Āv. 25,26); *mam' atthāe* = *mamārthāyā* (Erz. 63,12). The dative is correct in Ś. Mg. in verses only, since these dialects otherwise have lost the dative even of the *a*-stems: Mg. *cārudattaviṇāśāa* = *cārudattavināśāyā* (Mṛcch. 133,4). Hc. 4,302 read with the Devanāgarī, Dravidian and Kashmirian recensions the dative also in Śak. 115,7; *sāmipāsādāa* = *svāmiprasādāyā*, where the Bengal recension has *sāmipāsādattam*. In Ś. Mg. all the good texts in prose always have the parāśring with *attham* = *arthan* and *ṇimittam* = *ṇimittam*¹. The dative stands in Ś. in prose falsely: *niṇvuddilāhāa* = *niṇvortilābhāyā* (Mālav. 33,14); *āsisāa* (!) = *āsiṣe* (Mālav. 70,13); *suhāa* = *sukhāyā* (Karp. 9,5; 35,6; 115,1); *asusamrakḥha-*

nāa=*asusaṃrakṣaṇāya* (Vṛṣabh. 51,11); *vibudhaviṣāa*=*vibudhaviṣayāya* (Vikr. 6,20); *tilodaadāpāa*=*tilodakadānāya* (Mṛcch. 327,4) *ceḍiāaccaṇāa* [text °āya=*ceḍikārcanāya* (Mukund. 17,12). Other examples from bad texts have been collected by BÖHTLINGK² and BOLLESEN³. In Rājaśekhara the scribe is not responsible for this (§ 22). Datives of even stems other than *a-* are found. So AMg. *apṛege accāe hananti apṛege ajināe vahanti apṛege mānsāe vahanti apṛege soṇijāe vahanti evaṃ hidajāe pittāe vasāe picchāe pucchāe vālāe siṅgāe viśāṇāe dantiāe dāḍhāe nahāe ṇhāruṇie aṭṭhīe aṭṭhiminjāe aṭṭhāe ṇaṭṭhāe* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676), where *accāe* from *accā* (body; bulk; commentary=*śarīram*), *vasāe*=*vasāyai*, *dāḍhāe*=*daṃṣṭrāyai*, *aṭṭhiminjāe*=*asthimajjāyai* are dative from the feminine in *-ā*, *ṇhāruṇie* is from a feminine **snāyuni* (§ 255), and *aṭṭhīe* is from the neuter *asthi*, used as a feminine (§ 358), the rest are from the masculine and neuter: *se na haṣṣāe na kiḍḍāe nu raṇie na vibhūsāe*=*sa na hāsyāya na krīḍāyai na ratyai na vibhūsāyai* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); JM. *kittividdhīe*=*kirtivṛddhaye* (KI. 20). So also falsely in Ś. *kajjasiddhīe*=*kāryasiddhaye* (Mālav. 56,13; Jivān. 21,7); *jadhāsamihidasiddhīe*=*yathāsamihitasiddhaye* (Viddhaś. 44,7). From consonantal stems sometimes in S. is found the dative *bhavade* in the "solemn greeting formula" ⁴ *soṭṭhi bhavade*=*svasti bhavate* (Mṛcch. 6,23; 77,17; Vikr. 81,15). But here we have a case of Sanskritization. It is to be written as *bhavado*, as CAPPELER, Rata 319,17 has done; cf. *soṭṭhi savvāṇaṃ* (Vikr. 83,8) and the v. l. to Vikr. 81,15. The Infinitives in *-ttae*, *-ittae* (§ 578) too are old dative.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 299; PISCHEL, BB. I, III ff.; on Hc. 3,132. Falsely HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 126 f.; BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 168 and Mālav. p. 233; WEBER, IS. 14, 290 ff.; BB. I, 343 f.—2. On Śak. 40, 18, p. 203.—3. On Mālav. p. 233.—4. WEBER, BB. I, 343.

§ 362. In the following paragraphs a paradigm has been provided for the purpose of better lucidity, of all the forms, that are found in the grammarians; but the cases, that have hitherto not been found in the texts, have been put inside angular brackets. For P. CP. the material is mostly wanting, as our all knowledge exclusively rests upon the grammarians. Cf. further KIELHORN, EI., 3, 313, note 10. PG. VG are especially built up. Unusual constructions, like AMg. *°saṃdhivālasaddhim saṃparivude* (Ovav. § 48, p. 55,11; Kappas. § 61), which, along with *saddhim*, is found more often in AMg. (Nāyādh. 574. 724. 1068. 1074. 1273. 1290. 1327; Ovav. § 55) do not come into consideration for the purpose of morphology. The forms, which are common to all or most of the dialects have not been specifically indicated, and less important dialects, like Ā. D. Dh., are not mentioned in the paradigm.

1) STEMS IN *-a*.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 363. Mascul. *putta*=*putra*.

Singular.

- N. *putto*; AMg. Mg. *putte*; AMg. in verses also *putto*; A. mostly *puttu*.
 Acc. *puttam*; A. *puttu*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. *putteṇa*, *putteṇaṃ*; JŚ. Ś. Mg. P. CP. *putteṇa*; A. *putteṇa*, *puttina*, *puttem*, *puttē*.
 Dat. M. *puttāa*; AMg. *puttāya* in verses, otherwise AMg. JM. *puttāe*; Mg. *puttāa* in verses.
 Abl. M. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*, *puttāhi*, *puttāhimto*, [*puttatto*]; AMg. JM. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*; JŚ. *puttādo*, *puttādu*, *puttā*; Ś. Mg. *puttādo*; P. CP. *puttāto*, *puttātu*; A. *puttahē*, *puttahu*.

- G. *puttassa*; Mg. *puttaśśa*, *puttāha*; A. *puttassu*, [*puttasu*], *puttahō*, °*ho*, *puttaha*.
 L. M. JM. JŚ. *puttammi*, *putte*; AMg. *puttaṃsi*, *puttammi*, *puttammi*, *putte*; Ś. P. CP. *putte*; Mg. *putte*, *puttāhim*; A. *putte*, *puttē*, *putti*, *puttāh*.
 V. *putta*; M. also *puttā*; AMg. *putta*, *puttā*, *putto*; Mg. *putta*, *putte*.

Plural.

- N. *puttā*; AMg. also *puttāo*; A. also *putta*.
 Acc. *putte*; M. AMg. A. also *puttā*; A. also *putta*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttehi*, °*him*, °*h*; Ś. Mg. *puttehim*; A. *puttahim*, °*h*, °*hi*, *puttehim*, °*h*, °*hi*.
 Abl. [*puttāsumto*, *puttesumto*, *puttāhimto*, *puttāhi*, *puttehi*, *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttatto*]; AMg. *puttehimto*, *puttehim*; JM. *puttehim*; A. *puttahū*.
 G. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttāna*, °*naṃ*, °*nā*; Ś. Mg. *puttānaṃ*; Mg. also [*puttāhā*]; A. *puttāhā*, *puttahā*, *puttānaṃ*.
 L. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttesu*, °*sum*, °*sū*; Ś. Mg. *puttesum*, (*puttesu*); A. *puttahū* (*puttehū*, *puttihi*).
 V. *puttā*; Mg. also *puttāho*; A. *puttahō*, °*ho*.

The neuter nouns are declined in the same manner, as *phala*, only nom. acc. sing. *phalaṃ*, A. *phalu*;

- Nom. acc. voc. plur. M. AMg. JM. *phalāim*, °*i*, °*i*; AMg. JM. also *phalāṇi*, *phalā*; JŚ *phalāṇi*; Ś. Mg. *phalāim*; A. as M., however, also *phalāi*.

In PG. there are found the following forms, to which are added the few sure ones from VG. with the courtesy of EI. 1, p. 2, note 2.

Singular.

- N. *mahārājādhiraṇṇo* 5,1; *bhāraddāyo* 5,2; *patibhāgo* 6,12; and so still nom. in -o; 6,14. 19-26. 29. 40; 7,44. 47.
 Acc. *parihāraṃ* 5,7; *vāṭaka[m]* *puvvaḍattam* 6,12. 28. 30—34. 36. 37 [may be also neuter].
 I. *madena* 6,40; *likhiteṇa* 7,51.
 D. *ajātāye* 7,45; *vāsaṭasahasassāya* 7,48.
 Abl. *kāmcipurā* 5,1.
 G. *kulagōttassa* 6,9; *sāsaṇassa* 6,10; and so also G. in -sa, -ssa; 6,12—26. 38. 50; VG. 101,1. 2. 7 [*devakulassa*]. 8.
 L. *visaye* 5,3; *cillarekakodumke* 6,12; and so also: 7,42.44.
 Neuter: Acc. *niṇṇaṇaṃ* 6,38; *vāraṇa[m]* 7,41; *uparilikhitam* 7,44; *āṇataṃ* 7,49.

Plural

- N. *patibhāgā* 6,13-18. 20-22; *addhikā*, *kolikā* 6,39; *gāmeyikā* *āyuttā* VG. 101,10.
 Acc. °*desādhikatādike*, *bhājake* 5,4; *vallave* *govallave* *amacce* *ārakhādhikate* *gumike* *tūthike* 5,5; and so also 5,6; 6,9; 7,43. 46.
 I. *evamādhikehi* 6,34; *parihārehi* 6,35; VG. 101,11; apparently °*him* is meant.
 G. *pallavāṇaṃ* VG. 101,2; *pallavāṇa* 5,2; *maṇusāṇa* 5,7; *vatthavāṇa* °*bamhaṇāṇaṃ* 6,8; *bhātukāṇa* 6,18; *bamhaṇāṇaṃ* 6,27. 30. 38; *paṃukhāṇaṃ* 6,27. 38 (where °*na*). Perhaps everywhere °*naṃ* is meant.

§ 364. On the declension of *a*-stems see Vr. 5,1-13; 11,10. 12. 13; C. 1,3. 5. 7. 8. 13-16; 2,10; Hc. 3,2-15; 4,263. 287. 299. 300. 321; 330-339. 342. 344-347; Ki. 3,1-16; 5,17. 21-25. 28—34. 78; Mk. fol. 41. 42. 68. 69. 75; Sr. fol. 5-9. In A. the bare stem is often used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plur., and in others too as *a*-stems (Hc. 4,344.345; Ki. 5,21). Since the final vowel is lengthened and shortened according to metre and

rhyme (§ 100), so the form of the nom. plur. often appears in the singular and vice-versa. So *phāṇihārā*, *visā*, *kandā*, *caṇḍā*, *kantā*=*phaṇihārah*, *viṣaḥ*, *kandah*, *candrah*, *kāntaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,81^a); *sialā*=*śītalah*, *daḍḍhā*=*dagdhah* in relation with *gharu*=*gr̥hah* (Hc. 4,343); *gaa*=*gajāḥ*, *gajān*, *gajānām* (Hc. 4,335. 418.3. 345); *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ* (Hc. 4,367). In other dialects too, in verses, the stem is occasionally used in lieu of a case. So AMg. *buddhaḥputta*=*buddhaḥputra* for *buddhaḥputto* (Uttar. 13); *pāṇajāi*=*prāṇajātayaḥ* for *pāṇajāto* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *pāvaya*=*pāvaka* for *pāvao* (Dasav. 634,5); Mg. *pañcayyana*=*pañcajanāḥ*, *gāma*=*grāmaḥ*; *caṇḍāla*=*caṇḍālāḥ*; *ṇala*=*naraḥ*; *śīla*=*śīrah* (Mr̥ch. 112,6—9). Instead of *śīla* Mk. fol. 75 reads *śīli* and he teaches thence, that in Mg. the nom. ends in *-e* and *-i*. Likewise Vr. 11,9, who too recognizes the stems as nominative. *śīli* stands for *śīle* according to § 85; likewise *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyah* (Mr̥ch. 43,6—9). On the ending *-o*, *-e*=*-aḥ* see § 345, on *-u*=*-aḥ* § 346, on A. *-u*=*-am* § 351. According to Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna, in Cāṇḍālī, the nom. sing. may end in *-o* too, beside in *-e*, *-i*: *eso puliṣo* (Mk. fol. 82).—In Nāgarāpabhraṁsa he teaches nom. sing. in *-o* too, beside that in *-u* (Mk fol. 79). In the instrumental singular, in AMg. several forms in *-sā* are found due to assimilation with the former I. of the *s*-stems. Thus particularly *kāyasā* from *kāya* in the combination *maṇasā vajasā kāyasā*=*maṇasā vacasā kāyena* (Āyār. p. 132,1; 133,5; Sūyag. 358. 428. 546; Vivāhap. 603 ff.; Thān. 118. 119. 187; Uttar. 248; Uvās. § 13-15; Dasav. 625,30), *kāyasā vajasā* (Uttar. 204); rarer is *maṇasā vajasā kāṇa* (Sūyag. 257) and *maṇasā kāyavakkenam* (Sūyag. 380; Uttar. 222. 752). Further *sahasā balasā*=*sahasā balena* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Thān. 368); *paṅgasā*=*prayogeṇa*, parallel with *visrasā* from *visra* (Vivāhap. 64.65). According to such cases are formed in verses: *niyamasā*=*niyameṇa* (Ovav. § 177); *jogasā*=*yogena* (Dasav. 631,1; Sūriyapannatti in the Verzeichniss 5,2,2,575,4); *bhayasā*=*bhayena* (Dasav. 629,37), except that a *s*-stem stands beside it Cf. § 355. 358. 367. 375. 379. 386. On M. AMg. JM. *putteṇam* see § 182, on A. *putteṇa* § 128, *puttem* § 146. The dative in *-āe* in PG. AMg. JM. (§ 361) cannot be traced back to Skt. *-āya*, which remains in PG. and becomes *āya* in AMg. and *-āa* in M. (§ 361). AMg. *sāgapāgāe* (Sūyag. 247. 249) phonetically corresponds to one **śākapākāyai*, that is to say to the dative of a feminine. In AMg. this dative is especially frequent from the abstract neuter in *-tta*=*-tva*, as *itthittāe purisattāe napumsagattāe* (Sūyag. 817); *devattāe*=*devatvāya* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Samav. 8. 10. 16; Uvās.; Ovav.); *rukkhattāe*=*rukṣatvāya* (Sūyag. 792. 803); *goṇattāe*=*gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51); *haṁsattāe*=*haṁsatvāya* (Vivāgas. 241); *nerāyattāe*, *dāriyattāe*, *mayūratāe*=*nairayikatvāya*, *dārikātvāya*, *mayūratvāya* (Vivāgas. 244); *aṭṭhicammaccirattāe*=*asthicarmaśīratvāya* (Aṇutt. 12) etc.; cf. § 361. Beside these stand the datives of abstract feminine in *-tā*, like *paḍibhāṇayāe*=*pratiḥbhāṇatāyai*, *poṣaṇayāe*=*poṣaṇatāyai* (Sūyag. 676); *karaṇayāe*=*karaṇatāyai* (Vivāhap. 817. 1254; Uvās. § 113); *savaṇayāe*=*śravaṇatāyai* (Nāyādh. § 77. 137; Ovav. § 18.38). *puṇaḥpāṇayāe*=**puṇaḥpāṇatāyai* (Vivāhap. 1228; Nāyādh. § 137) etc. That the datives from feminine nouns, otherwise, frequently stand between the datives of the masc. and neut. nouns is shown by § 361. An influence therefore, through the feminine may be possible, and the AMg. *devattāe* may have its *tt* of the neuter *devatva* and the ending of the feminine *devatā* wrongly used with it. But the datives in *-āe*, even otherwise, from mascul. and neut. are so numerous that this explanation is impossible. It must be admitted that dialectically *-āi* too could be used as the ending of the mascul. and neut. *vahāi*=*vadhāya* (Hc. 3,132) should either be traced back to AMg. JM. *vahāe* (§ 361) according to § 85 in

case the verb would be found verses, or it is to be derived from the Avestā *yasnāi*, Greek ἱππῶνι=ἱππῶν-.

§ 365. Hc. 3,8 and Mk. fol. 41 show that for the abl. sing. in M. the forms in *-ādo*, *-ādu*, like *vacchādo*, *vacchādu*, which Kī 3,8 too has, are not to be deduced with Bhāmaha from Vr. 5,6. The author of R. who at R. 8,87 writes *rāmādo*, openly follows Bhāmaha, as in *udu=rdu* (§ 204). The usual form of the abl. sing. in M. AMg. JM. is in *-āo*=**ātah* (§ 69, 345). Beside it is found metri causa *-āu* too: M. *sisāu*=*śīrṣāt* (G. 37); *ṇaḥālāu*=*nabhastalāt* (H. 75); *raṇṇāu*=*aranyāt* (H. 287); AMg. *pāvāu*=*pāpāt* (Sūyag. 415) beside *pāvāo* (Sūyag. 110, 117); *dukkhāu*=*dukkhāt* (Uttar. 218). The abl. in *-du*, taught by Hc. 4,276 for Ś., belongs to JŚ. (§ 21), where *udayādu*=*udayāt* (Pav. 383,27), beside *anūdayādo* (Kattig. 399,309) and forms like *carittādo*=*carirāt* (Pav. 380,6), *ṇānādo*=*jñānāt* (Pav. 382,5), *viṣayādo*=*viṣayāt* (Pav. 382,6), *vasādo*=*vaśāt* (Kattig. 399, 311) are found. In Ś. Mg. the abl. always ends in *-do* (Kī. 5,79; Mk. fol. 68; § 69, 345). On forms with short *a*, as AMg. *lāṇao* see § 99. Not seldom in M. AMg. JM. is also the abl. in *-ā*=Skt. *-āt*. So M.: *vasā*=*vaśāt*, *bhā*=*bhayāt*, *guṇā*=*guṇāt*, *veā*=*vegāt*, *bhavanā*=*bhavanāt*, *dehataṇā*=**dehatvanāt*, *bhāruvahaṇāārā*=*bhārodvahanādarāt* (G. 24, 42, 84, 125, 242, 390, 716, 848, 854, 924.); *gharā*=*grhāt*, *balā*=*balāt* (H. 497,498); *airā*=*acirāt* (R. 3,15); *ṇacirā* (Bālar. 179,2); *miśā*=*miśāt*, *nivesā*=*niveśāt* (Karp. 12,8; 75,2); AMg. *marañā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3 2,1); *dukkhā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Uttar. 220); *kohā*, *māṇā*, *lobhā*=*krodhāt*, *mānāt*, *lobhāt* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1); *balā* (Sūyag. 287, 293; Uttar. 593); *ārambhā* (Sūyag. 104); *nāyaputtā* (Sūyag. 318); *bhayā*=*bhayāt*, *lābhā*, *mohā*, *pamāyā*=*pramādāt* (Uttar. 207, 251, 434, 627); *kohā*, *hāsā*, *lobhā*, *bhayā* (Uttar. 751; cf. Dasav. 615,28), mostly in verses; JM. *niyamā* (Kk. 259,6,18); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhā* (Dasav. 620,20; Erz.); JŚ. *niyamā* (Kattig. 400,328; 401,341). I have noted only *balā* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,22), only *kālaṇā* in Mg (Mṛcch. 152,7; cf. 145,17) from the critical texts. The MSS., however, have *kālaṇāe* for *kālaṇā*, the ed. Cal. Śak. 1792 p.324, 11 and GODBOLE, 413,1 correctly *kālaṇado*, as STENZLER too elsewhere reads (133,1; 140,14; 158,21; 165,7) Mk. fol. 69 permits *-ā* too in Ś, in addition, and quotes *kāraṇā* as an example. Frequent in M. is the abl. sing. in *-hi*: *mūlāhi*, *kuṣumāhi*, *gaṇāhi*, *varāhi*, *biāhi*=*bijāt* (G. 13 69,193,426,722; cf. yet 1094, 1131, 1164); *dūrāhi*, *hiāhi*=*hrdayāt*, *aṅgaṇāhi*, *nikkammāhi* *vi chēttāhi*=*niṣkarmano* *pi ksetrāt* (H. 50, 95, 120, 169; cf. yet 179, 429, 594, 665, 877, 934, 998); *raṇāhi*, *dhīrāhi*=*dhairyāt*, *dantujjoāhi*=*dantoddyotāt*, *paccakkhāhi*=*pratyakṣāt*, *ghaḍiāhi*=*ghaṭitāt*, *anuhāhi*=*anubhūlāt* (R. 3,2; 4,27; cf. still 4,45, 56; 6,14, 77; 7,57; 8,18; 11, 88; 12, 8, 11; 14, 20, 29; 15,50); *hiāhi* (Karp. 79, 12; v. l. *hiāu*); *daṇḍāhi*=*daṇḍāt* (Bālar. 178, 20; text against the metre **hiṃ*). In AMg. is found *piṭṭhāhi*=*prṣṭhāt* (Nāyādh. 958f), beside *piṭṭhāo* (938,964). Seldom is the abl. in *-hiṃto*: *kandalāhiṃto*=*kandalāt* (G. 5); *chēppāhiṃto*=*śēpāt* *hiāhiṃto*=*hrdayāt*, *raihārāhiṃto*=*raigrhāt* (H. 240, 451, 553); *mūlāhiṃto*=*mūlāt* (Karp. 38, 3); *rūāhiṃto*=*rūpāt* (Mudrār. 37,4). Rājasekhara employs the abl. in *-hi* and *-hiṃto* falsely in Ś. too: *candaseharāhi*=*candraśekharāt* (Bālar. 289,1; text **hiṃ*); *pāmarāhiṃto*=*pāmarāt*, *candāhiṃto*=*candrāt*, *jalāhiṃto*=*jalāt*, *tumhārisāhiṃto*=*yuṣmādrśāt* (Karp. 20,6; 53,6; 72,2; 93,9); *pādāhiṃto*=*pādāt*, *gamāgāmāhiṃto*=*gamāgamāt*, *thaṇahārāhiṃto*=*stanabharāt* (Viddhaś. 79,2; 82,4; 117,4). On the corresponding forms of pronouns see § 415 ff. The ending *-hi* is present in adverbs M. AMg. JM. in *alāhi*=*alam*¹ / Vr. 9,11; Hc. 2, 189; Kī. 4, 83 [text *aṇāhi*]; H. 127; Vivāhap. 813,965, 1229, 1254; T. 5,6 [text **hiṃ*], *-hiṃto* in AMg. *antohiṃto*=*antarāt* (§ 342) and *bāhiṃhiṃto*=*bāhiṣṭāt* (Thāṇ. 408). *uttarāhi* and *ḍakṣiṇāhi* (WHITNEY § 1100 c), the forms in *-hi* serve,

as noted by E. MÜLLER², as adverbs. Hence one may in *-hi*, neither with LASSEN³, search for on old ending *-bhi*, nor with WEBER⁴, a plural ending, above all *-him* is never found beside it. The ending *-himto* is, with LASSEN⁶, to be considered as having originated from *-bhis*, or more correctly from *-bhyas*, the ending of the abl. plur. + *tas*, the ending of the abl. sing.; and therefore, *-himto*, (Sr. fol 7) not *himto* is to be written. The *a* of the stem has the lengthening according to § 69. The abl. *vacchatto* (Hc. 3,8; Sr. fol.7), *rukhatto* corresponding to the form [*puttatto*] are double formations = *vrkṣāt + tas*, *rukṣāt + tas*. — For A. the forms found in the text are *vacchahē*, *vacchahu* = *vrkṣāt* (Hc. 4,336); *jalahu* = *jalāt* (Hc. 4,415). Kī.5,30 has beside *rucchahē* also *rucchādu* [text °*dū*] = *vrkṣāt*. With LASSEN⁷ it is to be read as *vacchahē*, *vacchādu*. The origin of the forms in *-hē*, *-hu* is obscure.

1. So rightly WEBER, H¹. p. 49, note 1. — 2. Beiträge p. 22. — 3. Inst. p. 303. — 4. H¹. p. 49. — 5. At Bālar. 178,20 °*him*, as mentioned, is against the metre, 289,1 has also a false reading. — 6. Inst. p. 310. — 7. Inst. p. 451.

§ 366. Corresponding to the rules of the grammarians (Vr. 11,12; Hc. 4,299) we find in Mg. in the gen. sing. the ending, beside *-śśa* = *-sya*, also *-ha* from *-sa* with lengthening of *a* of the stem (§ 63.264). In the examples with *-āha* quoted by Hc. from Śak. and Venis, the printed editions and manuscripts have *-āśśa* or variant readings¹. The genitive forms in *-aha* are : *kāmāha* = *kāmasya* (Mṛch. 10,24); *cāḷudattāha* = *cārudattasya* (Mṛch. 13,25; 100,20; 154,10; 164,2 4), beside *cāḷudattaśśa* (Mṛch. 79,15; 100,22); *niryādāmāṇāha*, *aniryādāmāṇāha* = *niryāṭayamāṇasya*, *a°*; *ekkāha* = *ekasya*; *avalāha* = *aparasya*; *ayyamitteāha* = *āryamaitreyasya*; *śālākāha* = *śyālākasya*, *śālilāha* = *śarirasya*; *cālittāha* = *cāritrasya* etc. (Mṛch. 21,13.14; 24,3; 32,4 5; 45,1; 112.10; 124,21). To it corresponds the genitive in *-ha* in A., as *kaṇṇāha* = *kanakasya*; *caṇḍālāha* = *caṇḍālasya*; *kavvāha* = *kāvvasya*; *phaṇindāha* = *phaṇindrasya*; *kaṇṭhāha* = *kaṇṭhasya*; *paāha* = *padasya* (Piṅgala 1,62.70 88b.104.109.117). The common form of the genitive singular in A. is that in *-ha*, mostly in *-hō* (Hc. 4,338; Kī. 5,31); *dullahāhō* = *durlabhāsyā*; *sāmiāhō* = *svāmikasya*, *kṛdantāhō* = *kṛtāntasya*; *kantāhō* = *kāntasya*; *sārahō* = *sāgarasya*; *tāhō* *virahāhō* *nāsantaāhō* = *tasya virahasya nasyataḥ* (Hc. 4,338. 340. 370. 379. 395,7. 419,6. 432). One *kantāhō* phonetically corresponds to one **kāntasyah*, that is to say a mixture of *a-* and consonantal declensions as in the nom. plur. in *āo* (§ 367). Beside the genitive in *-ssu* from *-ssa* = *-sya* (§ 106), as *parassu* = *parasya*; *suṇassu* = *suṇasya*; *khandhassu* = *skandhasya*; *tuttassu* = *tattvasya*; *kantassu* = *kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.440. 445,3), according to Hc. 4,338; Kī. 5,31 even the genitive in *-su* is used, as *rukksasu* (Kī. 3,31; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 451 *vacchasu*) in A. I can, probably accidentally, attest the form only in the pronouns (§ 425.427).

1. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,299.

§ 366^a. In the locative singular the forms in *-e* and those in *-mmi* = *-smin* (§ 313.350), quoted above from pronominal declensions (§ 313.350), often stand directly beside one another. So M. *mukke vi ṇaramāindattaṇṇammi* = *mukke ṇi naramṇgendratve* (G.10); *diṭṭhe sarisammī guṇe* = *diṭṭhe sadṛṣe guṇe* (H. 44); *ṇāṇipūrasacchahe jōvvaṇṇammi* = *nāṇipūrasadṛṣe yauvane* (H. 45); *suṇāha paṇṇammi gāme* = *suṇakapracure grāme* (H.138); *devāṭṭammi phale* = *daivāyatte phale* (H. 279); *hantavvaṇṇammi dahamuhe* = *hantavve daṣamukhe* (R. 3,3); *apūramāṇammi bhare* = *apūryamāṇe bhare* (R. 6,67); *gaammi paose* = *gate pradoṣe* (R. 11,1); *ṇāhaṇṇammi pahatthe* = *nihate prahaste* (R. 15,1); J.M. *pāḍaliputtammi puravare* (Āv. 8,1) and *pāḍaliputte nagarammi* (Āv. 12,40); *dullahālabhammi māṇuse jamme* = *durlabhalambhe mānuṣe janmani* (Āv. 12, 13); *kae kae vā vī kajjammi* = *krte kṛte vāpi kārye* (Āv. 12, 18); *cēṭṭammi ṇakkhatte viṇuhatthe* = *cāitre nakṣatre viduhaste* (Kī. 19); J.S. *tivihe pattammi* = *trividhe*

prāpte (Kattig. 402, 360; text °mhi; *accudammi sagge* = *acyute svarge* (Kattig. 404, 391; text °mhi). All the examples stand in verses. In prose in JM. the locative mostly is used, as *girinagare nagaer* (Āv. 9,12); *matthae* = *mastake* (Āv. 11,1); *puratthime disibhāe āramamajjhe* = **purastime digbhāga āramamadhe* (Āv. 13, 24), more seldom that in -mmi, -mimi as *raigharammi* = *ratigrhe* (Āv. 11, 13); *komuimahi-savammi* = *kaumudimahotsave* (Erz. 2, 7); *majjhammi* (Erz. 9,1); forms of both the types sometimes stand in prose beside one another, as *vijjanimmiyammi siyarattapadāyābhūsie pāsāe* = *vidyānirmite śitaraktapatakābhū-ṣite prāsāde* (Erz. 8,24). In verses both the forms are usable according to the metre, as *bharahammi* = *bharate*, *tihuyammi* = *tribhuvane*, *sisammi* = *śirṣe* (Āv. 7,22; 8,17; 12,24), and *guṇasilujjāne* = *guṇasilodyāne*, *avasāṇe*, *sihare* = *śikhare* (Āv. 7,24. 26. 36). In JŚ too both the locatives are current. In Kattig. several times the MS. writes -mhi instead of -mmi: *kālamhi* (399,321) against *kālammi* (400,322); *pattamhi* (402,360); *accudamhi* (404, 391); also in pronouns: *tamhi* = *tasmīn* (400,322) besi'e *tammi* in the same line and *jammhi* (399,322). This may simply be an error of handwriting. Pav. has only -mmi: *dāṇammi* (383, 69); *suhammi*, *asuhammi* (385, 61); *kāyacēttḥammi* (386,10; 387,18); *jīṇamadammhi* (386,11) etc. The same error occurs in Kattig. in *savvaṇhū* for the correct *savvaṇṇū* (Pav. 381,16i) = *sarvajñah* (398. 302. 303). Cf. § 436. — In AMg. the most usual form is that in -m̐si = -sm̐n (§ 74.313); *logam̐si* = *loke* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,3,1,1,2,1; 1,4, 2,3; 1,5,4,4; 1,6,2,3; 1,7,3,1; Sūyag. 213.380.381.463.465 etc.); *susāṇam̐si vā sunnāgārām̐si vā giriguhām̐si vā rukkhāmūlām̐si vā kumbhārāja yaṇam̐si vā* = *śma-śāne vā śūnyāgāre vā giriguhāyām vā rukṣamūle vā kumbhākārāyatane vā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1); *imām̐si dāragām̐si jāyām̐si samāṇam̐si* = *asmīn dārake jāte sati* (Thāp. 525; Vivāhap. 1275; cf. Vivāgas. 116). Forms in -mmi, -mimi are not rare: in verses: *samajammi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9; 2,16,9); *bambhammi ya kappammi ya* = *brāhme ca kalpe ca* (Āyār. p. 125,34); *dāhiṇammi pāsammhi* [sic] = *dakṣiṇe pāsāve* (Āyār. p. 128,20); *logam̐si* = *loke* (Sūyag. 136. 410); *saṃgāmammi* = *saṃgrāme* (Sūyag. 161); *āyām̐si* = *āyūm̐si* (Uttar. 196); *marañantammhi* = *marañānte* (Uttar. 207); *jalam̐si* = *jvalane* (Nāyādh. 1394). Later such forms stand even in prose, beside the loc. in -e, hardly rightly, as *dāruṇammi gimhe* (Nāyādh. 340); *utthiyammi sūre sahasarassimmi diṇajare tejasā jalante* = *utthite sūre sahasrarasmau dinakare tejasā jvalati* (Vivāhap. 169; Apuog. 60; Nāyādh. § 34; Kappas. § 59), and beside the loc. in -m̐si, as *gimhakālasamayam̐si jēttḥāmūlām̐si* = *grīṣmakālasamaye jyeṣṭhāmūlām̐si* (Ovav. § 82). The loc. in -e in the early prose, in comparison with that in -m̐si, is a little numerous: *harae* = *hrade* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); *viyāle* = *vikāle* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *lābhe sante* = *lābhe sati* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.); *paḍipāhe* = *prati-pathe*, *parakkame* = *parākrame* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3); *sapaḍiduvāre* = *svapratiduvāre* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5), more frequently in verses, as *loe* = *loke* (Āyār. 1,8,4,14; 2,16,9; Uttar. 22,109); *laddhe piṇḍe* = *labdhe piṇḍe* (Āyār. 1,8,4,13); *ārāmā-gāre*, *nagare*, *susāṇe*, *rukkhamūle* (Āyār. 1,8,2,3); *marañante* (Uttar. 213); *dharanitale* (Sūyag. 296), also beside the loc. in -m̐si and -mmi, as *sisiram̐si addhapadivanne* = *śiṣire arāhapratipanne* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 21); *samsāram̐si anantage* (Uttar. 215. 222); *pattammhi āese* = *prāpta ādeṣe* (Uttar. 227). In the later prose they stand also beside the loc. in -m̐si, as *tam̐si tārisagam̐si vāsagharām̐si abbhincrao sacittakamme bāhirao dūmiya-gaḥṭṭhamatṭhe* is followed still by seven loc. in -e — *tam̐si tārisagam̐si sajanijjam̐si sālinganavattie* is followed eight loc. in -e — *puvvarattāvarat-takālasamayam̐si* (Kappas. § 32). Dialectically the loc. in -him from -ssim are also found (§ 65.264); Mg. *evamvaddakāhim gullakkappamāṇāhim kulā-him* = *evamvadrake galvarkappamāṇe kule* (Mṛcch. 126, 9); Mg. *pavahanā-*

*hiñi*²=*pravahane* (Mṛcch. 119,23), are also found. In addition, the loc. is put also in *-hi* in A: *desahĩ*=*deše*; *gharahĩ*=*gr̥he* (Hc. 4,386.422,15); *hradahĩ*=*hrade*; *padhamahĩ*=*prathame*, beside *tiē pāe*=*ṛtiye pāde*; *samaṇṇahĩ*=*sama-pāde*; *sisahĩ*=*śīrse*; *antahĩ*=*ante*; *cittahĩ*=*citte*; *vamsahĩ*=*vamse* (Piṅgala 1,4^b.70.71.81^a.120.155^a;2,102). The loc. in prose ends in *-e* in Ś. and mostly in Mg., too, as for Ś. Mk. fol. 69 expressly remarks: Ś. *gehe*, *āvaṇe*=*āpaṇe* (Mṛcch. 3,9.14.15), *muhe*=*mukhe* (Śak. 35,10); Mg. *haste*; *vihave* *vihāḍide*=*vibhave* *vighaṭite* (Mṛcch. 21,12; 32,21); *śamale*=*samare* (Venis. 33,8). In verses in Mg. the loc. in *-mmi* too is found, sometimes beside that in *-e*: *caṇḍālātūlammī*=*caṇḍālakule*; *kūvammī*=*kūpe* (Mṛcch. 161,14;162,7); *śomammī* *gahammī*=*saumye grahe*; *sevīde* *apaścammī*=*sevite* *ṇṇathye* (Mudrār. 177,5; 257,2; cf ZDMG. 39,125.128). Rājasekhara errs here too against the dialect, since he uses the loc. in *-mmi* in prose also: *majjhammī* (Karp. 6,1), beside *majjhe* (Karp. 12,10;22,9); *kaṇvammī*=*kāṇye* (Karp. 16,8); *rāmammī* *rāme*; *śeḍusimantammī*=*śeḍusimante* (Bāla. 96,3;194,14). In Indian editions the loc. in *-mmi* is often found in Ś., which perhaps is not a fault of the MSS., but of the authors, who did not know to write Ś. correctly. Cf. e. g. Pras. 35,3; 39,2; 44,8.9; 45,5; 47,6; 113,8.12; 119,14.15; Karpas. 25,3; 37,6; Kāṁsav. 50.2.14; Mallikām. 87,4; 88,23. Naturally the writings, such as *cāṇakammī akarūṇe* (Mudrār. 53,8); *hiṇaṇṇivisesammī jaṇe*=*hṛdayanirviseṣe jaṇe* (Viddhaś. 42,3), *gaṇchatammī deve* (Cait. 134,10), too are wholly false. In A. the loc. usually ends in *-i* from *-e*: *talī*=*tale*, *paṭṭhārī*=*prastare*; *andhārī*=*andhakāre*; *kārī*=*kare*; *mūlī* *viṇaṭṭhāi*=*mūle* *vināṣṭe*; *bārī*=*dvāre* (Hc. 4,334.344.349.354.427.436); sometimes it ends in *-e* too: *appīe* *diṭṭhāi*, *piē* *diṭṭhāi*=*apriye* **dr̥ṣṭake*, *priye* **dr̥ṣṭake*; *piē* *diṭṭhē*=*priye* *dr̥ṣṭe*; *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc. 4,365,1. 396,2).

1. So it is to be read; cf. Mṛcch. 139,23, the v.l. in GODABOLE 348,3 and in LASSEN, Inst. p. 430. — 2. So to be read with the ed. Calc. 1829 p. 227, 6 and ed. GODABOLE p. 331,8 according to the v. l.

§ 366^b. In the voc. sing. of the *a*-stem *pluti* is found frequently (§ 71). According to Hc. 3,38; Sr. fol. 5 the vocative of the masculine may end in *-e* too, beside in *-a*, *-ā*: *ajjo*=*ārya*; *devo*=*deva*; *khamāsamaṇo*=*kṣamāśramaṇa* (Hc.); *rukkeho*=*rukṣa*; *vaccho*=*vr̥kṣa* (Sr.). Such vocatives are found in AMg., and there they are used not only for the vocative singular, but also for the vocative plural of the masculine, so that probably they may not be considered as the nom. sing. of the masc. used as the vocative, specially when in AMg. in prose they end in *-e* always. The examples are: AMg. *ajjo*=*ārya* (Sūyag 1016; Uttar. 415; Vivāhap. 132.134; Kappas. Th. § 1.S. § 18.52); as plur. = *āryāḥ* (Thān. 146.147; Vivāhap. 132.188 f. 193.332; Uvās. § 119.174); *tāo*=*tāta* (Nāyādh. § 83.85.98); *devo*=*deva* (Nāyādh. § 38); *puriso*=*puruṣa* (Sūyag. 108); *amma jāo*=*ambātātau*, therefore, plur. (Antag. 61.62; Vivāhap. 804.805.808 ff. [oftener *ammatāo*]; Nāyādh. § 134.138.145; p. 260.862.887 etc.). Likewise one says in the feminine AMg. *JM. ammo*=*amba* (Hc. 3,41; Uvās. § 140; Āv. 13,33; 14,27); also used as the plur. of parents (Nāyādh. § 138; Uttar. 574). The example given by Hc., *ammo bhaṇāmi bhaṇīe* is H. 676, where WEBER and the Bombay edition read *bhaṇīe bhaṇāmi attā*; T. reads *attā bhaṇāmi bhaṇīe*; in Bhuvanapāla the strophe is wanting. Thus Hc. found *ammo* in M. too. Perhaps in the *o*, is inserted the particle *u*, which stands according to the lexicographers in addressing (*āmantraṇe*) and in calling from off (*sambodhane*). Against this, in AMg. *bhaṇīe*=*bhadanta*¹ (§ 165); Mg. *bhāve*=*bhāva* (Mṛcch. 10,22; 11,24; 12,3; 13,6.24; 14,10 etc.); *ceḍe*=*ceṭa* (Mṛcch. 21,25) beside *ceḍā* (Mṛcch.

118,1; 119,11. 21; 121,9; 122,9 etc.); *uvāśake*=*upāsaka* (Mṛcch. 114,7); *bhaṭṭake*=*bhaṭṭaka* (Śak. 114,5; 116,11); *lāutte*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 117,5); *putake*=*putraka* (Śak. 167,7)², the nomin. must be considered to have been used vocatively. Whether even in A. *bhamaru*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 368); *māhīharu*=*māhīdhara* (Vikr. 66,16) are to be taken as in the nomin. is doubtful, since in A. the final *a*, also elsewhere, becomes *u* (§ 106). The form in *-e* is used in Mg. as acc. sing. in *mama śīle śadakhāṇḍe kaleśi* = *mama śīrah śatakhāṇḍam karoṣi* (Mṛcch. 151,25). Other examples quoted by LASSEN³ have disappeared from the new edition. Cf. § 367^a. In Veniś. at 33,12 according to the ed. Calc., we should read *labbhadi* instead of *lambhai* in GRILL, so that *manśae*, *uṇhe* (read *usne*), *luhile* are nom. according to § 357.

1. This is the right explanation. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,155, note 3; FISCHER on Hc. 4,287. Wrongly E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, where further literature.—2. Misunderstood by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 28. See FISCHER, GGA, 1880, p. 326, — 3. Inst. p. 429.

§ 367. The masculine nom. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ā*=*āh*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *devā*=*devāh* (H. 355; Ovav. § 33; Erz. 4,31; Mṛcch. 3,13); JŚ *aṭṭhā*=*aṭṭhāh* (Pav. 382,26); Mg. *puṭiśā*=*puṇṣāh* (Lalitav. 565,13); CP. *saṃuddā*, *saṭṭā*=*saṃudrāh*, *saṭṭāh* (Hc. 4,326); D. *daḷkhiṇattā*=*dāḷkṣiṇātyāh* (Mṛcch. 103,5); Ā. *visaddhā*=*visaraddhāh* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *ghoḍā*=*ghoḍāh* (Hc. 4,330,4). In AMg. in verses the masc. nom. plur. is found in *-āo* too; *mānavāo*=*mānavāh* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Sūyag. 412); *tahāgayāo*=*tathāgatāh* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3); *hajyāo*=*hatāh* (Sūyag. 295); *samathāo*=*samarthāh*; *omarattāo*=*avamarātrāh*; *sisāo*=*śiṣyāh*; *āujivāo*=*abivāh* (Uttar. 755.768.794. 1045); *virattāo* [so the commentary; text *°āo*]=*viraktāh*; *sāgarāo*=*sāgarāh* (Uttar. 758.1000). Other cases yet Uttar. 698.895.1048.1049.1053. 1059.1061.1062.1064.1066.1071.1084. So also in M. or JM. *vaṇṇā*=*vaṇṇāh* in a grammatical citation in Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala. 1,2(p.3,5). Indian editions have these plural forms falsely in Ś.too, e.g. Dha. namjayav. 11,7 ff.; 14,9f.; Cait. 43,18ff. A tracing of the plur. in *-āo*, which is the rule in the case of the feminine in *ā* (§ 376) back to Vedic *-āsas*, hence the derivation of Pkt. *janāo* from Vedic *janāśas* is linguistically impossible. V. Mg. *bhaṭṭālākāho*, A. *loahō* (§ 377) are in direct continuation (§ 372). Pkt. shows that *-āsas* is to be explained from *ās+as*, that is to say, the ending *-as* of the consonant stem has supplemented the plur. of the *a*-stem. Pkt. *mānavāo* is, therefore, a double form¹, like the abl. sing. *vacchatto* (§ 365). In A. the ending *-ā* appears often shortened (§ 364): *gaa*=*gaṭṭāh*; *supurisa*=*supuruṣāh*; *bahua*=*bahukāh*; *kāara*=*kātarāh*; *meha*=*meghāh* (Hc. 4,335. 367. 376. 395,5; 419,6).—In the nom. acc. plur. of the neuter the most usual form is in *-im*, before which *a* is lengthened; beside it, in verses *-i* and *-i* are used (§ 180.182). On the forms *dhāṇānim*, *vaṇānim* taught by Ki. 3,28 see § 182. Vr. 5,26 teaches for M. *-i* only, C. 1,3 only *-ni*; Hc. 3,26 and Sr. fol. 17 teach *-i*, *-im*, *-ni*, Ki. 3,28; Mk. fol. 43 *-im* only. M. has *-im*, *-i*, *-i*; *naṇḍāim*=*nayanāni* (H. 5); *aṅgā* vi *piāim* (H. 40); *raaṇāi va garuagūṇasaai*=*ratnānīva gurukagūṇasaṭāni* (R. 2, 14). In AMg., already in the oldest texts, *-ni* too, beside *-im*, is quite usual: *pāṇāim bhūyāim jivāim sattāim*=*prāṇān bhūtāni jivāni sattvāni* (Āyār. 1,6,5,4; 1,7,2,1; 2,1, 1,11), beside *pāṇāni vā bhūyāni vā jivāni vā sattāni vā* (Āyār. p. 132,28); *udagapasiyāni kandaṇi vā mūlāni vā pattāni vā pupphāni vā phalāni vā biyāni vā hariyāni vā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,5). Often both the forms stand beside one another: *sē jīāim puṇa kulāim jānē jīā tam jahā uggakulāni vā bhogakulāni vā rāinnakulāni vā*...still follow nine compounds with *kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2) ; *agārāim cejiāim tam jahā āsaṇāni vā ājayaṇāni vā devakulāni vā*—yet follow

eleven forms in *āṇi*—*tahappagārāim āesaṇāṇi vā...bhavaṇagihāni vā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8); *aṇṇāni ya bahūni gabbhādāṇaṃmaṇa-m-āiyāim kouyāim* (Ovav. [§ 105]); *khēttāim* in the same verse with *khēttāni=kṣetrāni* (Uttar. 356). The form in *-ni*, as in JM.², especially before enclitics is selected. In verses the metre decides in AMg. too the choice between *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*. So in Uttar. 357 we should read *tāim tu khēttāi supāvayāim=tāni tu kṣetrāni supāpakāni*; Dasav. 619, 17 stands *pupphāi biyāim vipphāṇṇāi*; 621, 1 we should read *sattu-cuṇṇāim kolacūṇṇāi āvaṇe*. In JM. the situation is the same, as in AMg.: *pañca egūṇāim addāgāsājāim...pakkhittāim=pañcaikonāny *ādarpaśatāni...prakṣiptāni; nicchiddāim dārāim=nischidrāṇi dvārāni* (Āv. 17, 15, 19); *tāni vi pañca corasajāni...sambohiyāni pavvaijāni=tāny api pañca corasatāni...sambodhitāni pravrajitāni* (Āv. 19, 2); *bahūni vāsāni* (Erz. 34, 3), beside *bahūim vāsāim=bahūni varṣāni* (Erz. 34, 17). Writings, like *vaithābharaṇāni rājasantiyāim* (Erz. 52, 8) in prose, are probably not correct, even when both the forms often stand closely beside one another, as in *poṭṭāim āṇehi | tie rattagāṇi āṇiyāni* (Erz. 31, 8). In Ś, according to Vr. 12, 11; Kī. 5, 78; Mk. fol. 69, *-ni* too may be used beside *-im*. So stands *suhāni=sukhāni* (Śak. 99, 4) and *apaccaviṇṇesāni sattāni* (Śak. 154, 7) in most of the MSS.; for *vaṇṇāni=vacanāni* (Vikr. 87, 22) the best MSS. have *vaṇṇāim*, and so all the critical texts give in Ś. Mg, elsewhere, *-im*³ only. Dialectically nom. acc. plur. in *-ā* are often found beside those in *-im* or in *-ni*: AMg. *udagapasūjāni kandā ni vā mūlāni vā tayā pattā pupphā phalā biyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9); *bahusambhūyā vaṇaphalā* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 13, 14); *pāṇā ya taṇā ya biyā ya paṇagā ya hariyāni ya* (Kappas. S. § 55). The form of the following words might have influenced *tayā* = **tvacāḥ=tvacāḥ* in the second example (cf. however, *tayāni* too § 358), and *pāṇā* = *prāṇāḥ*, in the third example. In other cases, however, such a hypothesis is out of question: *māyjaṅgā=mātraṅgāni* (Thāp. 187); *thāṇā=sthānāni* (Thāp. 163, 165); *pañca kumbhakārāvaṇasayā=pañca kumbhakārāpaṇasatāni* (Uvās. § 184); *nahā=nakhāni, aharōṭṭhā uttarōṭṭhā=adharōṭṭhe uttarōṭṭhe* (Kappas. S. § 43); *cattāri lakkhāṇā, ālambaṇā=catvāri lakṣaṇāni, ālambanāni* (Ovav. p. 42 f.) JM. *pañca sayā piṇḍiyā* (Āv. 17, 1), beside *pañca pañca suvaṇṇasayāni* (Āv. 16, 30); Ś. *midhunā* (Mr̥ch. 71, 22), beside *midhunāim* (Mr̥ch. 71, 14); *jānavattā=yānapātrāni* (Mr̥ch. 72, 23; 73, 1); *virāḍā mae āsaṇā=viracitāni mayāsaṇāni* (Mr̥ch. 136, 6), beside *āsaṇāim* (Mr̥ch. 136, 3), and in Mg. (Mr̥ch. 137, 3); *duve piā uṇadā=dve priye upanate* (Vikr. 10, 3); *aṇurāsūā akkharā=anurāgasūcakāny akṣarāni* (Vikr. 26, 2). Hc. 1, 33 mentions *naaṇā=nayanāni; loaṇā=locanāni; vaṇā=vacanāni; dulekhā=duḥkhāni; bhāaṇā=bhājanāni*. He sees in them the masculine, which is definitely possible. The numerous neuter that have become masculine appear to me to suggest that the form in *-ā* is to be equated with the corresponding Vedic one, and that it has given cause for change of the gender. Before the endings *-im*, *-i*, a short vowel often appears in A.: *ahiulāi=ahikulāni; loaṇai jāisaraṇi=locanāni jātismaranāni; maṇorahāi=manorathāḥ; niccintāi harināi=niscinā harināḥ* (Hc. 4, 353. 365, 1. 414, 4. 422, 20).

1. That is probably already meant by LASSEN. Inst. p. 307.—2. JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxvi § 39. In AMg. the examples are frequent: I can not attest the rule from JM., so I too have listed a large number of forms in *-ni*. — 3. FISCHER, De Kālidāsa Śakuntali recensionibus p. 29 f.; KB. 8, 142. Falsely BOLLENSSEN, Mālavikā. p. 113 and preface p. ix.

§ 367^a. In the acc. plur. of the masculine usual in all the dialects is the ending *-e*, that has been extended from the pronominal declension¹. M. *carāṇe=carāṇau; ṇīaame, garuare=nīcatamān, gurukatarān*;

dose=*doṣān* (G. 24. 82. 887); *dosaguṇe*=*doṣaguṇau*; *pāe*=*pāḍau*; *sahatthe*=*svahastau* (H. 48.130.680); *dharanīhare*=*dharanīdharān*; *māhīhare*=*māhīdharān*; *bhinṇaade a garue taraṅgappahare*=*bhinṇatāṭāṃs ca gurukāṃs taraṅgapraharān* (R. 6,85.90;9,53); AMg. *samanamāhaṇaaihiḥkivaṇaṇimage*=*śramaṇabrāhmanā tithikṛpāṇavanīpakān* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9); *sāhie māse*=*sādhikān māsān* (Āyār. 1, 8,1,2,4.6); *ime ejārūve uāle kallāne sive dhanne maṅgalle sassirīe cōḍḍasa mahāsumiṇe*=*imān etadrūpān udārān kalyāṇāṇśivān dhanyān māṅgalyān sāsrikāṃs caturdaśa mahāsvapnān* (Kappas. § 3); JM. *bhoe*=*bhogān* (Āv. 8,24; 12,14. 20; Dvār. 495,7); *te nagaraloe jalaṇasambhamubbhantaḷoṇaṇe palāyamāne*=*tān nagaralokāṇ jvalanasambhramodbhṛāntalocanān palāyamānān* (Āv. 19,10); *te ya samāgae*=*tāṃs ca samāgatān* (Kk 263,22); JS. *sese puna titthayare sasavasid-dhe visuddhasabbhāve samaṇe ya* °*virijāyāre*=*śeṣān punas tīrthakarān sasarasiddhān viśuddhasadbhāvāṇ śramaṇāṃs ca* °*viriyācārān* (Pav. 379,2); *vividhe visae*=*vividhān viṣayān* (Pav. 384,49); Ś. *adikkantakusumasamāe vi rukkhāe*=*atīkrāntakusumasamayān api rukṣakān* (Śak. 10,2); *purā paḍiṇṇāde duve vare*=*purā prati-jñātau dvau varau* (Mahāv. 65,5); *dārake*=*dārakau* (Uttarar. 191,5); Mg. *avale*=*aparān* (Mṛcch. 118,14); *niapāṇe vihāve kule kalatte a*=*niapārāṇān vibhāvān kulāṇi kalātrāṇi ca* (Mudrār. 256,5)²; D. *sumbhaṇisumbhe*=*sumbhaṇisumbhau* (Mṛcch. 105,22). That the same ending is found in neuter too, as in AMg. *bahave jive*=*bahūni jīvāni* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *duve rukkhaseaṇake*=*dve rukṣaseca-nake* (Śak. 24,1); A. *bhuṇe*=*bhuvanāni* (Piṅgala 1,62^b), is explained from the change of gender described in § 356 ff. Dialectically we find also the acc. plur. of the masc. in -*ā=ān* (§ 89; Sr. fol. 6); M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, *nid-dhaṇā*=*nīrdhanān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6; Siṃhāsanaadv. in IS. 15,355 [so to be read]; Vetālap. p. 219, No. 17 ed. UHLE; on Hc. 2,12); *doṣā*=*doṣān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6); AMg. *rukkhā mahallā*=*rukṣān mahataḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,11. 12)³; *purisā*, *āsā*=*puruṣān*, *aśvān* (Nāyādh. 1378. 1388 f.); *bandhavā*=*bāndhavān* (Uttar. 576); *samphāsā*=*saṃsparsān* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); *uvassayā*=*upāśrayān* (Kappas. S. § 60); prosodically *guṇa*=*guṇān* (Dasav. 637,4) too. The form in -*ā*, -*a* is usual in A.; *saralā sāsa*=*saralāṇi svāsān*; *nirakkhaa gaa*=*nirakṣakān gajān*; *desadā*=*deśān*; *siddhatthā*=*siddhārthān* (Hc. 4,387,1. 418,3. 6. 423,3); *maṇḍa maṇḍakān*; *vipakkhā*=*vipakṣān*; *kuñjarā*=*kuñjarān*; *kavandhā*=*kabandhān* (Piṅgala 1,104^a. 117^a. 120^a; 2,230). The single remnant of an acc. with a nasal vowel would be *dālām*=*dārān* (Prab. 47,1=55^a,5 P.=58,16 M.), if the reading be correct. The ed. Bomb. 102,3 reads *lasiṇam dālāṇam* against grammar and prosody.

1. WEBER, H¹ p. 51; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,438.—2. The verse is to be read: *yā mahadha laḥkidum niapāṇe vihāve kule kalatte a* (HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,121). *kule* and *kalatte* may be construed also as the acc. sing. according to § 366^b.—3. It might be considered also as the acc. plur. of the neut. according to § 358. 367.

§ 368. The ins. plur. ends in all the dialects in -*ehim*=Vedic -*ebhis* (§ 72), which alternates with -*ehi*, -*ehi* in verses (§ 178) and with -*ehi* before enclitics in prose too in AMg. JM (§ 350): M. *amūlalahuehi sāsehim*=*amūlalahukaiḥ svāsaiḥ* (G. 23); *avahatthiasabbhāvehi dakkhiṇṇapabbhaṇiehim*=*apahastita-sabbhāvair dāksīṇyapabbhaṇitaiḥ* (H. 353); *kañcanaṣilāalehim chinnāḍavamaṇḍalehi*=*kāñcanaṣilātalaṣi chinnāṭapamaṇḍalaiḥ* (R. 9,55). Apparently in such cases we should read -*hi* for -*hi* (§ 178; cf. § 370). AMg. *tilaehim laṭṭehim chattovehim sirisehim sattavaṇṇehim*—still 19 instr. follow—=*tilakair lakucais* **chattropaiḥ śirīṣaiḥ saptaparnaiḥ* (Ovav. § 6); *santehim taccehim tahiehim sabbhūehim aṇiṭthe-him akaniehim appiehim amanuṇṇehim amanāmehim vāgaraṇehim*=*sabbhis* **iāttvais* (§ 281) *iathyaiḥ sadbhūtair aṇiṣṭair akāntair apriyair amanojñair* **amanāpair*

vyākaraṇaiḥ (Uvās. § 259); JM. *māyandamahuvindehim* = *mākandamadrukavṇ-daiḥ* (KĪ. 18); *vatthābharanehim* = *vastrābharanaiḥ* (Āv. 26,27); *tehim kumāre-him* = *taiḥ kumārāiḥ* (Āv. 30,9); JŚ. *vihavehim* = *vibhavaiḥ*; *sahassehīm* = *sahasraiḥ* (Pav. 380,6. 12); *maṇavajakāheim* = *manovacaḥkāyāiḥ* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *jaṇehim* = *janaiḥ* (Lalitav. 568,6; Mṛcch. 25,14); *jādasarkehim devehim* = *jāta-saṅkair devaiḥ* (Śak. 21,5); *bhamarasāṅghavihaḍidehim kusumēhim* = *bhramara-sāṅghaviḥḍitaiḥ kusumaiḥ* (Vikr. 21,9); Mg. *tattastehim* = *tatrasthaiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,20); *attanākelakehim pādehim* = *ātmīyābhyām pādābhyām* (Mṛcch. 13,9); *maścabandhanovāheim* = *matsyabandhanopāyāiḥ* (Śak. 114,2); Dh. *vippadivehim pādehim* = *vipratipābhyām pādābhyām*; A. *lakkhehi* = *lakṣaiḥ*; *sarehim*, *saravarehim*, *ujjāṇavaṇehim*, *nivasantehim*, *suanehim* = *śaraiḥ*, *sarovaraiḥ*, *udyānavanaiḥ*, *niva-sadbhiḥ*, *sujanaiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 422,11). The inst. in *-ahim* is frequent in A.: *guṇahi* = *guṇaiḥ*, *paḍarāhi* = *prakārāiḥ*; *savvahi* *pānthiahi* = *sarvaiḥ pathikāiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 367,5. +29,1); *khaggahi* = *khaḍgaiḥ*; *gaahi*, *turaahi*, *rahaḥi* = *gajaiḥ*, *turogaiḥ*, *rathaiḥ* (Piṅgala 1,7.145^a). On this, as well on the instr. in *-ehim*, *-ihim* see § 128.

§ 369. Of the numerous forms, that the grammarians permit for the abl. plur. we have hitherto been able to demonstrate only the abl. in *-ehimto*, that is very frequent in AMg. and is shown to have clearly originated from the ins. plur. + suffix *-tas*; while that in *-sumto* is shown to have arisen from the loc. plur. + suffix *-tus*; *tlehimto* = *tilebhyah* (Sūyag. 594); *maṇussehimto vā pañcindiyaṭirikkhajoṇiehimto vā puḍhaviḥkārehimto vā* = *manuṣyebhyo vā pañcendriyaṭiryagyoṇikebheyo vā pṛthivīkāyikebhyo vā* (Thāṇ. 58); *nerāiehimto vā tirikkhajoṇiehimto vā maṇussehimto vā devehimto vā* (Thāṇ. § 336; cf. Vivāhap. 1534 and elsewhere often); *sarisāiehimto rājakulehimto* = *sarśā-kebhyo rājakulebhyah* (Nāyādh. § 123); *kolaghariiehimto vāiehimto* = *kaulagrhikebhyo vrajebhyah* (Uvās. § 342.343). In cases like *therehimto naṁ godāsehimto kāsava-gōttehimto*; *chaluehimto rohaḡuttehimto kosiyaḡottehimto* etc. (Kappas.Th. § 5 ff.), the plural is to be considered as that of the sovereign. Beside it AMg. JM. have also an abl. in *-ehim* = Skt. *-ebhyah*, so that the ins. and the abl. have become identical. AMg. *°nāmadhejjiehim vimānehim oṇṇā* = *°nāmadhe-bhyo vimānebhyo °vaṭṭrāḥ* (Ovav. § 37); *sāehim sāehim gehehimto niggaḡchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo gr̥hebhyo nirgaḡchanti* (Kappas. § 66; cf. Nāyādh. 1048; Vivāhap. 187. 950. 943); *sāehim sāehim nagarehimto niggaḡchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo nagarebhyo nirgaḡchanti* (Nāyādh. 826); *gāratthehi ya savvehim sāhavo saṁjamuttarā* = *gr̥hasthebhyah ca sarvebhyah sād̥havaḥ saṁyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208); JM. *jharei romakūvehim seo* = *kṣarati romakūpebhyah svedaḥ* (Erz. 4,23; cf. JACOBI § 95). Cf. § 376. In A. the abl. ends in *-ahū*: *giriṣiṅgaḡhū* = *giriṣṅgebhyah*; *muhahū* = *mukhebhyah* (Hc. 4,337. 422,20); *rukknahum* = *rukṣebhyah* (KĪ. 5,29). *-hum*, *-hū* corresponds phonetically exactly to the ending *-bhyām* of the abl. dual. That it may be an abridgement of *-sumto* (LASSEN, Inst. p. 463) is wrong.

§ 370. The gen. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-āṇam* = Skt. *-ānām*. In M., however, the denasalised form in *-āṇa*, which is found in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, in AMg. particularly before enclitics (§ 350), but elsewhere too, as *gaṇāṇa majjhe* = *gaṇānām madhye* (Kappas. § 61 = Ovav. 48, p. 55,13 = Nāyādh. § 35), is almost the prevalent one. In places, where in M., both the forms stand beside each other, as *kuḍilāṇa pēmmāṇam* = *kuṭi-lānām premṇām* (H. 10), *maṇṇa oṇimillacchāṇam* = *mṛgāṇām avanimilitākṣāṇam* (R. 9,87), *sajjanāṇam pamhusiadasāṇa* = *sajjanānām vismṛtadaśāṇam* (G. 971), as in the analogous cases in the nom. acc. neut.; inst. loc. plur. we should for *-āṇa* read *-āṇa* (§ 178), which is pointed to by the metre as well in the example from R. Ś. Mg., except in verses, have only the form

in *-āṇam*. For Mg. Hc. 4,300 teaches also a gen. in *-āhā*. None of the MSS. writes this at the places referred to by him in Śak. (§ 178); the Lalitav too, which mostly agrees with Hc.'s rules, has the gen. in *-āṇam* only (565,14; 566,3.10.11). Against this *-āhā* and shortened *-ahā*, are the most usual endings in A., which go back to the pronominal ending *-sām*: *nivattāhā* = *nivṛttānām*; *soḥkhaḥ* = *saukhyānām*; *taṇahā* = *trāṇām*; *muk-kāhā* = *muktānām*; *mattahā* *maagalāhā* = *mattānām* *madakalānām*; *saṇṇāhā* = *śakunānām* (Hc. 4,332.339.370.406.445,4); *vaṇkakaḍakkhaḥ* *loṇahā* = *vakraḥaṭākṣayor locanayoḥ* (Verālap. p. 217, Nr. 13); *mahabbhaḍahā* = *mahābhaṭānām* (Kk. 261,5). According to C. 1,5, elsewhere the ending *-ham* too is found beside *-ṇam*: *devāham* beside *devāṇam*; *tāham* beside *tāṇam*. Hc. 4,301, who separates them from M., too has the rest of the examples in C. from *-ā*, *-n* and in the pronominal declension.

§ 371. In the loc., in M. AMg. JM. the principal form is in *-esu* = *-eṣu*, beside which sometimes *-esum* is found, as M. *sacandaneṣum āroviaro-nesu* (read *°sū*; § 370) = *sacandaneṣu āropitarocaneṣu* (G. 211); *vanesum* = *vaneṣu* (H. 77); in AMg., oftener in Nāyādh. § 61-63, beside the more frequent forms in *-su*, notwithstanding the MSS. and the ed. Calc. p. 106 ff. always being in accord, we should throughout read *°su*. In Ś. the texts partly have *-su* (Lalitav. 555,11.12; Mṛcch. 9,2; 24,25; 25,1; 37,23; 70,3; 71,17; 97,22; 100,2; etc.; Mālav. 19,12; 30,6; 611,19.20; 67,10; 75,1; Vikr. 35,6; 75,3.6), and partly *-sum* (Vikr. 23,13; 52,1.5.7¹; Śak. 9,12; 30,2; 50,11; 51,5; 53,9; 60,8; 64,2; 72,12 etc. in the Bengali recension, whilst the Kashmirian, Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions have *-su*). The Indian editions mostly have *-su*. In Mg. stands *pāeṣu* (Mṛcch. 19,6), but *pādeṣum* (121,20.22), beside *calaneṣu* (121,24) and *keṣeṣu* (122,22) in verses, Venis. has *keṣeṣu* (35,19), Mudrār. has *kammeṣu* = *karmasu* (191,9), and Prab. has *puliṣeṣu* (62,7). According to the analogy of the ins. and the gen., which always end in *-m*, for prose *-sum*, Mg. *-sum* will be more correct. In A. the loc. and the ins. have become identical: *saaḥi* = *śateṣu*; *maggahī* = *mārgeṣu*; *gaahī* = *gateṣu*; *kesahī* = *keṣeṣu*; *aṇṇahī* *taruarahī* = *anyeṣu taruareṣu* (Hc. 4,345.347.370,3.422,9). In Hc. 4,423,4 for *gavakkhehiṃ* we should read *gavakkhaḥi* and in 445,2 probably *duṇḍarahaḥi*. The instrumental stands in the sense of the loc. too in AMg. *jaganissiehiḥ bhūhehiṃ tasanāmelhiḥ thāvarehiṃ ca* | *no tesim ārabhe dandam* (Uttar. 248). Cf. 376.

1. Cf. FISCHER, De Kāl-dāsac ṣākuntali recensionibus p. 31.

§ 372. The vocative is similar to the nominative. In AMg. *ajjo* and *ammayāo* are used as the voc. plur. 100 (§ 366b). For the voc. plur. of Mg. Kī. 5,94 (cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 393) permits the ending *-hu* too, Mk. fol. 75 *-ho* with *a* of the stem lengthened before it: *bamhaṇāhu* = *brāhmaṇāḥ* (Kī. 5,97). This voc. occurs in *bhaṣṭālākāho*, as at Mṛcch. 165,1.5 instead of *bhaṣṭālākā ho* we should read. It is the usual one in A., where the ending mostly is *-hō*, without lengthening of *a* of the stem: *taruṇahō* = *taruṇāḥ*; *loahō* = *lokāḥ* (Hc. 4,346.350; 2.365,1). In A. the ending *-hō* comes after all the stems: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyaḥ* (Hc. 4,346); *aggihō* = *agnayaḥ*, *mahilāhō* = *mahilāḥ* (Kī. 5,20); *cadummuhahō* = *caturmukhāḥ*, *harihō* = *harayaḥ*, *taruhō* = *taravaḥ* (Sr. fol. 60 ff.). LASSEN, Inst. p. 399 has already rightly noticed, that in Mg. *-āhu* (*-āho*) the Vedic ending *-āsas* has continued. Since he wrongly referred the rule of Kī. on Mg. to the nom. plur., he separated, the A. form from that of Mg. at p. 463 and sought in *ho* the particle *ho*, as they had done till then also in Mṛcch. 165,1.5. In A. the endings of the *a*-stems have been extended to the rest of the vocalic stems too.—See § 105 on AMg. *ghimsu-*, *pāṇu-*, *pilamkhu-*, *manthumilakkhu-*, the nouns that have become *u*-stems.

§ 373. The declension of *a*-stems in PG.VG. (§ 363) agrees most faithfully with that in Ś. The dat. sing., which is not usual in Ś., alone is deviating; in PG. however, it appears in two forms, of which that in *-āye* is put in the dative in AMg. JM. (§ 361. 364), and the abl. sing., which ends in *-ā* here, but in Ś., almost always ends in *-ādo* (§ 365).

b) FEMININE IN *-ā*.

§ 374. *mālā* (garland).

Singular.

Nom. *mālā*.
 Acc. *mālām*.
 Ins. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, the other dialects only *mālāe*, A. *mālāē*.
 Dat. *mālāe*; only in AMg.
 Abl. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, [*mālāhimto*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, *mālatto*]; Ś. Mg. *mālādo* and *mālāe*; A. *mālāhē*.
 Gen. Loc. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, the rest of the dialects only *mālāe*; A.: gen. *mālāhē*, loc. [*mālāhī*].
 Voc. *mālē*, *mālā*.

Plural.

Nom. Acc. Voc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, *mālā*; Ś. Mg. *mālāo*, *mālā*.
 Ins. M. AMg. JM. *mālāhi*, *mālāhi*, *mālāhim*; Ś. Mg. *mālāhim*.
 Abl. M. AMg. *mālāhimto*, [*mālāsumto*, *mālāo*, *mālāu*]; A. *mālāhu*.
 Gen. M. AMg. JM. *mālāṇa*, *mālāṇū*, *mālāṇam*; Ś. Mg. *mālāṇam*; A.: [*mālāhu*].
 Loc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāsu*, *mālāsū*, *mālāsum*, Ś. Mg. *mālāsu*, *mālāsum*.
 In PG. are found the nom. sing. *paṭṭikā* (7,48. 51), *kaḍa tti=kṛteti* (7,51), and the acc. sing. (or plur.) *pilā bādhā=pīḍām bādhām* (or *pīḍā bādhāh*) (6,40), as well as the acc. sing. *śimam=śimām* (6,28).

§ 375. On the declension of the *ā*-stems cf. Vr. 5,19-23; C. 1,3,9. 10; Hc. 3,27. 29. 30 4,34-8,352; Ki. 3,7. 23. 25. 27; Mk. fol. 43; Sr. fol. 14 f. On the shortening of *ā* in the nom. sing. in A. see § 100. So also Mg. *sevīda=sevītā* (Mṛcch. 117,1). The instrumental, the genitive the locative, and according to the grammarians partly the ablative too, have become identical. The common form is *mālāe*=Skt. *mālāyai*, that is to say=the usual form of the gen. abl. in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas and known in the Avestā too¹. Sometimes in verses the forms in *-āe* and *-āi* stand side by side, as *pucchiāi muddhāe = prṣṭāyā mugdhāyāh* (H. 15). On metrical grounds, in M. the form in *-āi*, which is to be brought in throughout, where in the texts *-āē* may have to be read, is prevalent. The v. l. mostly has the correct reading *-āi*, as G. 44.46.56.65.71.212.222.243. 290.453 474.684.870.931.954. Some grammarians (Hc. 3,29; Ki. 3,27; Sr. fol. 14) teach a form in *-āa* too, which is forbidden by others (Vr. 5, 23; Mk. fol. 43). Such forms are found in M. as v. l. So: *joṇhāa=joyotsnayā*; *nevaccakalāa=nepathyakalayā*; *helāa=helayā*; *hariddāa=haridrāyāh*; *caṅgimāa=caṅgimatvena* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 31,1; 86,4; 53,9; 55,2; 71,4; 79,12). KONOW reads for them *joṇhāi*, *nevaccakalāi*, *helāi*, *haliddā*, *caṅgimāi* (29,1; 86,9; 51,2; 52,4; 69,3; 78,9). Some MSS. sometimes have *-āa*. Since G. H. R. does not otherwise know *-āa*, *tiadāa=trijaṭāyāh* (R. 11,100) and *niṣaṇṇāa=niṣaṇṇāyāh* (R. 10,101) are not to be accepted as doctior lectio, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, but as false for *āi*, as C. has. This *-āa* goes back to the abl. gen. Skt. *-āyāh*, so that *joṇhāa=joyotsnayāh*, of which the strictly corresponding form **joṇhāa* is forbidden by Vr. 5,23; Hc. 3,30; Sr. fol. 14. In A. *-āe* has been shortened to *-āē*: *ṇiddāē=nirdayā*; *candimāē=candri-*

mayā; uddāvantīae = *uddāpantīyā*; *mañjitthae* = *mañjīsthayā* (Hc. 4,330,2,349, 352,438,2).—On the dative in *-āe* in AMg. see § 361. 364.—Of the forms of the abl. sing. mentioned by the grammarians I can find in the texts only those in *-āo*, Ś. Mg. *-ādo* more often : AMg. *paratthimāo vā disāo āgeco aham amsi dāhināo vā disāo.. paccatthimāo.. uttarāo...uddhāo* = **purastimāto vā disā āgato 'ham asmi dukṣiṇāto vā disāh...* **pratyastimātaḥ...uttarātaḥ...ūrdhvaṭaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 2); *jibbhāo* = *jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 1); *siyāo* = *śibikātaḥ* (Nāyādh. 870.1097.1189.1354.1497); *chāyāo* = *chāyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 639); *aṭṭanasālāo* = *aṭṭanasālātaḥ* (Kappas. § 60; Ovav. § 48); *māyāo* = *māyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *sūnāo* = *sūnātaḥ* (Nirāyāv. § 10); Ś. *bubhukkhādo* = *bubhukṣātaḥ*, *dakkhiṇādo*, *vāmādo* = *dakṣiṇātaḥ*, *vāmātaḥ*; *padolikādo* = *pratolikātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 2,33; 9,9; 162,23; Mg. *lacchādo* = *rathyātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 158,13). Ablative in *-āe* (C. 1,19; Hc. 3,29; Śr. fol. 14) occurs in Ś. and Mg.: Ś. *imāe maatanhiāe* = *asyā mṛgatṛṣṇikāyāḥ* (Vikr. 17,1), which with BOLLENSEN cannot be comprehended as instr.; Mg. *ṣeyyāe* (text *ṣejjāe*) = *ṣayyāyāḥ* (Cait. 149,19).—The form *mālatto* follows from Hc. 3,124, and is taught explicitly by Triv. 2,2,34. It is an analogical formation from the masc. and neut. (§ 365). In A. the abl. sing. has become identical with the genitive. The ending *-he* corresponds to the pronominal ending *-syāḥ*, so that *tahe dhaṇahe* (Hc. 4,350) strictly is = *tasyā *dhanyasyāḥ* = *tasyā dhanyāyāḥ*². Hc. 4,350 comprehends *bālāhe*, so that *visamatthana* is to be taken as *bahuvrīhi*, is = “before the young woman with odd breasts”. Genitive are : *tucchamajjhahē*, *jampirahē*, *tucchaarahāsahe*, *alahantiahe*, *vammahanivāsahē*, *muddhaḍahē* = *tucchamadhyāyāḥ*, *jalpanaśilāyāḥ*, *tucchatarahāsyāyāḥ*, *alabhamānāyāḥ*, *manmathanivāsāyāḥ*, *mugdhāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,350); *tisahē* = *tṛṣāyāḥ*; *muṇāliahe* = *mṛṇālikāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,395,7. 444).—Examples for the loc. are: M. *dukkhuttarāi paavīe* = *dukkhottarāyām padavyām*; *gāmaracchāe* = *grāmarathyāyām* (H. 107. 419); AMg. *suhammāo sabhāe* = *sudharmāyām sabhāyām* (Kappas. § 14 and often); AMg. JM. *campāe* = *campāyām* (Ovav. § 2.11; Erz. 34,25); JM. *sayalāe naṇariē* = *sakalāyām nagariyām* (Dvār. 497,21); *ikkikkāe mehalāe* = *ekaikasyām mekhalāyām* (T. 5,11); Ś. *susamidhāe* = *susamiddhāyām*; *edāe padosavelāe* = *etasām pradoṣavelāyām*; *rukḥhanāḍāe* = *rukṣavāṭikāyām* (Mṛcch. 4,20; 9,10; 73,6,7); Mg. *andhaālapūlidāe nāśīe* = *andhakārapūritāyām nāśikāyām*; *padoliāe* = *pratolikāyām*; *suvaṇṇacoliāe* = *suvaṇṇacoricāyām* (Mṛcch. 14, 22; 163, 16; 165, 2). AMg. *giriguhaṃsi* for *giriguhāe* = *giriguhāyām* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1) has been determined through the loc. in *-msi* of the mascul. and neut. standing beside it. Cf. similar cases in § 355. 358. 364. 367. 379. 386. As a rule the vocative, as in Skt., ends in *-e*, a form that is known to Vr. 5, 28 alone; whilst Hc. 3, 41; Mk. fol. 44; Śr. fol. 14 permit even the nom. form in *-ā* as the vocative. Such vocatives in *-ā* are : M. *attā* (mother-in-law; Mk. fol. 44; H. 8, 469. 543. 553. 653. 676. 811); M. AMg. *piucchā* = *piṭṛvasaḥ* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Nāyādh. 1299. 1348), M. *māuā* = *mātṛke* (H.). *māucchā* = *mātṛvasaḥ* (Hc.; Mk.; H.); AMg. *jāyā* (Utar. 442), *puttā* = *putri* (Nāyādh. 633 f. 648 f. 655. 658), and the frequent M. Ś. *halā* (Hc. 2, 195; H.), in Ś., mostly joined with the vocative in *-e* of a proper noun, as *halā saṁtāle* (Śak. 9, 10); *halā aṇṇsūe* (Śak. 10, 12); *halā ṇomālie* (Lalitav. 560, 9; text *no*°); *halā cittālehe* (Vikr. 9, 3); *halā maṇṇie* (Ratn. 293, 29); *halā ṇiṇṇie* (Ratn. 297, 28) etc., or with proper nouns ending in an other vowel, as *halā uvvasi* (Vikr. 7, 17), or with adjectives, used substantively, as *halā apaṇḍide* (Priyad. 22, 7), in M. Ś. used as plur. too (H. 893. 901; Śak. 16, 10; 58, 9; Vikr. 6, 13; 7, 1; 11, 1; Karp. 108, 5). JM. has *hale* too (Hc. 2, 195; Erz.), which Ki. 5, 19 mentions as A., and which is found in A.

as *hali* (Hc. 4,332,2; 358,1). *Ś. amba* (mother; Śak. ed. BURKHARD 201, 19; 202,20; Ratn. 315,26; 327,6; Mahāv. 56,3; Mālatīm. 179,6; 225,4; Nāgān. 84,15; Anarghar. 310,1 etc. is by origin a particle according to LANMAN³ and BECHTEL⁴. In A. the final *-e* is shortened, as *sakhe* = **sakhike*; *ummē*; *bahinū* = *bhaginike* (Hc. 4,358,1.367,1.396,2 422,14), or it becomes *-i*, as in *hali*, mentioned above, and in *ammi*, *muddhi* = *mugdhe* (Hc. 4,395,5. 376,1). On AMg. JM. *ammo* see § 366^b.

1. FISCHER, BB. 6,281, note 3.—2. With LASSEN, Inst. p. 462, we may also consider it to be a case of transfer from the *a*-stems. — 3. Noun-Inflection p. 360. — 4. Hauptprobleme p. 265 f.

§ 376. In all the dialects the usual form in the nom. acc. plur. is that in *-o* (§ 367); nom. M. *mahilāo* = *mahilāḥ* (H. 397); AMg. JM. *devayāo*, *Ś. devadāo* = *devatāḥ* (Thāp. 76; Erz. 29,3; Śak. 71,8); acc. AMg. *kalāo* = *kalāḥ* (Uttar. 642; Nāyādh. § 119; Ovav. § 107; Kappas. § 211); JM. *caivuvihāo vaggāo* = *caturvidhā vargaṇāḥ* (Āv. 7,4); *Ś. paḍivīao* = *pradīpikāḥ* (Mṛcch. 25,18); A. *sarvaṅgāo* = *sarvāṅgāḥ* (Hc. 4,348). In verses *-o* interchanges with *-u*, that is widely prevalent there: M. nom. *dhaṇṇāu tāu* = *dhaṇyās tāḥ* (H. 147) against *Ś. dhaṇṇāo kkhū tāo kaṇṇāo* [so to be read] *jāo* (Mālatīm. 80,1); AMg. *thiyāu* = *strikāḥ* (Sūyag 225); acc. A. *anurattāu bhattāu* = *anuraktā bhaktāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,10). Sometimes both the forms stand beside one another on account of metre, as M. *dārāggālāu jāo* = *dvārārgalā jātāḥ* (H. 322); *raivirāmalaḷḷijāo apattaniamsaṇāu* = *rativirāmalaḷḷitā aprāptanivasanāḥ* (H. 459); *paḍigaṇu diṣāo* = *pratigatā diṣāḥ* (R. 1,19). More seldom is the nom. acc. in *-ā*: M. *rehā* = *rekhāḥ* (G. 22; H. 206), beside *rehāu* (Hc. 474) and *rehāo* (G. 509. 682); *sariā sarantapavahā...vūdhā* = *saritāḥ saratpravāhāḥ...vūdhāḥ* (R. 6,50); *mehalā* = *mekhalāḥ* (Mṛcch. 41, 2); AMg. *dojjhā* = *dohyāḥ*; *dammā* = *damyāḥ*; *rahaḷo ggā* = *rathayogyāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *pakkā* = *pakvāḥ*; *rūdhā* = *rūdhāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15. 16); *bhājjā* = *bhāryāḥ* (Uttar. 660; *nāvāhi tārimāo tti pānipeḷḷa tti no vae* = *nau-bhis *tārimā itti pānipeyā tti no vudet* (Dasav. 629,1); *Ś. pūjjantā devadā* = *pūjyamānā devatāḥ*; *gaṇiā* = *gaṇikāḥ* (Mṛcch. 9,1. 10); *agahidattā* = *agrhitātthāḥ* (Śak. 120,11); *adittasasujjapā...nāgakanyā via* = *adr̥ṣtasūryapādāḥ...nāgakanyā iva* (Mālav. 51,21; cf., however, the v.l.). Mk. fol. 69 permits in *Ś. -āo* only, and so we should probably correct throughout. In Mṛcch. 25, 20 stand beside one another: *tāo...paḍivīao avamāṇidaniddhaṇakāmuā via gaṇiā nissinehāo dāṇim saṁvuttā* = *tāḥ...pradīpikā avamāṇitanirdhanakāmukā iva gaṇikā nihsnehā idāṇim saṁvuttāḥ*. STENZLER has, with AB, already corrected *saṁvuttā* as *saṁvuttāo*; DH, in GODABOLE p. 72, have *gaṇiāo* for *gaṇiā*, so that **kāmuāo* is to be read. Sometimes in AMg. too, both the forms stand side by side: *indabhūtipamōkkhāo cō dādasamaṇasāhassio ukkosiṭṭā samāṇa-saṁpāyā* = *indr̥bhūtipramukhyās caturdaśasramanasāhasrya *utkoṣitāḥ śramaṇa-saṁpadāḥ* (Kappas. § 134; cf. 135 ff.). Cf. Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 15. 16. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 too.—In Mg. the ins. is in *-ehim* instead of that in *-ālim* in *ambikāmādukehim* = *ambikāmātrkābhīḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,5) is not to be objected to in the mouth of the Śākāra, since the writer has openly and intentionally changed the gender. Against this R. 7,62 does not have the ins. *accharehim* = *apsarobhīḥ* from the stem *accharā* (§ 410)¹, which was formerly read also at Vikr. 40,11², but the first *samaccharehim* is to be analysed as *sama + ccharehim* = *sama + psarobhīḥ* (§ 328)³. — As in the masc. and neutr. (§ 369), in the fem. too, the form in *-him* is used for the abl., what is forbidden by Hc. 3,127: M. *dhārāhim* = *dhārābhyāḥ* (H. 170) and for the loc. (§ 371): M. *mehalāhi* (Karp. 16,1), in the sense of *mehalāsu*, as Kāvya prakāśa 74,1

has in the v. l., = *mekhalāsu*; AMg. *hatthuttarāhim* = *hastottarāsu* (Āyār. 2, 15, 1. 2. 5. 6. 17. 22. 25; Kappas.); *gimhāhi* (Sūyag. 166), in the sense of *gimhāsu* (Vivāhap. 465) = **grīsmāsu* (§ 358); *aṇantāhim* *osappiṇiussappiṇi-* *him* *vīlekantāhim* = *anantāsu* *avasarpinyutsarpaṇiṣu* *vyatikrāntāsu* (Kappas. § 19); *viśāhāhim* = *viśākhāsu* (Kappas. § 149); *cittāhim* = *citrāsu* (Thāp. 363; Kappas. § 171. 174); *uttarāsādhāhim*, *āsādhāhim* (Kappas. § 205. 211); *chinnāhi* *sāhāhi* = *chinnāsu* *śākhāsu* (Uttar. 439; text **him*)*. — Abl. in *-himto* are AMg. *antosālāhimto* = *antaḥsālābhyah* (Uvās. § 195); *itthiyāhimto* = *stri-* *kābhyah* (Jiv. 263. 265). In the A. the abl. has the ending *-hu* = *-bhyah*: *vajamsiahu* = *vayasyābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351). According to Hc. the same form is used for the gen. plur. too. Cf. § 381. In the loc. the form in *-su* prevails here too (cf. § 371). In Ś. Śak. 29, 4, there stands *viralapādavac-* *chādsuṃ* *vaṇarāisum* = *viralapādapacchāyāsu* *vanarājiṣu* in the Bengal recension, and *-āsu*, *-iṣu* in the rest. — In the voc. the form in *-o* is prevalent: Ś. *devadāo* (Bālar. 168, 7; Anarghar. 300, 1); *dāriāo* = *dārikāh* (Vikr. 45, 6); *avaloidā* *buddharakkhidāo* = *avalokitābuddharakṣite* (Mālatīm. 284, 11). On *halā* see § 375. — On *ajjū* = *āryā* see § 105.

1. The question, raised by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 247, note 8, whether we should recognize a neuter *acchāra* is naturally to be answered in the negative. — 2. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 326; cf. HOEFER, De Pr. dialecto p. 150 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 316f. and § 410. — 3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52, 93 ff. — 4. That here we have a case of the instr. is proved by instances like *hatthuttarāhim* *nakkhatteṇaṃ* *jogovagaṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 6, 17; cf. Kappas. § 2). Cf. Kappas. § 157. 174. 211, and SPEYER, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax (Strassburg 1896; Grundriss 1, 6) § 42.

2) STEMS IN *-i*, *ī* AND *-u*, *ū*.

a) MA^SCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 377. Masculine *aggi* = *agni*.

Singular.

N. *aggi* [*aggiṃ*].

Acc. *aggiṃ*.

I. *aggiṇā*, A. also *aggiṇa*, *aggiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggiu*, *aggiu*, *aggiṇo*, *aggihimto*, [*aggihi*, *aggitto*]; JS. [Ś. Mg.] *aggiḍo*; A. *aggihe*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggiṣsa*, [*aggiḥ*]; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇo*; A. [*aggihe*].

L. *aggiṃmi*, AMg. mostly *aggiṃsi*, AMg. JM. *aggiṃmi* too; A. *aggiḥ*.

V. *aggi*, *aggi*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggiu*, *aggao*, *aggau*; Ś. *aggiu*, *aggiṇo*.

Acc. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggao*.

I. M. AMg. JM. *aggihi*, *aggiḥ*, *aggihim*; Ś. Mg. *aggihim*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggihimto*, [*aggiṣumto*, *aggitto*, *aggiḥ*]; A. *aggiḥ*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇa*, *aggiṇā*, *aggiṇaṃ*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇaṃ*; A. *aggiḥ*, *aggiḥ*.

L. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣū*, *aggiṣum*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣum*; A. *aggiḥ*.

V. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*; A. *aggiḥ*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *dahi* = *dadhi*; only nom. acc. sing. M. AMg. JM. *dahim*, *dahi*, *dahi*, Ś. Mg. *dahim*, *dahi*; V. *dahi*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *dahim*, *dahū* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahini* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahi* (not Ś. Mg.). — In PG. is found the acc. sing. neutr. *udakādīm* 6, 29, the gen. sing. masc. *sattissa* = *śakteḥ* 6, 17, *bhaṭṭisa* = *bhaṭṭeḥ* 6, 19, and the acc. plur. masc. *vasudhādhipataye* = *vasudhādhipatīn* 7, 44 (cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2, 484).

§ 378. Masc. *vāu*=*vāyu*.

Singular.

N. *vāū* [*vāum̐*].Acc. *vāum̐*.I. *vāuṇā*; A. *vāuṇa*, *vāum̐* too.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *vāūo*, *vāūu* [*vāuṇo*, *vāūhim̐to*, *vāutto*]; A. *vāuhē*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāuṇo*, *vāussa* [*vāuo*]; Ś. Mg. *vāuṇo*, Mg. in verses *vāūsśa* too; [A. *vāuhē*].L. *vāummi*, AMg. *vāum̐si* too, AMg. JM. *vāum̐mi*.V. *vāu*, *vāū*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *vāuṇo*, *vāū*, *vāūo*, *vāavo*, *vāao*, *vāaū*; Ś. *vāuṇo*, *vāao*.Acc. M. AMg. JM. *vāuṇo*, *vāū*, AMg. also *vāavo*.I. M. AMg. JM. *vāūhi*, *h̐*, *h̐im̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūhim̐*.Abl. [*vāūhim̐to*, *vāūsum̐to*, *vāutto*, *vāūo*]; AMg. *vāūhim̐* also, A. *vāuhū*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇa*, *ṇā*, *ṇam̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūṇam̐*, A. *vāuhū*; *vāuhū*.L. M. AMg. JM. *vāūsu*, *sū*, *sum̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūsu*, *vāūsum̐*; A. *vāuhū*.V. A. Mg. *vāavo*; A. *vāuhū*.

Likewise go the n-u'er, as *mahu*=*madhu*; only nom. acc. sing. *mahuṇ̐*, *mahū*, *mahu*; Ś. Mg. *mahuṇ̐*, *mahu*; voc. *mahu*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *mahūiṇ̐*, *mahūi* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahūṇi* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.).—In PG. an u-stem is not found.

§ 379. On the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems see Vr. 5,14-18. 25-27. 30; G. 1,3. 11-14; Hc. 3,16-26; 4,340 341. 343-347; Kī. 3,8. 11,13. 15. 17-22. 24. 28. 29; 5,20,25-27. 33-35. 37; Mk. fol. 42-44; Sr. fol. 9-12. In the nom. sing., according to Hc. 3,19, some taught beside the lengthening also the equivalent (§ 74) nasalization: *aggim̐*, *ṇihim̐*, *vāum̐*, *viḥum̐*. Triv. and Sr. do not mention this form; at Paṇhāv. 448 *susāhum̐*, as the nom., is edited, probably falsely for *susāhū*, since beside it stand *suisī*, *sumuṇi*=*svrṣiḥ*, *sumuniḥ*. On the nom. in -ī, -ū see § 72. From *sakhi* the nom. sing. is JM. *sahī* (Kī. 14). In the neuter prevalent is the denasalized form in the nom. and the nasalized form and in the acc.; yet AMg. *tail*=*trapu* (Sūyag. 282) is made certain on account of the metre; probably it is to be read *tail*. In the nom. stands AMg. Ś. *dahim̐* (Ṭhāp. 230; Mṛcch. 3,12 [to be read so for *dahim̐*]), but AMg. *dahi* (Ṭhāp. 514); AMg. Ś. *vatthu*=*vastu* (Uttar. 172; Lalitav. 51, 12); Ś. *ṇaṇamahu*=*ṇayanamadhu* (Mālav. 22,3). On AMg. *aṭṭhi*, *dahī* see § 358. Acc. are AMg. Ś. *acchim̐* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Śak. 31,13); *aṭṭhim̐*=*asthi* (Sūyag. 594); AMg. *dahim̐* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17); AMg. Ś. *mahuṇ̐* (Āyār. 2,1, 4. 5. 8,8; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17; Śak. 81,8); JŚ. *vatthum̐* (Kattig. 400. 335). The very frequent Skt. *svasti* always becomes *soṭṭhi* in Ś. (e. g. Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11. 19; Vikr. 15,16; 29,1; 44,5; Ratn. 296, 32; 319,17 etc.), and therefore, it is to be considered as a nom. in the same manner as *sāhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 28,24; 37,16; 41,19; Vikr. 26,6; Ratn. 300, 13; 309,1) and *suṭṭhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 27,21; 28,24; 29,14; 41,18; Prab. 18,3), Mg. *sāhu* (Veṇis. 34,3. 23; 35,14; Mṛcch. 38,7; 112,9; 161,15 etc.). Against this we should read *lahum̐*, with edd. Calcc. and GODABOLE for *lahu* (Mṛcch. 75,8; Vikr. 28,10) as stands at Śak. 39,3; 76,1; Mṛcch. 21,13; 59,8; 107,11; 112,11; 116,5; 166,16; 169,24; Ratn. 300,5; 302,25; 303,20; 312,8; 320,32 etc.; in the verse *lahu* is correct (Mṛcch. 99,24; Veṇis. 33, 13).—With regard to the ins. it is to be noted that M. *pañā*=*patyā*, forms as one says M. *gahavaiṇā* (H. 172), AMg. *gāhāvaiṇā* (Uvās. § 6)=*grhapatinā*, Mg. *bahinīpadiṇā*=*bhaginīpatinā* (Mṛcch. 113,19). From *akṣi* the ins. is M. *acchiṇā*=*akṣṇā* (G. 32); from *dadhi* is found Ś. *sadahiṇā*=

sadadhñā (Mṛcch. 69,3). For the expected *aṭṭhiñā* = *asthnā*, *muṭṭhiñā* = *muṣṭhiñā*, *laḷuñā* = *leṣṭuñā* AMg. has *aṭṭhiñā*, *muṭṭhiñā*, *leḷuñā*, with shortening of *ā* before the enclitic *vā* and lengthening of the final vowel of the stem according to the analogy of the preceding and following ins in *-ena* in the combination *daṇḍena vā aṭṭhiñā vā muṭṭhiñā vā leḷuñā vā kavāleṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4; Sūyag. 647. 692. 863). On similar cases of assimilation see § 355. 358. 364. 367. 375. 386, on the instr. *aggīṇa*, *aggim*, *vāum* in A. see § 146.—For the abl. the following have been found in the texts: M. *uahiū* = *udadheḥ* (G. 56. 470); AMg. *kucchiō* = *kukṣeḥ* (Kappas. § 21.32); *dahiō* = *dadhnaḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °hi°); JŚ. *himsāido* = *himsādeḥ* (Pav. 386,4; text °āiido); JM. *kammaggiṇo* = *karmāgneḥ* (Āv. 19,16); AMg. *ikkhiū* = *ikṣoḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °to); JM. *sūrihimito* (Kk. II, 509,4); A. *girihe* (Hc. 4,341,1).—In the gen. in M. JM. AMg. the forms *aggiṇo*, therefore, the form of the neut. transported into Skt., but evidently from the *n*-stems, which often become identical with the *i*-stems (§ 405), and *aggissa*, therefore, the form built on the analogy of the *a*-stem, are current side by side; likewise in the case of the *u*-stems, in JŚ. too: M. *giriṇo* (G. 141) and M. AMg. *giriṣsa* (G. 510; Sūyag. 312); M. *uahiṇo* (R. 5,10) and *uahiṣsa* (R. 4,43. 60) = *udadheḥ*; M. *raviṇo* (G. 50. 272; H. 284) and *raṇṇissa*, *raṇṇissa* (R. 4,30; Karp. 25,13) = *raveḥ*; M. *paṇiṇo* (H. 54. 55. 297) and *paṇissa* (H. 38. 200) = *patyuh*; M. *pasuwaṇiṇo* = *paśupateḥ* (H. 1), *paḍvaṇiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (H. 969), *bhuamgavaṇiṇo* = *bhujamgapatēḥ* (G. 155); *ṇaravaṇiṇo* = *narapateḥ* (G. 413), but AMg. JM. *gāhūvaṇissa* = *grhāpateḥ* (Sūyag. 846; Vivāhap. 435 f.; 1207 ff.; Uvās. § 4. 6. 8. 11; Kappas. § 120; Āv. 7, 7); AMg. *muṇissa* = *muneḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Sūyag. 132); *isissa* = *iṣeḥ* (Uttar. 363; Nirayāv. 51); *rāyariṣissa* = *rājarseḥ* (Vivāhap. 915 f.; Nāyādh. 600. 605. 611. 613); *sārahiṣsa* = *sāratheḥ* (Uttar. 668); *andhagavaṇhiṣsa* (Antag. 3) and *andhagavaṇhiṇo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,33) = *andhrakavṛṣṇeḥ*; *aggiṣsa* (Vivāhap. 909; Dasav. N. 654,6; Nirayāv. 50); JM. *pañcālāhiṇiṇo* = *pañcālādhipateḥ* (Erz. 8,8); *hariṇo* = *hareḥ* (Āv. 36,30; 37,49); *nābhiṣsa* = *nābheḥ* (Āv. 48,13,33).—M. *pahuṇo* (G. 847.1006.1065) and *pahuṣsa* (H. 243) = *prabhoh*; AMg. *bhikkhuṇo* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1; 2,16,8; Sūyag. 133. 144; Uttar. 284) and more frequently AMg. JŚ. *bhikkhuṣsa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1 ff.; Pav. 387,19); AMg. *usussa* = *iṣoḥ* (Vivāhap. 1388); *macussa* = *mṛtyoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 401); *sāhuṣsa* = *sādhoḥ* (Uttar. 418. 571); *vatthuṣsa* = *vastunoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 398); JM. *bandhuṣsa* = *bandhoḥ* (Sagara 8,5); M. *vinhuṇo* = *viṣṇoḥ* (G. 16); *caṇḍamsuṇo* = *caṇḍāmsōḥ* (Karp. 35,7); *ambuṇo* = *ambunaḥ* (G. 1196). In Ś. Mg. the form in *-ssa* is not used in prose: Ś. *rāeṣiṇo* = *rājarseḥ* (Śak. 21,4; 50,1; 130,1; Vikr. 7,2; 22,16; 23,14; 36,8; 80,4; Uttarar. 106,10; 113,1; Pras. 46,9; Anarghar. 111,13), *vihiṇo* = *vidheḥ* (Vikr. 52,18; Mālatim. 361,10); *sahassarasiṇo* = *sahasraraśmeḥ* (Prab. 14,17; Venis. 25,6); *paḍvadiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (Ratn. 306,2; Mālatim. 65, 6); *udaraṇibhariṇo* = *udaraṇibhareḥ* (Jivān. 43, 15); *dāsarahiṇo* = *dāśaratheḥ* (Mahāv. 52, 18; Anarghar. 157,10); *guruṇo* = *guroḥ* (Śak. 22,13; 158,3; Vikr. 83,1; Anarghar. 267,12); *muhamaḥuṇo* = *mukhamadhoḥ* (Śak. 108, 1); *adharmabhiroḥ* (Śak. 129,10); *vikkamabāhuṇo* = *vikramabāhoḥ* (Ratn. 322,33); *sattuṇo* = *śatroḥ* (Venis. 62, 3; 95, 15; Jivān. 19,9); *pahuṇo* = *prabhoh* (Prab. 18,1; Jivān. 9,1); *induno* = *indoḥ* (Jivān. 19,10); *mahuṇo* = *madhunaḥ* (Hāsy. 43,23); Mg. *lāeṣiṇo* = *rājarseḥ* (Venis. 34,1); *sattuṇo* = *śatroḥ* (Śak. 118,2). In the verse stands Mg. *viśāvaśuṣṣa* = *viśāvaśoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9). The gen. M. *dahiṇo* (Karp. 15,1) is from *dadhi*. On PG. see § 377.—In A. for the gen. we have to assume the same ending, as in the case of the *a*-stems, as for the abl., therefore *girihe*, *taruhe*. In the loc.

in M. JM. JŚ. the ending is *-mmi*, in JM. *-ñmi* too : M. *pañmi* = *patyau* (H. 324. 849); *jalahimmi* = *jalahau*; *girimmi* = *girau*; *asimmi* = *asau* (G. 146. 153. 222); *uahimmi* = *udadhau*, *jalañihimmi* = *jalanidhau* (R. 2, 39; 7, 2. 7. 12; 5, 1); JM. *girimmi* = *girau* (KI. 17); *vihimmi* = *vidhau*, *uñahimmi* = *udadhau* (Sagara 7, 1; 9, 3). In AMg. the common form is that in *-ñsi* : *kucchiñsi* = *kukṣau* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2 ff.; Vivāhap. 1274; Kappas.); *pāñsi* = *pāṇau* (Āyār. 2, 1, 11, 5; 2, 7, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1271; Kappas. S. 29); *rāsiñsi* = *rāṣau* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2). Beside them are found in AMg. *tañmi rājarisimmi namimmi abhinikkhamantañmi* = *tasmin rājarṣau namāo abhinīṣkrāmati* (Uttar. 279); *accimmi*, *accimālimmi* (Vivāhap. 417); *agiñimmi* (Dasav. 620, 24); more often *sahassarasimmi* (366a). Likewise with the *u*-stems : M. *pahummi* = *prabhau* (G. 210); *seummi* = *setau* (R. 8, 93); JM. *merummi* = (T. 5, 3); JŚ. *sāhummi* = *sādhau* (Kattig. 399. 315; MS. °ha°); AMg. *leñsi* = *leṣṭau* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 21); *bāhumsi*, *ūrumsi* = *bāhau*, *ūrau* (Dasav. 617, 12); *uñmi* = *ṛtau* (Ṭhāp. 527; text *udu*). Corresponding to *rāo* = *rāṭrau* (§ 386) AMg. has also *ghim̐su* for **ghim̐so* = *ghraṁse* (§ 105; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58. 109) in the verse. Mg. has in the verse *kedummi* = *ketau* (Mudrār. 176, 4). Ś. has *vattiñi* = *vastuni* (Bā'ar. 122, 11; Dhūrtas. 9, 10). According to Mk. fol. 69 in Ś. the correct forms are *aggimmi* and *vāummi*.—In A. the ending of loc. is *-hū* = *-smin*: *kalihū* = *kalau*; *akkhihū* = *akṣṇi*; *saṁdhihū* = *saṁdhau* (Hc. 4, 341, 3. 357, 2. 430, 3), *āihū* = *ādau* (Piṅgala 1, 85. 142). For the *u*-stems the examples are wanting; Hc. 4, 341 teaches *-hi* for *i*- and *u*-stems. — In the voc. beside short vowel is found the long vowel too (§ 71); M. *gahavāi* (H. 297), but AMg. *gāhāvāi* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 2. 3, 3. 5, 2; 2, 3, 3, 16) = *grhāpate*; AMg. *muñi* = *mune* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 4; Uttar. 713. 714. 719); AMg. JM. *mahāmūñi* (Sūyag. 419; Kk. II, 505, 25); AMg. *maharisī* = *maharṣe* (Sūyag. 182); AMg. *subuddhī* = *subuddhe* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003); AMg. *jambū* = *jambo* (Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often). Vr. 5, 27 forbids the long, and so mostly even the short vowel only is found: M. *khaviṣavvari* = *kṣapitaśarvarika*, *diṇavāi* = *dināpate* (H. 655); M. *pavāṅgavāi* = *plavaṅgapate* (R. 8, 19); JM. *pāvavihi* = *pāpavidhe* (Sagara 7, 15); JM. *suravāi* = *surāpate* (Kk. 276, 19); AMg. *muñi* (Sūyag. 259); AMg. *bhikkhu* = *bhikṣo* (Sūyag. 245. 301); M. JM. *pahu* = *prabho* (G. 717. 719. 736; R. 15, 90; Kk. 269, 35); Ś. *rāsi* = *rājarṣe* (Uttarar. 125, 8). Ś. *jaḍḍo* = *jaṭṭyo* (Uttarar. 70, 5) is probably a false reading.

§ 380. In the nom. plur. the forms *aggiṇo* and *aggi*, *vāṇo* and *vāu* go side by side in M. JM. AMg. : M. *kaiṇo* = *kavayaḥ* (G. 12) and *kai* = *kapayaḥ* (R. 6, 59. 83); *giriṇo* (G. 114) and *giri* (G. 450; R. 6, 34. 60) = *girayaḥ*; *riuṇo* (G. 1195) and *riū* (G. 245. 721) = *ripayaḥ*; *pahuṇo* (G. 858. 861. 873. 880. 894) and *pahū* (G. 868) = *prabhavaḥ*; AMg. *amuñi* beside *muñiṇo* = *amunayaḥ*, *munayaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 1); *giyaraiṇo* = *gitaratayaḥ* beside *giyanaccaṇarai* = *gitanṛiyaratayaḥ* (Ovav. § 35); *nānāruṇi* = *nānārucayaḥ* (Sūyag. 781); *isiṇo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* beside *muñi* = *munayaḥ* (Uttar. 367); *haya-m-āi* *goṇa-m-āi* *gaya-m-āi* *siha-m-āiṇo* (§ 353; Uttar. 1075); *vinnū* = *vijñāḥ* (§ 105; Āyār. 1, 4, 3, 1); *guru* = *guravaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 5, 1, 1); *pasū* = *paśavaḥ* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3); *apasū* (Sūyag. 601); *uū* = *ṛtavaḥ* (Samav. 97; Vivāhap. 798; Anuog. 432); *dhāṇo* = *dhātavaḥ* (Sūyag. 37); JM. *suriṇo* = *sūrayaḥ* (Kk. 264. 41; 267, 41; 270, 6. 36. 42 etc.); *sāhuṇo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Āv. 9, 22; 26, 36; 27, 7; 46, 3. 9; Kk. 274, 36) and *sāhū* (T. 4, 20); *guruṇo* = *guravaḥ* (Kk. 271, 6; 274, 28. 36). In AMg. prevalent is the form in *-ī*, *-ū*, which is found perhaps exclusively in certain words, such as *ūru* (Uvās. § 94; Sūyag. 639 and often; also in M. G. 489), provided that one could see in them something like the old dual, likewise, a few cases as in AMg. *pāṇi* (Kappas. S. § 43), AMg. *indaggi* = *indrāgni* (Ṭhāp. 82), AMg. *do*

vāu = *dvau vāyū* (Thāp. 82), M. *bāhū* = *bāhū* (G. 428). The forms other than those quoted are found just sporadically in the three dialects. Thus: AMg. *nāyao* = *jñātayaḥ* (Sūyag. 174. 179. 628. 635), *anāyao* (Sūyag. 628); AMg. *rāgaddosādayo* = *rāgadvēṣādayaḥ* (Uttar. 707); JM. *bhavadattādayo* (Erz. 17,28); AMg. *risao* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Ovav. § 56, p. 61,29); JM. *maharisao* (Erz. 3,14); AMg. *°ppabhijao* = *°prabhṛtayaḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49,32; 73 so to be read; cf. v. l.); AMg. *jantavo* (verse! Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 712. 798. 799; Sūyag. 105) beside *jantuṇo* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *sāhavo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Uttar. 208). From *bahu* (many) the nom. in AMg. is always formed as *bahave* (§ 345; Āyār. 1,8,3,3. 5. 10; 2,1,4,1. 2; 2,5,2,7; 2,15,8; Sūyag. 852. 916; Uttar. 158.169; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.). So also in JM. (Erz. 17,28), probably falsely for *bahavo* (Erz. 38,24) or *bahū* (Erz. 38,21). In Ś. the forms in -i, -ū, which are formed according to the nom. of the a-stems, are not used. The i-stems, like the feminine, partly have the nom. in -īo, as *isīo* = *ṛṣayaḥ*, *gīrīo* = *girayaḥ* (Śak. 61,11; 98,8; 99,12; 126, 15); *risīo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Mṛcch. 326, 14), partly in -ṇo, as *kaiṇo* = *kapayaḥ* (Bālar. 238, 5); *mahesiṇo* = *maharṣayaḥ* (Bālar. 268, 1); *isiṇo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Unmattar. 3,7); *cintāmaṇipahudīṇo* = *cintāmaṇiprabhṛtayaḥ* (Jivān. 95,1). In the case of the u-stems in Ś. beside the forms in-ṇo, as *paṇguṇo* = *paṇgavaḥ* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālataṛuṇo* = *bālataṛavaḥ* (Karp. 62,3); *taruṇo* (Karp. 67, 1); *binduṇo* (Mallikām. 83,15) occurs also the form *bindao* = *bindavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 74,21). *bandhū* = *bandhavaḥ* (Śak. 101,13) is not Ś., but M. only *dīhagomāo* from **dīhagomāao* (§ 165) = *dīrhagomāyavaḥ* is traceable in a verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 168, 20); otherwise examples for i- and u- are almost wanting.

§ 381. According to Vr. 5,14, in the acc. the forms *aggiṇo* and *vāuṇo* alone are permissible. But dialectically almost all the forms of the nom. are found in the acc. too: M. *paṇṇo* = *paṇin* (H. 705); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrin* (Kk. 267,38; 270,2); AMg. *mahesiṇo* = *maharṣin* (Āyār. 1,5,5,1); but also AMg. *mittanāi* = *mitrajñātīn* (Uvās. § 69.92; so to be read for **ñāim*); *mallai*, *lēccai* = *mallaḥin*, *lēccavin* (Vivāhap. 499 f.; Nirayāv. § 25); *nāyao* = *jñātīn* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 378 [text *nāio*]); AMg. *pasavo* = *paṣin* (Sūyag. 414); JM. *guruṇo* = *gurūn* (Kk. 269,35); JM. *sāhuṇo* = *sādhūn* (Kk. 271,15); AMg. *bāhū* = *bāhū* (Sūyag. 222. 286); AMg. *sattū* = *śatrūn* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *bahū* = *bahūn* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 216), beside *bahave*, as in the nom. (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9; Uvās. § 119 184), for which is put *vasudhādhipataye* of PG. — Examples of the neuter, of which the nom. and acc. are identical are: M. *acchūm* = *akṣiṇi* (H. 1,33; 2,217; G. 44; H. 40.54), *acchī* (H. 314); M. AMg. JM. *acchīni* (H. 314 in Mk. fol. 44; cf. v. l.; Āyār. 2,2,1,7; Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,20; 30,4); AMg. *acchī* (Vivāgas. 11), falsely in Ś. too (Jivān. 89,3) AMg. *aṭṭhīni* = *aṭṭhimi* (Sūyag. 590); AMg. *sālīni* = *sālīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10); *vīhīni* = *vīhīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682); *dārīni* = *dārīh* (Āyār. 2,10,11); JM. *āṇi* = *ādīni* (Kk. 274,4); JŚ. *ādīni* (Pav. 384,48); M. *aṃsūm* = *aṣṛūni* (G. 130. 1208); *paṇḍū* = *paṇḍūni* (G. 384. 577) and *paṇḍūm* (G. 462); *bindūm* = *bindūn* (G. 223); AMg. *maṃsūm* = *śmaṣṛūni* (Uvās. § 94); *maṃsūni* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11); *dārūni* (Sūyag. 247); *pāṇūni* = *prāṇān* (Anuog. 432; Vivāhap. 423); *kaṇḍūni* = *kaṇḍavaḥ* (Sūyag. 682); *milakkhūni* = **mīlacchāni* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8); A. *aṃsū* (Piṅgala 1,61). According to Vr. 5,26 only the forms like *daḥī*, *maḥī* would be usable; Kī. 3,28 teaches *daḥīm*. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 also. Examples for the ins. are: M. *kāiḥi*, **hi* = *kaibhiḥ* (G. 84. 88) and = *kapibhiḥ* (R. 6,64. 78. 94); AMg. *kimiḥim* = *kṛmibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 278); JM. *āhiḥim* = *ādibhiḥ* (Āv. 7, 12); Ś. *iṣiḥim* = *ṛṣibhiḥ* (Śak. 70, 6); Mg. *°ppahudihim* = *°prabhṛtibhiḥ* (Śak.

114,2); M. *acchihim*, °hī, °hi (H. 338. 341. 457. 502); Ś. *acchihim* (Vikr. 48,15; Ratn. 319,18); Mg. *akkhiham* (Mṛcch. 120,13; 152,22) = *akṣibhyām* M. *riuhim* = *ripubhih* (H. 471; G. 718); M. *sisūh* = *śiśubhih* (G. 1046); AMg. *vaggūhim* = *vagnubhih* (Vivāhap. 946; Nāyādh. § 25. 79; p. 302. 736. 757. 1107; Rāyap. 266 f.; Uttar. 300; Thān. 527; Ovav. § 53. 181; Kappas); AMg. *ūrūhim* = *urubhyām* (Thān. 401); Ś. *gurūhim* = *gurubhih* (Hāsy 40,17); Ś. *bindūhim* = *bindubhih* (Venis. 66,21; Nāyādh. 24,13; Karp. 72,1). — The abl. occurs in M. *acchihimto* = *akṣibhyām* (G. 223); JM *ujjānāhiṃto* = *udyānādibhyaḥ* (Dvār. 498,20); AMg. *kāmidhhiṃto* = *kāmarddheḥ* (honorific pl. rar.; Kappas.; Th. § 11). As in the case of the *a*-stems (§ 369), so in the case of *i*- and *u*-stems too, the ins. is used as the abl.: *santi egehim bhikkhūhim gāratthā saṃjamuttarā = santy ekebhyaḥ bhikkṣubhyo grhasthāḥ saṃyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208). — A. *taruhū* = *tarubhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,341) is properly = *taruṣu*, that is to say = the loc., with which the ablative has become identical, according to Hc. 4,340 the gen. too; yet it will be better to consider *taruhū* as in the loc., whilst *bihū* = *dvayoh* (Hc. 4,383,1), by all means, stands in the sense of the gen. — The examples for the genitive are: M. *kaiṇam* = *kavinām* (H. 86); *kaiṇa* = *kapinām* (R. 6,84); *giriṇa* (G. 137. 449; R. 6,81); AMg. *dharmasārakhiṇam* = *dharmasārathinām* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); metrically *iṣiṇa* = *ṛṣiṇām* (Sūyag. 317) and *iṣiṇam* (Uttar. 375. 377); *udahiṇa* = *udathinām* (Sūyag. 316); *vihiṇam* = *vrihiṇām* (Vivāhap. 421); JŚ. *jadinam* = *yatinām* (Pav. 385,63); *āṇam* = *ādinām* (Kattig. 401,340); Ś. *mahivadinam* = *mahipatinām* (Lalitav. 555,14); Ś. *acchiṇam* = *akṣṇoh* (Vikr. 43,15; Nāgān. 11,9); M. *icchiṇam* = *iṣṣūnām* (H. 740); *riṇa* = *ripūnām* (G. 106. 166. 237); *tarūṇa* = *tarūnām* (G. 140); AMg. *bhikkhūnam* = *bhikkṣūnām* (Āyār. 1,7,7 2); *savvaṇṇunam* = *sarvajñānām* (Ovav. § 20); *milakkhūnam* = *mlecchānām* (Sūyag. 817); Mg. *bāhūna* = *bāhvoḥ* (in the verse; Mṛcch. 129,1); *pahūnam* = *prabhūnām* (Kāmsav. 50,4); JŚ. *sāhūnam* = *sādhūnām* (Pav. 379,4). A. has the ending *-hā* = *-sām* of the pronoun: *saūṇihā* = *śakuninām* (Hc. 4,340); on *-hū* see above. — The loc., for example is found as M. *giriṣu* (G. 138); M. AMg. *acchisu* (H. 132; Āyār. 2,3,2,5); Ś. *acchisuṃ* (Śak. 30,5); M. *riṣu* = *riṣuṣu* (G. 241); JŚ. metrically *ādisu* = *ādiṣu* (Pav. 383,69); AMg. *uṣu* = *ṛtuṣu* (Nāyādh. 344); Ś. *ūrūsu* = *ūrvoḥ* (Bālar. 238,7; text °ru°). In A. the form *duhū* corresponds to one **duṣu* (femin.; Hc. 4,340), whilst *tiḥ* (Hc. 4,347), properly is = *tribhiḥ*, therefore = the instr., as in the case of the *a* stems (§ 371). — The voc. occurs in JM. *saṃjalagunanihiṇo* = *sakalagunaniḍhayaḥ* (Sagara 7,12); AMg. *jantavo* (Sūyag. 335. 424), *bhikkhavo* (Sūyag. 157; text °kkhū°). For JM. *guruo* (Kk. III. 513,22) we should read *gurūo*. On A. see § 372.

§ 382. In AMg. the forms, of the plur. of *bahu* (much) that are valid for the masculine, are mostly used for the feminine too: *bahave pāṇajāi* = *bahavyaḥ prāṇajātayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; *bahave sāhamminio* = *bahvīḥ *sādharmiṇiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11; 2,2,1,2; 2,5,1,2; 2,10,2); *bahave devā ya devio ya* (Āyār. 2,15,8); *bahave khuddākhuddiṇāo vāvo* = *bahavyaḥ kṣudrākṣudrikā vāpyaḥ* (Jiv. 476); *bahūnam samanānam bahūnam samanānam bahūnam sāvajānam bahūnam sāviṇānam bahūnam devānam bahūnam devīnam* (Kappas. S. § 64; Nāyādh. 498. 518. 615. 654; Vivāhap. 242); *bahūhim āghavanāhi* = *a paṇṇavanāhi ya viṇṇavanāhi ya saṇṇavanāhi ya* = *bahvibhir *ākhyāpanābhiḥ ca *prajñāpanābhiḥ ca *viññāpanābhiḥ ca *saṃjñāpanābhiḥ ca* (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539. 889; Uvās. § 222; Vivāhap. 814); *bahūhim khujjāhim* = *bahvibhiḥ kubjābhiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 4; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyāth. § 117; p. 832. 837; Vivāgas. 226; *bahūsu vāviṣu* = *bahviṣu vāpiṣu* (Nāyādh. 915); *bahūsu vijjāharisu* = *bahviṣu vidyādhariṣu* (Nāyādh. 1275; so the commentary; text *bahusu vijjāsu*). Cf. also Ovav. § 8. On the retained Skt. forms like *girisu*,

vagguhiṃ see § 99, on the stepping over of the *a*-stems into the *u*-declension in M. AMg., § 105, on AMg. *sakahāo* = *sakthini* § 358.

§ 383. The masculine in *-ī* and *-ū* shorten their *ī* and *ū* according to Hc. 3,43; Mk. fol. 42. 43; Sr. fol. 12 and are declined fully as the nouns in *-ī*, *-u*. So nom. *gāmaṇī* = *grāmaṇīh*; acc. *gāmaṇiṃ*; ins. *gāmaṇiṇā*; gen. *gāmaṇiṇo* and *gāmaṇissā*; voc. *gāmaṇi*; nom. *khalapū* = *khalapūh*; acc. *khalapum*; ins. *khalapūṇā*; gen. *khalapūṇo*; voc. *khalapu* (Hc. 3,24. 42. 43. 124). Sr. adds the nom. plur.: *khalavau*, *khalavao*, *khalavuno*, *khalavū*. Example: are. M. *gāmaṇi*, *gāmaṇiṇo* = *grāmaṇiṃ*, *grāmaṇyaḥ* (H. 449.633); *gāmaṇiṇaṃ* (R. 7,60); J.M. *asogasiri*, *asogasiriṇo* = *asokaśriḥ* *asokaśriyaḥ* (Āv. 8,2. 32); Ś. *candasiriṇo*, *candasiriṇā* = *candraśriyaḥ* *candraśriyā* (Mudrār. 39, 3; 56,8; 227,2. 7); Ś. *māhavasiriṇo* = *mādhavaśriyaḥ* (Mālatim. 211,1); Ś. *agganī* = *agraniḥ* (Mṛcch. 4,23; 327,1). The forms *saambhuṃ*, *saambhuṇo* = *svayambhuṃ*, *svayambhuvaḥ* (G. 1.813), *saambhuṇo*, *saambhussa*, *saambhuṇā* (Mk. fol. 42 f.) may be derived from *svayambhū* or from *°bhu*.

b) FEMININE.

§ 384. In Pkt. the feminine forms in *-ī*, *-u*, as *bhūmisu*, *suttisu*, (§ 99) are retained only in isolated places in verses. Otherwise the feminine in *-ī*, *-u*, with which those in *-ī* and *-ū* have become identical, provided there is differentiation between words of one and more syllables. The declension exactly corresponds to that of the feminine in *-ā* in § 374ff, and it holds good for all the endings, as already noted there. In isolated cases the following one is to be considered.

§ 385. The grammarians give, for the ins. abl. gen. loc. sing. the forms: *ṇaii*, *ṇaie*, *ṇaia*, *ṇaiā* from *ṇai*=*nadī* (Bh. 5,22; Ki.3,26; Mk. fol.43); *ruia*, *ruā*, *ruūi*, *ruie* from *ruī* = *ruci* (Sr. fol. 15); *buddhiā*, *buddhiā*, *buddhi*, *buddhi* from *buddhi*; *sahīā*, *sahīā*, *sahīi*, *sahie* from *sahī* = *sakhi*; *dhenūā*, *dhenūā*, *dhenūi*, *dhenūe* from *dhenu* = *dhenu*; *vahūā*, *vahūā*, *vahūi*, *vahūe* from *vahū* = *vadhū* (Hc. 3, 29). Of these, the forms in *-iā*, *-ūā* are not available, and those in *-ii* *-ūi* are rare in the texts: M. *ṇaii* = *natyāḥ* (G.1000); AMg. *mahūi* = *mahyāḥ* (Sūyag. 312), more often correctly in the v. l. for *-iē* of the texts, as G. 139.860.922. For *gabbhiṇī* = *garbhinyāḥ*, now WEBER H. 166 correctly reads *gabbhiṇiā*. In all cases, where the forms in *-ie*, *-ue* stand in the text, and the metre requires a short, as *mahiē*, *siriē*, *tajjanīē*, *pavittaranīē*, *naariē*, *nivasiriē*, *lacchiē* etc. (G. 122. 212. 247. 268. 501. 928); *vahūē* (H. 874. 981), the forms in *-iā* or in *-ii*, *ūā* or in *-ūi* are to be put, as WEBER H. 69 has corrected *-iā*, which is attested for all the examples collected by him at p. 40 in Hāla¹ by the manuscripts. At H. 86, there is found the v. l. *hasamīi* beside *hasamīā*, *hasamīe* (cf. IS. 16,53 too). For *vahūē* (H. 874. 981) the old Śāradā manuscripts of Kāvyaaprakāśa give the v. l. at 874 *vahūo*, *bahūā*, at 981 *bahūi*, *bahūi*. We have, therefore, to write *vahūo* or *vahūi*, as also H. 786. 840. 874; *vahūā* stands at H. 457. 608. 635. 648, everywhere with the v. l. *vahūe* or *bahūe*. Cf. §375. The forms in *-iā*, *-ūā* are, likewise those in *-ii*, *-ūi*, confined to verses, but with the stems in *-ī*, *-i* in M. very frequently: ins. *bandīā* = *bandyā*; *vāhīā* = *vyādhyā*; *laliṅgūā* = *laliṅgulyā* (H. 118. 121. 458); *āhiāiā* = *abhiḥjātyā*; *rāsiriā* = *rājaśriyā*; *diṭṭhiā* = *drṣṭyā*; *thīā* = *sthiṭyā*; *jāṇaiā* = *jāṇakyā* (R. 1,1. 13. 45; 4,43; 6,6); *sippīā* = *śuktyā*; *muṭṭhiā* = *muṣṭyā*; *deviā* = *devyā* (Karp. 2,4; 29,4; 48,14); gen. *koḍiā* = *koṭeḥ*; *ghariṇiā* = *grhinyāḥ*; *giriṇaiā* = *girinadyāḥ* (H. 3,11. 14. 37); *dhanariddhiā* *siriā* a *salilu-ppaṇṇai* *vāruniā* a = *dhanarddhyāḥ* *śriyā* ca *salilotpannāyā* *vārunyā* ca (R. 2,

17); *dharanīa* = *dharanyāḥ* (R. 2,2; 7,28); *sarassaia* = *sarasvatyāḥ*; *rūdhia* = *rūdheḥ* (Karp. 1,1; 51,3); L. *pāṇāidia* = *prāṇakutyām* (H. 227; on the meaning cf. Pāṇīal. 105 with Deśin. 6,38); D. *nararia* = *nagaryām* (Mṛcch. 100,2). For the ablative examples are wanting. The usual forms in all the dialects, except A., that C. 1,9 alone knows, is that in *-ie*, *-āe*, which, however, is not found in the abl. So ins. M. *bhanantīe* = *bhanantiyā* (H. 123); AMg. *gaie*, Ś. *gadīe* = *gatyā* (Kappas. § 5; Śak. 72,11); Mg. *śattīe* = *śaktyā* (Mṛcch. 29,20); P. *bhagavatīe* = *bhagavatiyā* (Hc. 4,323); gen. *lacchīe* = *lakṣmyāḥ* (G. 68); AMg. *nāgasirīe māhanīe* = *nāgaśrīyā brāhmaṇyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1151); Ś. *radarāvalīe* = *ratnāvalyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 88,21); Mg. *majjālīe* = *mārijyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 17,7); loc. *paavīe* = *padavyām* (H. 107); AMg. *vāṇārasiē nayarīe* = *vārāṇasyām nagaryām* (Antag. 63; Nirayāv. 43. 45; Vivāgas. 136. 148. 149; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Nāyādh. 1516. 1528). AMg. JM. *aḍavīe* = *aṭavyām* (Nāyādh. 1137; Erz. 1,4; 13,30; 21,21); Ś. *masāṇa-vidhīe* = *śmaśānavithyām* (Mṛcch. 72,8); Mg. *dhalaṇīe* = *dharanyām* (Mṛcch. 173,16). The form is found to have been shortened to *-īe* in A. too: ins. *maragaakantiē* = *marakatakāntiyā*; gen. *ganantiē* = *ganantiyāḥ*; *radīē* = *ratyāḥ* (Hc. 4,349. 333. 446).

§ 386. In the ins., *diṭṭhiā* = *diṭṭyā* (e. g. Mṛcch. 68,2; 74,11; Vikr. 10,20; 26,15; 49,4 etc.) used adverbially, Ś. has retained an old ins. in *-ā*. In the A. of Piṅgala, more than once, we find an ins. in *-ī*: *kitṭī* = *kīṭyā* (1,65^a; 2,66); *bhattī* = *bhaktyā* (2,67), and so is also *evāsattī* for *°tṭā* (S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *°tṭh*) = *ekaviṃśatyā* to be read at 1,142. — On the dative in *-īe* in AMg. JM. Ś. see § 361. — The abl., except in A., where, according to Hc. 4, 350, like the gen., it ends in *-he*, has the endings *-io*, *-ūo*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *-īdo*, *-ūdo*: AMg. *araṭraio* = *aratirateḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *koṣio* = *koṣyāḥ* (Sūyag. 593); *nayario* = *nagaryāḥ* (Nirayāv. § 19; p. 44.45; Nāyādh. 1135); *poḥkharinīo* = *puṣkarinyāḥ*; *corapallio* = *corapallyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1060. 1427. 1429); *gaṅgāsindhūo* = *gaṅgāstndhoḥ* (Thān. 544; Vivāhap. 482 f.) Ś.: *aḍaīdo* = *aṭavyāḥ* (Śak. 35,8); *ujjāiṇīdo* = *ujjayinyāḥ* (Ratn. 321,22; 322,9); *sacīdo* = *śacyāḥ* (Vikr. 44,8); Mg. *naalīdo* = *nagaryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 159,13). — The gen. has in A., as in the case of *a*-stems (§ 375), the ending *-he*, before which the vowel is shortened: *joantihe* = *paśyantyāḥ*; *mēllantihe* = *muñcantyāḥ*; *gorihe* = *gauryāḥ*; *tumbiṇihe* = *tumbinyāḥ* (Hc. 4,332,2. 370,4. 395,1. 427,1); *kaṅguhe* = *kaṅgoḥ* (Hc. 4,367,4). — In the loc. in AMg. we find frequently *rāo* = *rātrau* as well, the only form (Āyār. 1,8,2,6; Sūyag. 247. 255. 519; Nāyādh. 302. 374), as in the combinations *aho jā rāo* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2; 1,4,1,3; Sūyag. 295. 412. 485; Uttar. 430), or in *aho jā rāo jā* = *aḥaś ca rātrau ca* (Paphāv. 373), *rāo vā vijāle vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2; 2,2,3,2,23 [so correctly ed. Calc. p. 126]), *diṇḍā jā rāo jā* = *divā ca rātrau ca* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3. 4,1; Uttar. 847), *diṇḍā vā rāo vā* (Sūyag. 846; Dasav. 616,13). Sometimes in AMg. the ending of the masc. and neutr. is extended over to the feminine: *piṭṭhīmsi* from *piṭṭhī* (§ 53; Nāyādh. 940); *bhittīmsi* = *bhittau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *rājāhāṇīmsi* = *rājadhānyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,6; 2,1,3,4. 2,3,1,2) between pure loc. in *-īmsi* of the masc. and the neutr. Cf. § 355.358. 364. 367. 375. 379. Ś. has *rattimmi* = *rātrau* (Jivān. 9,23; 17,23; Mallikām. 226,4); *bhūminmi* = *bhūmau* (Mallikām. 337,21). In A. the loc. ends in *-hī* = *-syām*; *mahihī* = *mahyām*; *riddhīhī* = *riddhau*; *sallāihī* = *sallakyām*; *vāṇārasihī* = *vārāṇasyām*; *ujjenihī* = *ujjayinyām* (Hc. 4,352.418.842.9,442,1); *ṇadīhī* = *nadyām* (Piṅgala 1,5_a), in the A. of Piṅgala, in the case of the *i*-stems, also in *-ī* and shortened: *-ī puhavī* = *prthivyām* (1,121; text *°mī*); *dharaṇī* = *dharanyām* (1,137^a); *puhavi* = *prthivyām* (1,132^a); *mahī* = *mahyām* (1,143^a). — The vocative ends in *-i*, *-u*: M. *māhavi* = *mādhavi*; *bhāṭravi* = *bhairavi*; *devi* = *devi* (G. 285. 287. 290. 331);

thorattani = *sthūlastani* (H. 925); *Ś. bhaavadi bhāradhi* = *bhagavati bhāgīrathi* (Bālar. 163,10; Pras. 83,4); JM. *Ś. puti* = *putri* (Āv. 12,11. 17; Bālar. 165,3; 174,8); *Ś. sahi māladi* = *sakhi māladi* (Mālatim. 94,2); Mg. *vuddhakustani* = *vuddhakuttani* (Mṛcch. 141,25; 152,22); *kaccāṇi* = *kātyāyāni* (Candak. 69,1); M. *vevanoru* = *vepamānoru* (H. 52); *suau* = *sutanu* (G. 186; H.); *kariaroru* = *karikaroru* (H. 925); in Mg. with pluti *vāsū* (Mṛcch. 127,1).

§ 387. The nom. acc. voc. plur. end in -io, -ūo, which alternate with -iu, -ūu in verses : nom. M. *katīo* = *kṛttayāh* (H. 951); *riddhio* = *ṛddhayāh* (G. 92); *lumbio* = * *lumbyāh* (H. 322); *naio* = *nadyāh*; *naario* = *nagaryāh* (G. 360. 403); AMg. *mahānaio* = *mahānadyāh* (Thāp. 76. 77. 79); *hiranakoḍio* = *hiranyakoṭyāh* (Uvās. § 4); *ithio* = *striyāh* (Thāp. 121); M. *taruṇiu* = *taruṇyāh* (G. 113; H. 546); JM. *palatanio*... *avarohajuvāio* = *pralapaniyāh*... *avarodhayavatayāh* (Sagara 4,13); *vasahio* = *vasatayāh* (T. 4, 22); *Ś. gidio* = *gitayāh* (Mahāv. 121,7); *mahuario* = *madhukaryāh* (Mṛcch. 29,5. 7; 70,2); *āidio* = *ākṛtayāh* (Śak. 132,6); *paidio* = *prakṛtayāh* (Vikr. 73,12; Mudrār. 39,1; 56,8); A. *ānguliu* = *āngulyāh* (Hc. 4, 333), with a short vowel, as on metrical grounds in the other dialects too (§ 99); M. *kulavahūo* = *kulavadhvāh* (H. 459); AMg. *suravadhūo* (Ovav. § [38]); *rajjūo* = *rajjavāh* (Jiv. 503). — Acc. M. *sahrio* = *sahanasūlāh* (H. 47); AMg. *vallio* = *vallih* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15); *osahio* = *oṣadhīh* (Āyār. 2,4,2,16; Sūyag. 727; Dasav. 628,33); *savattio* = *sapatnīh* (Uvās. § 239); *sajagghio* = *śataghñih* (Uttar. 285); JM. *gonio* (Āv. 7,10); *Ś. bhaavadio* = *bhagavatīh* (Śak. 79,13); A. *vilāsiniū* = *vilāsinih* (Hc. 4,348), and with *ī* *sallaiū* = *śallakīh* (Hc. 4,387,1). AMg. *bahūo coravijjāo* = *bahvīh coravidyāh* (Nāyādh. 1421), but also *bahave sāhammīnīo* = *bahvīh *sādharmīnīh* (§ 382). — Voc. JM. *bhayavaṇio devayāo* = *bhagavatyo devatāh* (Dvār. 503,25); M. *Ś. sahio* = *sakhyāh* (H. 131. 619; Śak. 12,1; 90,8; Cait. 73,7; 83,12 etc.); *Ś. bhodio* = *bhavatyāh* (Viddhaś. 121,1); *bhaavadio* = *bhagavatīh* (Uttarar. 197,10; Anarghar. 300,1); M. *sahūo* (H. 412. 743). In A. the voc. has the ending -ho: *taruṇio* = *taruṇyāh* (Hc. 4,346). The forms in -i, -ū, taught by Hc. 3,27. 124, are likewise found in the texts : nom. M. *asai mha* = *asatyāh smah* (H. 417); voc. M. *piasakī* = *priyasakhyāh* (H. 903); acc. AMg. *itthi* = *strih* (Verse 1; Uttar. 253). For the rest of the cases of the plur. a few examples will suffice. Ins. M. *Ś. sahīhim* = *sakhībhih* (H. 144; Śak. 167,9); M. *diṭṭhihim* (G. 752); *sahīh*, *sahīhi* (H. 15. 60. 69. 810. 840); JS. *dhūlihim* (Pav. 384,60); AMg. *cilāhihim vāmaṇhihim vadabhihim babbarihim ... damiḷhihim simhalihim*... = *kirātībhīr vāmanībhīr vadabhihbīr barbarībhīr dravidībhīh simhalībhih* (Ovav. § 55); *Ś. āngulihim* = *āngulībhih* (Mṛcch. 6,7; Śak. 12,1). Āyār. 1,2,4,3, without a v. l., has *thībhi* = *strihbhih*; A. *pupphavāhi* = *pūspavatībhih* (Hc. 4,438,3) and with a shortened vowel : *asāhi* = *asatībhih*, *dēntih* = *dadatībhih* (Hc. 4,396,1. 419,5). — Gen. M. *sahīna* = *sakhīnām* (H. 482); *thūna* = *stutīnām* (G. 82); *taruṇinām* (H. 545); cf. H. 174; AMg. *savattinām* = *sapatnīnām* (Uvās. § 238. 239); M. *Ś. kāmīṇinām* (H. 559; Mṛcch. 71,22); M. *vahūnām* = *vadhūnām* (G. 1158; H. 526; R. 9, 71. 93) and *vahūna* (R. 9,40. 96; 15,78). Loc. M. *rāisu* = *rātriṣu* (H. 45); *giriadisu* = *giriṭṭiṣu* (G. 374); AMg. *itthisu* = *striṣu* (Āyār. 2,16,7; Sūyag. 405. 409); JM. *kujoṇisu* = *kuyoniṣu* (Sagara 11,4); M. AMg. *vāṇisu* = *vāṇiṣu* (G. 166; Nāyādh. 915); M. *°ithaliṣum* (G. 256) and *°ithaliṣu* (G. 350. 421) = *°sithaliṣu*; *Ś. vanarāṇisu* = *vanarāṇiṣu* (Śak. 29,4; Uttarar. 22,13; text *°isu*); *deviṣum* (Śak. 141,9). In A. the loc. has become identical with the ins.: *disih* = **diṣiṣu* = *dikṣu*, but also *duhu* = *dvayoh* (Hc. 4, 340; cf. § 381).

§ 388. In PG. is found only the loc. sing. *āpiṭṭiyam* (6,37) that is to say *āpiṭṭiyam* = *āpiṭṭiyām*, therefore, the form of Pāli. — If the feminine forms

in *-i*, *-u*, *-ī*, *-ū* enter at the end of a compound, they naturally, as in Skt., take the endings of the masc. or those of the neuter, when they refer to a masc. or neuter. So M. *kareṇa va pañcaṅgulinā* (G. 17); M. *sasialāsuttiṇā... kavāleṇa* = *śaṣikālāsuktinā . kapāleṇa* (G. 40); Ś. *mae māṇabuddhiṇā* = *mayā māṇabuddhiṇā* (Śak. 126, 10); Ś. *mohidamadiṇā* = *mohitamatinā, nīdiniṇā* = *nītinipūṇabuddhiṇā* (Mudrār. 228,1; 269,3); Ś. *ujjumadiṇo* = *rjumatēḥ* (Pras. 46,9). Mg. *muṣṭie* = *muṣṭiṇā* = *muṣṭāmuṣṭi*, really = *muṣṭyā muṣṭinā* (Mr̥cch. 170,15) is also noticed.

3) STEMS IN *-r*.

§ 389. The distinction, that Skt. makes between *nomina agentis* and words of relationship, has been maintained in Pkt. In the nom. acc. sing. and nom. plur., the forms identical with those of Skt. are retained. Otherwise, corresponding to the change of *r* to *i* or *u* (§ 50ff) the stems in *-r* have become *i-* or usually *u-*stems, or the stem of the acc. sing. is employed as new theme, according to the *a*-declension: *piī-*, *piu-*, *piara-* = *piīr-*; *bhaṭṭi-*, *bhattu-*, *bhattāra-*. The feminina of the words of relationship too are declined as the *ā*-stems, to which the nom. sing. gave the impulse: *māā-*, *māī-*, *māū-*, *māārā-*. Hence the grammarians (Vr. 5,31—35; Hc. 3,44—48; Kī. 3,30—34; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 13 16.18) teach for the *r*-stems, all the forms that are valid for the *a-*, circumstantial *ā-*, and *u-*stems, and it has not as yet been possible to get all of them authenticated. The forms that have been found in the texts provide with the following paradigms.

§ 390. *Nomina agentis*. — *bhattu* = *bharṭr* (husband).

Singular.

Nom. *bhaṭṭā*; AMg. *bhaṭṭāre*, also JM. *bhaṭṭāro*.
Acc. *bhaṭṭāraṃ*; Mg. *bhaṭṭālaṃ*.
Gen. *bhaṭṭuno*, AMg. *bhaṭṭārassa* also.
Loc. JM. Ś. *bhaṭṭāre*.
Voc. *bhaṭṭā*.

Plural.

Nom. M. AMg. *bhaṭṭāro*; AMg. *bhaṭṭā* also.
Ins. AMg. *bhaṭṭārehiṃ*.
Loc. AMg. *bhaṭṭāresu*.
Voc. AMg. *bhaṭṭāro*.

In the meaning "master" *bharṭr* has become an *i*-stem in Ś. (§ 55.289) and as such is declined in the oblique case. Ś. nom. *bhaṭṭā* (Lalitav. 563, 23; Ratn. 293,32; 294,11 etc.); acc. *bhaṭṭāraṃ* (Mālav. 45.16; 59,3; 60,10); ins. *bhaṭṭiṇā* (Śak. 116, 12; 117, 11; Mālav. 6, 2. 9; 8, 7); gen. *bhaṭṭiṇo* (Śak. 43,10; 117,7; Mālav. 6,22; 40,18; 41,9. 17; Mudrār. 54,2; 149,2); voc. *bhaṭṭā* (Ratn. 305,17. 23; Śak. 144,14), also in Dh. (Mr̥cch. 34,11. 17).—Examples for individual cases are : nom. AMg. *ne'ā* = *netā* (Sūyag. 519; text *netā*); *kaṇṭhacchēttā* (Uttar. 633); JM. *dāyā* = *dātā* (Erz. 58,30); M. JM. Ś. *bhaṭṭā* (Karp. 43,4; Āv. 11,2; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 4,4.5); JS. *nādā* = *jñātā*, *jhādā* = *dhyātā* (Pav. 382, 42; 386, 70), *kattā* = *kartā* (Pav. 384,36. 58. 60); Ś. *sāsīdā* = *śāsītā*, *dādā* = *dātā* (Kāleyak. 24,16; 25,22); Ś. *rakkhidā* = *rakṣītā* (Śak. 52,5; Mukund. 15,5); AMg. *udagadāyāre* [text *ḍātāro*] = *udakadātā* (Ovav. § 86); AMg. *bhaṭṭāre* (Nāyādh. 1230); AMg. *uṇadamsēttāre* [text *oro*] = *upadarsayitā* (Sūyag. 593); JM. *bhaṭṭāro* = *bharṭā* (Āv. 12,5. 12. 16. 17; Erz. 6,36; 85,22).—Acc. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhaṭṭāraṃ* (H. 390; Samav. 84; Erz.; Mālatīm. 240, 2); Mg.

bhattālam (Veñis. 33,8); AMg. *udagadāyāram* = *udakadātāram* (Ovav. § 85); *pasatthāram neyāram* = *praśāstāram netāram* (Samav. 84); *satthāram* = *śāstāram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. *JŚ. kattāram* = *kartāram* (Uttar. 412; Pav. 379,1).—Gen. M. JM. *Ś. bhattuṇo* (Karp. 7,1; Erz. 41,23; Śak. 81,70; Vikr. 52,14; 82,6. 16; 88,14 etc.); AMg. *udagadāyārassa* = *udakadātūḥ* (Ovav. § 85). — For the loc. *Ś. bhattari* (Śak. 109,10) we should, with the v. l. read *bhattāre*, that Hc. 3,45 teaches and JM. too has (Āv. 23, 5). False is also the reading *bhattari* of the Kashmirian - (105,15), *bhattumi* of the Devanāgarī- and *bhattummi* of the Drāviḍian recensions (70,12 ed. BÖHTL.; 248,6 ed. Madras). The manuscripts of the Drāviḍian recension waver between *bhattummi*, *bhattari*, *bhattari*, *bhattammi*.—Voc. *bhattā*, see above.—Plural: nom. M. *soāro* = *śrotārah* (Vajjālagga 325,17); AMg. *pasatthāro* = *praśāstārah* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 23. 38); *uvavattāro* = *upapattārah* (Sūyag. 699. 766. 771; Vivāhap. 179. 508. 610; Ovav. § 56. 69. ff.); *akkhāyāro*, *āgantāro*, *neyāro* | text *netāro*], *pannattāro* = *ākhyātārah*, *āgantārah*, *netārah*, **prajñaptārah* (Sūyag. 81. 439. 470. 603); AMg. *gantā* = *gantārah* (Sūyag. 150); *saviyā* = *savitārau*, *taṭṭhā* = *taṣṭārau* (Thāp. 82). To it belongs also AMg. *bhājantāro*, which, at Ovav. § 56 appears as *bhavantāro*¹, and is used as the nom. of the sing. too, (Āyār. 2,1,11,11; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 562.766; Ovav. § 56.129) and the voc. (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 239.585. 630.630.635). Its meaning is = *bhavantaḥ* or *bhagavantaḥ*, with which the scholiasts inter alia restore, and it is derived directly from *bhavant*, the participle used as a pronoun, like the voc. *āusantāro* = *āyusmantaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; used as a sing.) from *āyusmant*. There is found also the gen. *bhājantārāṇam* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Sūyag. 635). Ins. *dāyārehiṃ* = *dātybhīḥ* (Kappas. § 112).—Loc. *āgantāresu* = *āgantṛsu* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2. 4. 5; 2,7,2,1. 7. 8.), *dāyāresu* = *dāṭṛsu* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 17). — The neutra are inflected, according to Sr. fol. 18 either according to the *a*-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattāra*-, or according to the *u*-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattu*-.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. considers the word as an admixture of the pres. part. *bhavant* and the fut. part. *bhaviṣṭ*. — 2. The hypothesis of STEINTHAL (Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā p. 40), that the nomina agentis are wanting in Jaina-Prākṛt (i. e. AMg.) is wrong. AMg., on the contrary, is the single dialect, in which they are frequent.

§ 391. Words of Relationship. — *piu* = *pitṛ*.

Singular.

Nom. *piā* [*piaro*]; Ś. Mg. *pidā*.

Acc. *piaram*; AMg. JM. *piyaram*; Ś. *pidaram*; Mg. *pidalam*.

Ins. *piuṇā* [*piareṇa*]; Ś. Mg. *piduṇā*; A. *piara*.

Gen. *piuṇo*; AMg. *piuṇo*, *piussa*; JM. *piuṇo*, *piyarassa*; Ś. Mg. *piduṇo*; A. *piaraha*.

Voc. [*piā*, *piā*, *piaram*, *piaro*, *piara*].

Plural.

Nom. [*piaro*], [*piuṇo*]; AMg. JM. *piyaro*; AMg. also *piī*; Ś. *pidaro*.

Acc. [*piare*, *piuṇo*]; AMg. *piyaro*; Ś. *pidaro*, *pidare*.

Ins. [AMg. *piūhiṃ*, also *piūhiṃ*; [*piarehiṃ*].

Gen. AMg. *piūṇam*, also *piūṇam*.

Loc. [*piūsum*].

Sing. : nom. is very frequent : M. *piā* (R. 15,26); AMg. JM. *pijā* (Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 1110; Erz. 14,13); Ś. *pidā* (Śak. 21,2; Uttarar. 113,6; Kaleyak. 24,18); Ā. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 104,17); Mg. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 32,11); AMg. JM. *bhāyā* = *bhrātā* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Uttar. 217; Erz. 14,13); Ś. Ā. *bhādā* (Uttarar. 128,10;

Pras 83,6; Venīs. 102,4; 103,22; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,18); Ś. *jāmādā* = *jāmātā* (Mālatīm. 235,4; Mallikām. 210,23; Priyad. 27, 4 [text °do]); Mg. *vāmādā* (Mṛcch. 139,25). Acc. Mg. *piyaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345); *ammāpiyaram* (Thāṇ. 126; Uttar. 573); Ś. *pidaram* (Vikr. 81,10; 82,8; Mālav. 84,5; Venīs. 61,4; Kāleyak. 18,22; Kāmsav. 50,12 etc.), in Ā. too (Mṛcch. 101,17) and Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,10); JM. *bhāyaram* Ś. *bhādarām* = *bhrātaram* (Erz. 85,4; Venīs. 95,14; 104,12; Mālatīm. 240, 2). — Ins. M. AMg. *piuṇā* (G. 1197; Vivāhap. 820. 827), Mg. *piduṇā* (Mṛcch. 167,24), A. *piara* (Sukas. 32,3); JM. *bhāuṇā* (Erz. 45,28), Ś. *bhādunā* (Mālav. 71,2; Mālatīm. 244,2); Ś. *jāmādunā* (Ratn. 291,2). — Gen. M. AMg. *piuṇo* (R. 8,28; Kk. 262,28; Nāyādh. 784; Kappas. Th. § 3); AMg. *ammāpiuṇo* (Thāṇ. 125) beside *ammāpiussa* (Thāṇ. 126); JM. *piuṇo* (Erz. 9,19; 17,17) and *ammāpiyarassa* (Erz. 77,30); Ś. *piduṇo* (Mṛcch. 95,2. 15; Uttarar. 73,10; Mudrār. 262,6; Pārvatīp. 11,4; 28,6; Mukund. 34,3); Ś. *bhādunō* (Mālatīm. 242,1; 245,5; 249,4; Bālar. 113,7; 144,10; Venīs. 60,21; 64,7; Mudrār. 35,9); Ś. *jāmādunō* (Venīs. 29,12; Mallikām. 21,4; 212,17; Viddhaś. 48,9); A. *piaraha* (Piṅgala 1,116, in the meaning of the acc.). — Plural: nom. AMg. *piyaro* (Thāṇ. 511. 512), frequently in the compound *ammāpiyaro* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 16; Vivāhap. 809. 926; Thāṇ. 524.525; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 114. 116; p. 292. 887. 965 and often); AMg. JM. *bhāyaro* (Sūyag. 176; Samav. 238; Kk. 267,36; Erz.); also AMg. *bhāyarā* (Uttar. 402.622) and AMg. *do pīl* = *dvau pītarau* [as the names of stars; Thāṇ. 82], Ś. *bhādaro* (Uttarar. 12,7; Venīs. 13,9). False are Ś. *mādarapiarā* (sic; Kāmsav. 50,14) and *bhāarā* (sic; Kāmsav. 50,10). We should read *mādāpidaro* and *bhādaro*. — Acc. AMg. JM. *ammāpiyaro* (Antag. 4, 23.61. Nāyādh. § 134.138; p. 260.887; Vivāhap. 808; Erz. 37,29); Ś. *pidaro* (Vikr. 87,17); AMg. also *ammāpiyare* (Uttar. 643; Commentary °*ram*); Ś. *mādāpidare* = *mātāpitarau* (Śak. 159,12). — Ins. AMg. *ammāpiūhim* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nāyādh. § 138; p. 889) and AMg. JM. *ammāpiūhim* (Kappas. § 94; v. l. °*piū*°; Thāṇ. 527; Vivāhap. 1206; Āv. 37,2; 38,2) JM. *māyāpiūhim* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *piūhim*, *bhāiūhim* (Sūyag. 694; text °*iūhim*), false, *piyāiūhim* (104) and *pitāiūhim* (692); Ś. *bhādarehim* (Mṛcch. 106,1) is merely conjectural. — Gen. AMg. *ammāpiūnam* (Kappas. § 90; Nāyādh. § 120; p. 905. 965) and *ammāpiūnam* (Ovav. § 72; v. l. °*piū*°; 103. 107); JM. *māyāpiūnam* (Āv. 37,21). The proper noun AMg. *culanīpiyā* = *culanīpitṛ* is declined as: nom. *culanīpiyā*, acc. °*piyam*, gen. °*piyassa*, voc. °*piyā* (Uvās. s. v.).

§ 392. *mātr* (mother) forms the nom. M. *mā* (H. 400.508); AMg. JM. *māyā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 115.161.377.635.750; Nāyādh. 1110; Jiv. 355 Kappas. § 46. 109; Erz. 5,19; 10,4. 7); Ś. Ā. Mg. *mādā* (Uttarar. 126,6; Venīs. 29,12; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 129,6). In the meaning 'divine mother', the stem *māarā*, which is declined like the feminine in -ā, makes its appearance according to Hc. 3,46. — Acc. M. *māaram* (Hc. 3,46), AMg. JM. *māyaram*, Dh. Ś. *mādarām* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345; Erz.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 32,12; Ś. Mṛcch. 141,11; Śak. 59,7; Vikr. 82,3; 88,16 etc.), in M. also *māam* (H. 741), and so the word may generally be declined as an ā-stem: sing. ins. JM. *māyāe* (Āv. 11,3,9); gen. Ś. *mādāe* (Karp. 19, 5); voc. M. *māe* (H. s. v. *mā*), Ś. *māde* (Venīs. 58,17; Viddhaś. 112,8); plur.: ins. AMg. *māyāiūhim* (Sūyag. 104); gen. A. *māahā* (Hc. 4,399). The nom. plur. is AMg. *māyaro* (Thāṇ. 512; Samav. 230; Kappas. § 74. 77); besides AMg. JM. have ī- and ū- stems (Hc. 3,46); gen. loc. sing. *māūe* (Kappas. § 93; Āv. 12,9; loc. Vivāhap. 116) in ins. plur. *māiūhim* (Sūyag. 692 [°], 694); gen. plur. *māiūnam*, *māiūna* (Hc. 1,135; 3,46) which appears more frequently in compounds (§ 55). Voc. sing. *mā* in A. Piṅgala 1,2. — From *duhitṛ* the nom. Ś. is *duhidā* (Mālav. 37,8; Ratn. 291,1; Viddhaś.

47,6. 10; Priyad. 52,6), the acc. Ś. *duhidaram* (Śak. 128,2), the voc. Ś. *duhide* (Viddhaś. 38,3 ed. Calc.). JM. *dhijā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* and M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūjā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* are mostly used (§ 65.148), JM. *dhijā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* which are inflected as *ā*-stems, especially in the combinations JM. *dāśiedhijā*, Ś. *dāśiedhūdā*, Mg. *dāśiedhūdā*, comprehended as compounds (cf. *dāśieutta*). In Ś. Mg. the manuscripts and texts write *dhā* mostly falsely. Nom.Ś. *dāśiedhūdā* (Ratn. 302,8); AMg. JM. *dhūjā* (Āyār. 1,2, 1,1; 2,15,15; Sūyag. 635,657; Vivāgas. 105. 214. 228; Antag. 55; Nāyādh. 586 781.1068.1070.1228; Vivāhap. 602.987; Jiv. 355; Āv. 10,23; 11,10; 12,3; 29,14; 37,26ff.; Erz. 5,38); Ś. *ajjādhūdā*=*āryāduhitā* (Mṛcch. 53,23; 54, 7; 94,11; 325,14); acc. M. *dhūam* (H. 388), AMg. *dhūjam* (Vivāgas. 228. 229; Nāyādh. 820); ins. M. *dhūai* (H. 370); *dhūāe* (H. 864); Ś. *dāśiedhūdāe* (Nāgān. 57,4). Mg. *dāśiedhūdāe* (Mṛcch. 17,8); gen. Ś. *dāśiedhūdāe* (Mṛcch. 77,12; Nāgān. 47,10); Ś. *ajjādhūdāe* (Mṛcch. 53,15; 94,4); loc. AMg. *dhūjāe* (Nāyādh. 727); voc. JM. *dāśiedhūe* (Erz. 68,20); Ś. *dāśiedhūe* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 72,19; Karp. 13,2 [KONOW °dhūde]; Viddhaś. 85,11; Ratn. 294,3; 301,18; Nāgān. 57,3; Caṇḍak. 9,16); Mg. *dāśiedhūe* (Mṛcch. 127,23). Plural: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *dhūjāo* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; 2,2,1,12; Vivāgas. 217; Āv. 10,23; 12,1; Erz. 14,12); ins. JM. *dhūjāhi* (Erz. 14,16); gen. AMg. *dhūjānam* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1); Ś. *dhūdānam* (Mālatim. 288,5); voc. Ś. *dāśiedhūdāo* (Cait. 84,7). From the stem *dhūjarā* is found the acc. sing. AMg. *dhūjaram* (Uttar. 641), ins. plur. *dhūjarāhi* (Sūyag. 229).—From *svas* the nom. sing. is AMg. *sasā* (Hc. 3, 35; Pāṭyāl. 252; Sūyag. 176).

4) STEMS IN *o* AND *au*.

§ 393. Of the old flexion of *go* only a few remnants are traceable in AMg.: nom. *suṃyago* = *abhinavaprasūtā gauḥ* (Sūyag. 180); nom. plur. *gāo* = *gāvaḥ* (Dasav. 628,15); acc. plur. *gāo* = **gāvaḥ* = *gāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 10); ins. plur. *gahim* = *gobhiḥ* (Aṇuog. 351); gen. plur. *gavam* = *gavām* (Samav. 83; Uttar. 293). The nom. sing. in AMg. is *gave*=**gavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10; Dasav. 628,17), as also at Sūyag. 147 we have to read for *gavam* of the text; the nom. plur. is AMg. *gavā* in *jaraggavā* = *jaradgāvaḥ* (Sūyag. 185). For the mascul. *goṇo* is mostly used in AMg. Mg. (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,104; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; 2,3,3,8. 13; 2,4,2,7; Sūyag. 708. 720. 724 f. 727; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 19; Samav. 131; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 97,21; 98,20; 99,12; 100,13; 107,18; 112,17; 117,15; 118,5. 12-14. 24; 122,15; 132,16; at the last two places *goṇām* with a change of gender according to § 358); AMg. *goṇattāe* = *gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51). The fem. is JM. *goṇī* (Āv. 7,10. 12; 43,10), or M. *gāi* (Hc. 1,158; H.), AMg. JM. *gāvī* (C. 2,16; Hc. 2,174; Āyār. 2,1,4,3. 4; Vivāgas. 67; Jiv. 356; Dasav. 618,39; Dasav. N. 658,7; Āv. 43,11. 20; Dvār. 504,12. 14; Erz.). For the masc. Hc. 1,158 mentions *gāūo*, *gāo*, for the femin. *gāūā*, *gāi*. Of them *gāūo* = *gavayaḥ*, *goṇo* is either=**goṇno* for **gunno* = **gūrṇāḥ* from *√gur* according to § 66¹, or = **gavana*. Cf. also § 8. 152.

1. So more correctly than BB. 3,237.

§ 394. *nau* (ship) always forms, from the strong stem, a femin. *nāvā*, which is inflected according to the *ā*-declension (Hc. 1,164; Sr. fol. 16); sing. nom. AMg. *nāvā*, Ś. *nāvā* (Nāyādh. 741. 1339; Vivāhap. 105; Uttar. 716; Mṛcch. 41,20), A. *nāva* (Hc. 4,423,1); acc. M. *nāvam* (G.812), AMg. *nāvam*, *nāvām* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13 ff.; Sūyag. 68. 271. 438; Vivāhap. 105; Nāyādh. 741); ins. gen. AMg. *nāvāe* (Āyār. 2,3,1,15 ff.; Nāyādh. 1339 f.; Uvās. § 218); abl. AMg. *nāvāo* (Āyār. 2,3,2,2. 3); plur. ins. AMg. *māvāhi* (Dasav. 629,1).

5) STEMS IN *-t*.

§ 395. The nouns in *-t*, having a single stem, of which *t* is preceded by a vowel, cross over to the corresponding vocalic declension after dropping off of the final *t*: M. *indāñā* = *indrajitā* (R. 14,16), gen. *indāñño* (R. 12,58. 84) and *indaissa* (R. 15,61), loc. *indāmmi* (R. 13,99); *taḍi* = *taḍit* (Hc. 1,202), A. *taḷi* = *taḍitam* (Vikr. 55,2); *marū* = *marut* (Kī. 2,123; M. *vijjū* = *vidyut* (Vr. 4, 9; Bh. 4, 26; Hc. 1,15; Kī. 2, 129; H. 585). From *jagat*, the nom. sing. is M. *jaam* (R. 5, 20; 9, 73), AMg. *jage* (Sūyag. 74), A. *jagu* (Hc. 4,343,1); the acc. AMg. *jagam* (Sūyag. 405. 537); the gen. A. *jaassu* (Hc. 4,440); the loc. M. *jaammi* (H. 364; R. 3,12; Karp. 78,4; 80,4) and *jae* (G. 239; H. 303), AMg. *jagai* (Sūyag. 104; text °i), and *jagamsi* (Sūyag. 306), JŚ. *jagadi* (Pav. 382, 26; text °i), A. *jagi* (Hc. 4,404; Kk. 261,1). The feminine nouns mostly take the endings *-ā*: *sarit* becomes Pāli *sarītā*, M. *sariā* (G. H. R.), JM *sariyā* (Erz.), A. *saria* (Vikr. 72,9); M, gen. plur. *sariāhā* (Hc. 4,300); A. also ins. plur. *sarihū* = **saribhiḥ* = *saridbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11). The transition to the *ā*-declension is prohibited by the grammarians for *vidyut*. Cf. § 244. According to Hc. 1,33 there is found *vijjuṇā* too beside *vijjūe*, according to C. 1,4 nom. plur. *vijjuṇo* too.

§ 396. The stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* partly go according to the mode of Skt., especially in AMg., and partly according to that of the *a*-declension of the strong stems in *-anta*, *-manta*, *-vanta*. Thus with the flexion of Skt.: sing. nom. AMg. *jānam* = *jānan* (Sūyag. 1,332); *vijjam* = *vidvān* (Sūyag. 126. 306. 380 ff.); *cakkhumaṁ* = *cakṣuṣmān* (Sūyag. 546); *diṭṭhimaṁ* = *dr̥ṣṭimān* (Sūyag. 200. 531); *āyavaṁ nāpavaṁ dhammavaṁ bambhavaṁ* = *ātmavān jñānavān dharmavān brahmavān* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *puṭṭhavaṁ* = *sp̥ṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8; in the passive sense), *thāmaṁ* = *sthāmavān* (Uttar. 50. 90), *ciṭṭhaṁ*, *aciṭṭhaṁ* = *tiṣṭhan*, *atiṣṭhan* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *kuvaṁ* = *kurvan* (Sūyag. 31,863), *kiṇaṁ*, *haṇaṁ*, *paṇaṁ* = *kr̥ṇan*, *ghnan*, *ṣacan* (Sūyag. 609); AMg. JM. *mahaṁ* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4; Sūyag. 582; Ovav. § 5; Kk. 271. 11); JM. *arahaṁ* = *arhan* (Dvār. 495,9). In M. I have not been able to find this form. In Ś. Mg. it is confined to *bhagavat* and *bhavat* (pronoun) (Hc. 4,265). So Ś. *bhaavaṁ* (Mṛcch. 28,1; 44,19; Mudrār. 20,7; 179,3; Ratn. 296,5. 23; Vikr. 10,2; 23,19; 43,11 etc.); likewise Mg. (Mudrār. 178,6; Caṇḍak. 43,7); Ś. *bhavaṁ* (Mṛcch. 4,24; 6,23; 7,3; 18,25; Śak. 37, 1 etc.), *atthabhavaṁ* = *atrabhavān* (Śak. 33,3; 35,7), *tatthabhavaṁ* = *tatra-bhavān* (Vikr. 46,5; 47,2; 75,3. 15); likewise P. *bhagavaṁ* (Hc. 4,323), as in AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,1,1 ff.; Uvās. and very often).—Ins. AMg. *maimayā* = *matimatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4. 2,5), *maimajā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,22.2,16. 3,14.4,17; Sūyag. 373); AMg. *jānayā pāsaya* = *jānatā paśyatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); AMg. JM. *mahajā* = *mahatā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 718; Vivāgas 239; Nāyādh. § 15.135 etc.; Kk. 259,37), used also for the femin. in consonance with the following masculine and neuter (§ 355): *mahajā iddhiṁ mahajā juiṁ mahajā balenaṁ*... = *mahatyarddhiyā mahatyā dyutyā mahatā balena*... (Jiv. 588 [text *jutṭi*]; Kappas. 102; Ovav. § 52); M. *bhaavaā* (G. 896), AMg. JM. *bhagavajā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 7. 3. 5 etc.; Uvās.; and very often; Kk. 268, 17), Ś. *bhaavadā* = *bhagavatā* (Lalitav. 265,18; Śak. 57,17; Vikr. 23,6; 72,14; 81,2); likewise in Ś. *bhavadā* = *bhavatā* (Śak. 36,16; Vikr. 19,15), *atthabhavadā*, *tatthabhavadā* (Vikr. 16,11; 30,9; 80,14; 84,19; Śak. 30,2), as also in the gen.: Ś. *bhaavado* (Śak. 120,5; Ratn. 294,5; 295,6), likewise Mg. (Prab. 52,6; Caṇḍak. 43,6); Ś. *bhavado* (Śak. 38,6. 8; 39,12; Mṛcch. 52,12; Vikr. 18,10,20,19; 21,19 etc.), *atthabhavado* (Vikr. 21,10), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch. 6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,113; 79. 16). So also in the proper

noun *Ś. gen. rumaṇṇado* = *rumaṇṇataḥ* (Ratn. 320,16), of which the nom. is *rumaṇṇo*, as of an *n*-stem (Priyad. 5,5). In the case of adjectives and participles only the forms of the *a*-stems are otherwise usual in *Ś. Mg.* Hence false is *Ś. guṇavado* (Śak 84,8 ed. BURKHARD), for which ed. BÖHTLINGK 43,14, ed. Madras. 186,11 and the Kashmir recension 72,15 have likewise the false dative *guṇavade*. On the dative *bhavade* see § 361. — Gen. AMg. *mahao* = *mahataḥ* (Sūyag. 312), *bhagavao* = *bhagavataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,4; 2,15,9 ff.; Kappas. § 16. 28; Vivāhap. 1271; Uvās.; and very often), *paḍivajjao* = **pratipadyataḥ*, *viharao* = *viharataḥ* (Uttar. 116), *avijāṇao* = *avijānataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,4,4,2; 1,5,1,1), *akuvvao* = *akurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 540), *pakuvvao* = *prakurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 340), *karao* = *kurvataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5) *haṇao* = *ghnataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3), *kittayao* = *kirtayataḥ* (Uttar. 726), *dhiṁmao* = *dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,8). On *Ś. Mg.* see above. — Loc. *Ś. sadi* = *sati* (Śak. 141,7); *M. himavaī* = *himavati* (Mudrār. 60,9). — Voc. AMg. JM. *bhagavaṁ*, *bhājavaṁ* (Vivāhap. 205; Kappas. § 111; Erz. 2,32,44,18; Dvār. 495,13); *Ś. bhaavaṁ* (Ratn. 296,24; 298,14; 300,33; Prab. 59,4; Śak. 73,5; Vkr. 86,10; Uttarar. 204,8 etc.); P. *bhagavaṁ* (Hc. 4,323). Beside AMg. *āusam* = *āyuṣman* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 1; Sūyag. 792; Samav. 1) AMg. very frequently has *āuso* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,1,7. 13, 2,6,1,5. 10. 11; 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1. 2; Sūyag. 594; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.); further *samaṇāuso* (Samav. 31; Ovav. § 140; Nāyādh. 518. 614. 617. 652 ff.), that is used for the plural too (Sūyag. 579.582; Nāyādh. 497.504). *āuso* is rightly equated by LEUMANN (Aup. S. s. v.) as = **āyuṣmas*, hence it is to be connected with the Vedic vocative in *-as* (WHITNEY § 454). — In the plur. the nom. and the voc. only are formed dialectically according to the old flexion too. Nom.: AMg. *silamanto guṇamanto vaiṁanto* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *mūlamanto kandaṁanto khandhamanto tayāṁanto sālāmanto pavālamanto* etc. (Ovav. § 4), *bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,1,9,1; Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. Ś. § 61), and so also *Ś. nom. bhaavanto* (Mudrār. 20,5). For *Ś. kidavanto* = *kṛtavantaḥ* (Jivān. 40,26) we have to read *kidavantā*, on the other hand for voc. *bhavantā* (Śak. 27, 16 ed. BÖHTLINGK) we should with the ed. Madras. 135,7 read *bhaavanto*, as stands at Venis. 102,2. — Nom. plur. neut. are AMg. *pariggaḥāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,2,4; cf. 1,5,3,1); *balavanti* (Uttar. 753); *eyāvanti savvāvanti* = *etāvanti *sarvāvanti* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5. 7); *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,2,1. 4; cf. § 357); *jāvanti* (Uttar. 215). The sing. *abhiddavaṁ* = *abhidraṇ* metrically stands for the plural (Āyār. 2,16,2). Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2.227. So also in prose the voc. JM. *bhājavaṁ* (T. 4,14. 20) in addressing more than one. — As AMg. *samaṇāuso* is used for the plur. too, so is used very frequently the plural *āusanto* for the singular; hence it is to be taken as pluralis majestatis, since the nom. sing. in prose would be *āusante*: *āusanto samaṇā* = *āyuṣmañ śramaṇa*, *āusanto gāhāvai* = *āyuṣman gṛhapate* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 5,2; 2,1,3,2; 2,3,1,16 ff.; 2,3,2,1. 2. 16; 2,3,3,5 ff. etc.); *āusanto goyamā* = *āyuṣman gotama* (Sūyag. 962. 972. 981) beside *āyuso goyamā* (Sūyag. 964); *āusanto udagā* = *āyuṣmann udaka* (Sūyag. 969. 972. 1012. 1014). A doubtless plural is for example *āusanto nīyaṇṭhā* = *āyuṣmanto nirgranthāḥ* (Sūyag. 989. 992). From the weak stem are formed *jāṇao*, *ajāṇao* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), in case one, with the commentary and JACOBI (S B E. XII, 149) will like to take it as the nom. plur. However, it is not possible for the prose, so that the forms are to be explained as the gen. sing., which gives also a better sense.

§ 397. With the exception of the cases noted under § 396 the formation in *-anta*, *-manta*, *-vanta* prevails in all the dialects: sing. nom. M. *pīanto* = *pīban*; *calanto* = *calan*; *bahugūṇavanto* = *bahugūṇavān*; *kuṇanto* =

kṛvān (H. 13. 25. 203. 265); AMg. *sāsanto* beside *sāsañ* = *sāsat* (Uttar. 38); *anūsāsanto* (Uttar. 39); *kiṇanto*, *vikkīṇanto* = *kṛiṇan*, *vikkīṇan* (Uttar. 1010); *mūlamante*, *kandamante* = *mūlavān*, *kandavān* (Ovav. § 5); *vaṇṇamante*, *gandhamante* = *vārṇavān*, *gandhavān* (Bhag. 1,420); *virāyanto* = *virājan* (Ovav. § 48); *visīyanto* = *viśīdan*, *ramanto* = *ramamāṇaḥ* (Dasav. 613, 16; 641, 21); *cullahimavante* = *cullahimavān* (Thāṇ. 176); JM. *saṁthuvvanto* = *saṁstīlyamāṇaḥ*; *gāyanto* = **gāyan*; *deṇto* = **dayan*; *agūhanto* = *agūhan*; *paloeṇto* = *pralokayan* (Äv. 7,25; 8,26; 9,5. 6; 15,21); *kandanto* = *krandan* (Erz. 42,12); JM. *ś. mahanto* (Erz. 8,5; 50,5; 63,28; Kk. 274,4; Vikr. 45,1; Mallikām. 245,5; Mudrār. 43,8); *ś. karēnto* = *kurvan*. (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23), *jāpanto* (Mṛcch. 18,23; 104,1); *puloanto* = *pralokayan* (Mahāv. 99,3), *cittavanto* = *cittavān* (Śak. 87,13); Mg. *puṣcamde* = *prcchan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *mahante* = *maḥān* (Mṛcch. 132,11; 169,18; Prab. 58,9; Venis. 35,17; 36,3); *colaante* = *corayan* (Mṛcch. 165,9); *daṁśaante* = *darsayan* (Śak. 114,11); *māntaante* = *mantrayan* (Prab. 32,10; so to be read; ed. Bomb. 78,12 ^{to}); Dh. *ācakkhanto* = **ācakṣat* (§ 88; Mṛcch. 34,24); P. *cintayanto* = *cintayan*, *paribbhamanto* = *paribhraman* (Hc. 4,323); A. *hasantu* = *hasan*, *daṁsijjantu* = *darśyamāna* (Hc. 4,383,3.418,6), *jagganto* = *jāgrat* (Piṇḍa 1,62^a), *valantu* = *valan*; *ulhasantu* = *ullasan*; *gunavantu* = *gunavān* (Piṇḍa 1,4^b; 2,45); nom. neut. *bhaṇantaṁ* = *bhaṇat* (H. 218); *kirantaṁ* = *kirat* (G. 1182); *ś. disantaṁ* = *darśyamānam* (Uttarar. 77,6); A. *dhaṇamanta* = *dhanavat* (Piṇḍa 2,45). Mg. *dahante* (more correctly *ḍaḥaḍahante* with the v. l.; Venis. 35,23) is related to the neuter *ṣopidaṁ* = *ṣonitam*. In the acc. masc. the Skt. form becomes identical with the later formation of Pkt.: AMg. *ś. mahantaṁ* (Äyār. 1,3,2,3; Sūyag. 944; Mṛcch. 40,22); M. *pijjantaṁ*, *anupijjantaṁ*, *avalambijjantaṁ*, *paḍasantaṁ* = *piyamānam*, *anunīyamānam*, *avalambiyamānam*, *prakāśayantaṁ* (G. 466—469); AMg. *saṁārambhantaṁ* = *saṁārabhamānam*, *kiṇantaṁ* = *kṛiṇantaṁ*, *giṇhantaṁ* = *grīṇhantaṁ* (Äyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,5,3; 2,7,1,1); JM. *jāpantaṁ* = *jāpantaṁ* (Kk. 262,5); *ś. jāpantaṁ*, *santaṁ*, *asantaṁ* (Mudrār. 38,2; 63,9.10), *kappijjantaṁ* = *kalpyamānam* (Mṛcch. 4,10), *uvvahantaṁ* = *udvahantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 41,10). False is *ś. bhaavadantaṁ* for *bhaavantaṁ* (Vikr. 87,17). Mg. *mālantā* = *mārayantaṁ*, *yiantā* = *jīvantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 123,22; 170,5); *aliḥantaṁ* = *arhantaṁ* (Latakam. 14,19); A. *dārantu* = *dārayantaṁ* (Hc. 4,345); neuter: M. *santaṁ* *asantaṁ* (H. 513); *ś. mahantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 28,11). — Ins. M. *piantaṇa* = *pibatā*, *padantaṇa* = *patatā* (H. 246. 264); AMg. *vinimujjantaṇaṁ* = *vinimuṇḍatā* (Ovav. § 48); *anukampantaṇaṁ* = *anukampatā* (Äyār. 2,15,4); JM. *jāpantaṇa* = *jāpatā* (KI. 15; Erz. 10,26); *kuṇantaṇa* = Vedic *kṛvatā* (KI. 15); *vaccantaṇaṁ* = *vajātā* (Äv. 11,19); JŚ. *arahantaṇa* = *arhatā* (Pav. 385,63); *ś. calantaṇa* = *calatā* (Lalitav. 568,5); *gāantaṇa* = *gāyatā*, *karēntaṇa* = *kurvatā* (Mṛcch. 44,2; 60,25; 61,24); *harantaṇa* (Uttarar. 52,9) *bhuttavantaṇa* = *bhuktavātā* (Jivān. 53,11); Mg. *gaṣantaṇa* = *gaṣhatā* (Mṛcch. 167,24); *āhiṇḍantaṇa* = *āhiṇḍamāṇena* (Caṇḍak. 71,12); A. *pavavantaṇa* = *pravasatā* (Hc. 4,333), *bhamanti* = *bhramatā* (Vikr. 55,18; 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); *roantaṇa* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). — Abl. AMg. *cullahimavantāo* = *cullahimavataḥ* (Thāṇ. 177). — Gen. M. *ārambhantassa* = *ārabhamāṇasya*, *ramantassa* = *ramamāṇasya*, *jāṇantassa* = *jānataḥ* (H. 42, 44. 243), *viṣahantassa* = **viṣahataḥ*, *voṇḍhindantassa* = *vyavacchinḍataḥ* (R. 12, 23; 15, 62); AMg. *āusantassa* = *āyusmataḥ* (Äyār. 2, 7, 1, 2; 2, 7, 2, 1); *bhagavantassa* = *bhagavataḥ* (Kappas. § 118); *vasantassa* = *vasataḥ* (Uvās. § 83), *cajantassa* = *tyajataḥ* (Ovav. § 170); *cullahimavantassa* (Jiv. 388 f.); *kahantassa* = *kathayataḥ* (Sūyag. 907); *jīṇantassa* = *jāyataḥ* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *acchantassa* = *rcchataḥ*, *dhūvntassa* = *dhūpayataḥ*, *sārakkhantassa* = *saṁrakṣataḥ* (Äv. 14, 25; 25, 4; 28, 16); *karēntassa*, *kuṇantassa* = *kurvataḥ*

(Erz. 1,24;18,10); JM. *cintantassa*, Ś. *cintaantassa* = *cintayataḥ* (Erz. 11,8; 18,16; Śak. 30,5); Ś. *mahantassa* = *mahataḥ* (Uttarar. 105,5); *maggantassa* *mārgamāṇasya*, *nikkamantassa* = *niṣkrāmataḥ* (Mṛcch. 95,7; 105,24); *haṇumantassa* = *hanumataḥ* (Mahāv. 125,14); Mg. *vaññāmaḍḍa* = *vrajataḥ* (Lalitav. 566,7); *alihanataṣṣa* = *arhataḥ* (Prab. 52,7); CP. *naccantassa* = *nṛiyataḥ* (Hc 4,326); A. *mellantaho* = *tyajataḥ*, *dēntaho* = **dayataḥ*, *juijhan-taho* = *judyataḥ*, *karantaho* = *kurvataḥ* (Hc. 4,370,4.379,1.400).—Loc. M. *samāruhanantammi* = *samārohati*, *hōntammi* = *bhavati*, *ruantammi* = *rudati* (H. 11. 124. 596); *hañūmantē* and *hañūmantammi* = *hanumoti* (R. 1,35; 2,43); AMg. *jalante* = *jvalati* (Kappas § 59; Nāyādh § 34; Uvās § 66; Vivāhap. 169); *sante* = *sati* (Āyār. 2,5,1,5; 2,8,1; 2,9,1), *himavante* = *himavati* (Uvās. § 277); *arahantamsi* = *arhati* (Kappas § 74; Nāyādh. § 46); *abhinikkhamantammi* = *abhinīṣkrāmati* (Uttar. 279); Ś. *mahante* = *mahati* (Śak 29,7); D. *jiante* = *jivati* (Mṛcch. 100,9); A. *pavasantē* = *pravasati* (Hc. 4,422,12).—Voc. M. *āloanta sasanta jambhanta ganta roanta mucchanta padanta khalanta* = *ālokayan śvasan jimbhamāṇa gacchan rudan murchan patan skhalan* (H. 547); *mahanta* (desiring), *muanta* = *muñcan* (H. 510. 643), Mg. *alihanta* = *arhan* (Prab. 54,6; 58,7; Laṭakam. 12,13).—Plural: nom. M. *padantā*, *nivadantā* = *patantāḥ*, *nīpatantāḥ* (G. 122. 129. 442); *bhindantā* = *bhindataḥ*, *jānantā* = *jānataḥ* (H. 326. 821); AMg. *silamantā* = *silamantaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *jampantā* = *jalpantaḥ* (Sūyag. 50); *vāyantā* *ya gāyantā* *ya naccantā* *ya bhāsantā* *ya sāśantā* *ya sāvēntā* *ya rakkhantā* *ya* = *vācayantaḥ* *ca gāyantaḥ* *ca nṛiyantaḥ* *ca bhāsamāṇaḥ* *ca sāśataḥ* *ca śrāvayantaḥ* *ca rakṣantaḥ* *ca* (Ovav. § 49, V); *pūrayantā*, *peccantā*, *uijōntā*, *karēntā* = *pūrayantaḥ*, *prekṣamāṇāḥ*, *uddiyotayantaḥ*, *kurvantaḥ* (Ovav. [§ 37]); *buddhimantā* = *buddhimantaḥ* (Sūyag. 916); *arahantā* = *arhantaḥ* (Kappas. § 17. 18), even in the combination *arahantā bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1, 4, 1, 1; 2, 4, 1, 4 [so to be read]; Vivāhap. 1235), likewise *samaṇā bhagavanto* *silamantā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 10); JM. *kiḍḍantā* = *krīḍantaḥ* (Āv. 30,15); *gavesantā* = *gaveṣayantaḥ*, *coijjantā* = *codyamāṇāḥ* (Kk. 273, 42; 274, 3); *santā* = *santaḥ*, *carantā* = *carantaḥ* (Erz. 1. 12. 13); Ś. *pūijjantā* = *pūiyamāṇāḥ*, *sikkhantā* = *śikṣantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 9, 1; 71, 21), *khelantā* = *khelantaḥ* (Uttarar. 108, 2); Mg. *śasantā* = *śvasantaḥ*, *paḍivaśantā* = *pratiśvasantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 116,17; 169,3); A. *phukkijjanta* = *phūṭkriyamāṇāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,3); *guṇamanta* = *guṇavantaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,118); neuter: AMg. *varṇamantāim* *gandhamantāim* *rasamantāim* *phāsamantāim* = *varṇavanti* *gandhavanti* *rasavanti* *sparsavanti* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Vivāhap. 144; Jiv. 26); acc. M. *upṇamante* = *unnamataḥ* (H. 539); AMg. *arahante bhagavante* = *arhato bhagavataḥ* (Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. § 21), *samārambhante* = *samārabhamāṇān* (Āyār. 1,1,3 5); JS. *arahante* (Pav.379,3); neutrum: AMg. *mahantāim* (Vivāhap. 1308 f.).—Ins. M. *visamghadantehim* = *visamghatadbhiḥ* (H. 115), *viñintehim* = *vinirgacchadbhiḥ* (G. 138); AMg. *jīvantehim* = *jīvadbbhiḥ*, *ovayantehi* *ya uppajantehi* *ya* = *apapatadbhiḥ* *cotpatadbhiḥ* *ca* (Kappas. § 97); *pannānamantehim* = **prajñānamadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *āvasantehim* = *āvasadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4); *bhagavantehim* = *bhagavadbbhiḥ* (Aṇug. 95); *arahantehim* = *arhadbbhiḥ* (Thāp. 288; Aṇug. 518 [°ri°]); *santehim* = *sadbhiḥ* (Uvās. § 220. 259. 262); JM. *āpucchantehim* = *āprechadbhiḥ* (Āv. 27,11); *maggantehim* = *mārgamāṇāḥ* (Āv. 30,17); *gāyantehim* = *gāyadbhiḥ*, *bhañantehim* = *bhaṇadbhiḥ*, *āruhanantehim* = *ārhadbbhiḥ* (Erz. 1,29; 2,15. 21); Ś. *gacchanantehim* = *gacchadbhiḥ* (Mudrār. 254,3); *anicchanantehim* = *anicchadbhiḥ* (Bālar. 144,9); *gāantehim* = *gāyadbhiḥ* (Cait. 42,2); Mg. *pavisantehim* = *pravisadbhiḥ* (Caṇḍak. 42,11); A. *nivasantāḥ* = *nivasadbhiḥ*, *valantāḥ* = *valadbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11. 18).—Gen. M. *ēntāṇam* = *āyatām*, *cintantāṇa* = *cintayatām* (H. 38,83); AMg. *arahantāṇam* *bhagavantiāṇam* (Vivāhap. 1235;

Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20. 38); *santāṇaṃ* = *satām* (Uvās. § 85); *paññāṇa-mantāṇaṃ* = **prajñānamatām* (Āyār. 1 6,1,1); JM. *āyāntāṇaṃ* = *ācaratām* (Dvār. 502,28), *carantāṇaṃ* = *caratām* (Āv. 7,9), *kuṇantāṇaṃ* = *kurvatām* (Kk. 270,40), *joyantāṇaṃ* = *paśyatām* (Erz. 73,18); JŚ. *arihantāṇaṃ* (Pav. 379,4; 383,44 [°ra°]); Ś. *pekkhantāṇaṃ* = *prekṣamāṇānām* (Venīs. 64,16; Nāgān. 95,13); Mg. *alīhantāṇaṃ* = *arhatām*, *ṇamanantāṇaṃ* = *namatām* (Prab. 46,11; 47,1); *niṣkamantāṇaṃ* = *niṣkrāmatām* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *peccantāṇa* = *prekṣamāṇānām*, *cintantāhā* = *cintayatām*, *ṇavantāhā* = *namatām*, *jo-intāhā* = *paśyatām* (Hc. 4,348. 362. 399. 409).—Loc. M. *dhavalāntesu* = **dhavalā-yatsu* (H. 9); JM. *naccantesu* = *ṇṭyatsu* (Erz. 2,2), *gacchantesu* = *gacchatsu* (Āv. 7,26; Erz. 7,19), *kiḷantesu* = *kriḍatsu* (Erz. 16,16); Ś. *parihariantesu* = *parihariyāṇesu* (Mudrār. 38,10), *vaṭṭantesu* = *varitamāṇesu* (Pārvatip. 2,5; text *vaṭṭadesu*).—Voc. AMg. *āusantā* = *āyusmantāḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17).

§ 398. In the case of the stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* we find isolated forms, that are built according to the model of the nouns, having a single stem, that is to say, from the weak stem: nom. JM. *bhagavo* (Erz. 25,19); Mg. *haṇūme* = *hanūmān* (Mṛcch. 11,8); cf. Mg. *haṇūmaśīhale* (Mṛcch. 133,12) and M. *variahaṇumam* (R. 12,88); AMg. *asam* = *asat* (Sūyag. 35); acc. AMg. frequently *maham* = *mahantam* and *māhat* (Āyār. 2,15,8; Uttar. 325; Vivāgas. 221; Vivāhap. 1325; Uvās. s. v. *maha*; Nāyādh. § 22. 122), femin. too (Vivāhap. 105), and *bhagavam* = *bhagavantam* (Uvās. s. v.); Kappas. § 15. 16. 21; Bhag. 1,420; Ovav. § 33. 38. 40 etc.).—Forms from the weak stem in *-ta*, transported to the *a*-declension, are also found. So nom. sing. AMg. *ajāṇao* = **ajānataḥ* = *ajānan* (Sūyag. 273; text *avijāṇao*), *viḷāṇao* = *viḷānan* (Nandis. 1); nom. plur. femin. *amaṇmayā* = **amatimatāḥ* = *amatimatyaḥ* (Sūyag. 213); gen. plur. mascul. *bhavaḷyāṇaṃ* = **bhavatānām* = *bhavatām* (Uttar. 354). For Ś. *himavadassa* (Pārvatip. 27,13; 32,19; 35,1) we should read *himavantassa*, as in the last place GLASER (31,15) has.—From *arhat* are always formed the nom. *arahā*, *arihā*, as from the stem *arhan* (e. g. Uvās. § 187; Kappas.; Ovav.); likewise is found M. *haṇumā* (Hc. 2,159; Mk. fol. 37; R. 8,43). Cf. also § 601.—On AMg. *āusantāro*, *bhajanāro* see § 390).

6) STEMS IN *-n*.

§ 399. 1) Stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*. *-rāa-*, AMg. JM. *rāja-*, Mg. *lāa-* = *rājan*. In the declension of *rājan*, the old *n*-stem and the *a*-stem, that appears at the beginning of a compound come beside one another. Besides an *i*-stem should be deduced from the original separation-vowel *i* (§ 133).

Singular.

Nom. *rāā*, [rāo]; AMg. JM. *rājā*; Mg. *lāā*; P. *rājā*; CP. *rācā*.

Acc. *rāāṇaṃ*; [rāīṇaṃ, rāam]; AMg. JM. *rājāṇaṃ*, *rājyaṃ*; Mg. *lāāṇaṃ*.

Ins. *raṇṇā*, *rāiṇā*; JM. also *rāeṇa*; [rāaṇā, rānā]; Mg. *laññā*; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā*.

Abl. [raṇṇo, rāiṇo, rāāo, rāādo, rāāu, rāādu, rāāhi, rāāhiṃto, rāā, rāāṇo].

Gen. *raṇṇo*, *rāiṇo*; AMg. JM. also *rājassa*; [rāāṇo, rāaṇo]; Mg. *lañño*, *lāiṇo*; P. *rañño*, *rāciṇo*.

Loc. [rāimmi, rāammi, rāe].

Voc. [rāa, rāā, rāo]; AMg. JM. *rāja*, *rājā*, AMg. also *rājyaṃ*, Ś. *rāam*; Mg. [lāam]; P. *rājyaṃ*.

Plural.

Nom. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rājāṇo*, *rāiṇo*; [rāā]; Mg. *lāāṇo*.

Acc. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rājāṇo*; [rāiṇo, rāe, rāā].

Ins. *rāḥim*; [*rāehim*].

Abl. [*rāḥim*, *rāḥimto*, *rāḥimto*, *rāsumto*, *rāsumto*].

Gen. *rāṇam*, [*rāṇam*, *rāṇam*]; JM. *rāṇam*, *rāṇam*.

Loc. [*rāsum*, *rāsum*].

Voc. = nom.

On the declension of *rājan* see Vr. 5,36—44; Hc. 3,49—55; 4,304; Ki. 3, 35—40; Mk. fol. 44. 45; Sr. fol. 20. Cf. § 133. 191. 237. 276. Most of the cases are found in the texts often in AMg. JM. Ś.: sing. nom. Ś. *rāḥ* (Mṛch. 28,2. 12; 68,8; Śak. 40,7; Vikr. 15,4; 39,13; 75,3; 79,7 etc.); AMg. JM. *rāḥ* (Sūyag. 105; Ovav. § 11. 15; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,37; 21,1 ff.; Erz.); Mg. *lāḥ* (Mṛch. 128,10; 139,25; 140,1; Caṇḍak. 43,5); P. *rājā*, CP. *rācā* (Hc. 4,304. 323. 325).—Acc. JM. *rāṇam* (Erz. 2,5; 24,26; Kk. III, 510,32) and *rāyam* (Uttar. 443; Ovav. § 55; Nāyādh. §78; Nirayāv. § 8. 22; Erz. 33,23); Mg. *lāṇam* (Mṛch. 138,25).—Ins. AMg. JM. *raṇṇā*, *raṇṇā* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 41; Kappas.; Āv. 8,23. 30. 33. 40. 53; Erz. 24,23; 25,11) and JM. *rāṇā* (Āv. 8,35. 38; 9,17; Erz. 1,22; 18,19; 24, 28; 25,6; Kk. 260,30; 261,7; 270, 42; III, 510, 6); JM. *rāṇa* (Āv. 8,6); Ś. *raṇṇā* (Mṛch. 4,10; 102,1; 103,15; Śak. 57,4); Mg. *laṇṇā* (Śak. 113,7; 117,3) in agreement with Hc. 4,302, whilst at Mṛch. 158,23. 25 *laṇṇā* stands; P. *raṇṇā*, *rāciṇā* (Hc. 4,304. 320). — Gen. AMg. JM. *raṇṇo*, *raṇṇo* (Uvās. § 113; Ovav. § 12. 13. 47. 49; Kappas.; Āv. 8,12. 27. 29. 54; Erz. 1,2; 32,13; 33,25); JM. also *rāṇo* (Erz. 46,24; 47,3. 4; 49,1) and *rāyassa* (Kk. II, 505,17; III, 512,34); Ś. *raṇṇo* (Mṛch. 99,25; 101,21. 23; Śak. 29,3; 54,2; Vikr. 28,19) and *rāṇo* (Mālatīm. 90,6; 99,4; Kamsav. 49,10); Mg. *laṇṇo*, written as *laṇṇo* (Mṛch. 168,3) and *lāṇo* (Mṛch. 171,11); P. *raṇṇo*, *rāciṇo* (Hc. 4,304).—Voc. AMg. *rājā* (Nirayāv. § 22); mostly *rāyam* (Uttar. 409.414.417.418.444.503 etc.); JM. *rājā* (Kk. 261,12); Ś. *rāam* (Hc. 4,264; Śak. 31,10); Mg. *lāam* (Hc. 4,302); P. *rājam* (Hc. 4,323); A. *rāa* (Hc. 4,402).—The nom.voc. *rāo*, ins. *rāṇā*, abl.gen. *rāṇo* are mentioned only by Sr., and the abl. *rādo*, *rādu* by Bh. Ki. 3,40 mentions also the ins. *rāṇā*, which is meant by C. 3,19, p. 49 too, where we should read *rājā* in place of *rājā*. — Plural: nom. AMg. JM. *rājāno* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; Sūyag. 182; Nāyādh. 828. 830; Jiv. 311; Erz. 17,29; 32,24. 32; Kk. 263, 16), JM. also *rāṇo* (Erz. 9,20; Kk. III, 512,13 [so to be read for *rāyano*]); Ś. *rāṇo* (Śak. 58,1; 121,12; Mudrār. 204,1); Mg. *lāṇo* (Śak. 115,10).—Acc. AMg. JM. *rājāno* (Nāyādh. 838; Kk. 263,16).—Ins. AMg. JM. *rāḥim* (Nāyādh. 829. 833; Erz. 33,12).—Gen. AMg. JM. *rāṇam* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Nāyādh. 822 ff. 832 ff.; Āv. 15,10; Kk. 263,11), JM. also *rājānam* (Erz. 28,22).

§ 400. At the end of compounds, the *a*-stem does not prevail, as in Skt., but all the stems appear dialectically as unconnected words: sing. nom. AMg. *ikkhāgarājā* = *aikṣvākarājā* (Thān. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729); *devarājā* = *devarājā* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Uvās. § 113; Kappas.); JM. *vikkamarāo* = *vikramarājā* (Kk. II, 507,12), but *dīharājā* = *dīrgharājā* (Erz. 6,2); Ś. *mahārāo* = *mahārājā* (Śak. 36,12; 56,11; 58,13; Vikr. 5,9; 9,4; 10,20); *juarāo* = *yuvārājā* (Śak. 45,6); *aṅgarāo* (Venīs. 66,3); *vaccharāo* = *vatsarājā* (Priyad. 32,2; 33,7); *vallaharāo nāma rāa* (Karp. 32,4).—Acc. JM. *gaddabhillarājānam* (Kk. 261,29); Ś. *mahārāam* (Vikr. 27,17).—Ins. AMg. *devarannā* (Kappas.); Ś. *aṅgarāna* (Venīs. 60,5); *nārāna* = *nāgarājena* (Nāgān. 69,18); *mahārāna* (Vikr. 8,9; 29,13). Nāyādh. 852 has the mixed form AMg. *devaranṇenam*. — Gen. AMg. *asurakumāraraṇṇo*, *asuraraṇṇo* (Vivāhap. 198); *devaranṇo* (Vivāhap. 220 ff.), *devaranno* (Kappas.); JM. *sagaranno* = **śakarājāna* (Kk. 268,15); *vairasimharājassa* (Kk. II, 505, 17); Ś. *vaccharāssa* (Priyad. 33, 9); *kalīngaraṇṇo* (Priyad. 4, 15);

riurāṇo = *riṣurājasya* (Lalitav. 567, 24); *mahārāssa* (Vikr. 12, 14; 28, 1); *aṅgarāssa* (Venīs. 62, 13); Mg. *mahālāssa* (Prab. 63, 4). — Voc. AMg. *pañcālarāyā* (Uttar. 414); *asurarāyā* (Vivāhap. 254), both with pluti; Ś. *aṅgarāa* (Venīs. 66, 14); *mahārāa* (Vikr. 12, 13). — Plural nom. AMg. *gaṇarāyāno* (Kappas. § 128); JM. *lāḍayavisayarāyāno* = *lāḍakaviṣayarājāḥ* (Kk. 264, 18); Ś. *bhīmasenāṅgarāa* = *bhīmasenāṅgarājau* (Venīs. 64, 9). — Acc. AMg. *gaṇarāyāno* (Nirayāv. § 25). — Ins. AMg. *devarāṇīm* (Vivāhap. 241). — Gen. AMg. *devarāṇām* (Vivāhap. 240 f.; Kappas.); JM. *sagarāṇām* (Kk. 266, 41). For Ś. Mg. only the forms of the *a*-stems will be correct.

§ 401. *ātman* forms: sing. nom. AMg. *āyā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 3, 4; Sūyag. 28, 35, 81, 838; Uttar. 251; Vivāhap. 132, 1059 ff; Dasav. N. 646, 13); JS. *ādā* (Pav. 380, 8 etc.; § 88); M. AMg. JM. JS. *appā* (G. 333. 798. 887. 899. 952. 956. 1120; H. 39. 193. 361. 672. 754. 880; R.; Uttar. 19; Dasav. N. 646, 5; Nāyādh.; Bhag. 1, 420; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 380, 11; 382, 27; 385, 61; Mṛcch. 12, 7; 78, 11; Śak. 19, 7; 137, 6; 140, 7; Ratn. 291, 2; 295, 9; 299, 17; 307, 31 etc.); Ś. Mg. *attā* (Śak. 104, 4; Mg. Mṛcch. 140, 21)¹. — Acc. M. AMg. JM. JS. Dh. *appānūm* (G. 240. 860. 898. 953. 1070. 1201; H. 516. 730. 756. 902. 953; R.; Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 2; 2, 3, 1, 21; Sūyag. 415 [°nā]; Vivāhap. 178; Kappas. § 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17, 9. 10; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382, 27; 385, 65; 386, 70; Kattig. 399, 313; Mṛcch. 32, 14); AMg. also *attānam* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 3; 1, 3, 3, 4; 1, 6, 5, 4; 2, 5, 2, 2 [so to be read for *attā nam*]; Sūyag. 474 [°nā]) and *āyānam* (Sūyag. 367); Ś. Mg. only *attānam* = **ātmānakam* (Mṛcch. 90, 21; 95, 4; 96, 7. 10. 14; 141, 17; Śak. 14, 3 [so to be read]; 24, 1; 60, 8; 63, 9; 64, 2; 74, 5; 124, 8; 137, 12; 159, 12; Vikr. 7, 17; 23, 13 etc.); Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 13; 133, 21; 162, 21, 24; 169, 7); false *attānam* (Mṛcch. 327, 3; Priyad. 41, 14); *appānam* (Priyad. 12, 9; 23, 10; 28, 1. 5) and *appānaam* (Cait. 75, 16)². — Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *appānā* (G. 78. 83. 910; H. 159; R.; Āyār. 2, 5, 2, 2, 3; Sūyag. 170; Vivāhap. 67. 178; Kappas. S. § 59; Erz.; Vikr. 84, 7). — Abl. AMg. *āyao* = **ātmataḥ* (Sūyag. 474), and so, or we have to read *attao* for *āttao* of the text at Sūyag. 472 too; JM. *appappāno* (T. 5, 18). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. JS. D. Ā. *appāno* (H. 6, 281. 285; R.; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1, 1. 5; 1, 3, 2, 1; Sūyag. 16; Kappas. § 8. 50. 63. 112; S. 2; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Pav. 380, 7; D. Mṛcch. 103, 20; Ā. Mṛcch. 104, 9); M. *attāno* (G. 63. 90 [v. 1. °ppa°]. 96; H. 201 [v. 1. °ppa°]), and so always stands in Ś. Mg. (Mṛcch. 141, 15; 150, 13; 166, 15; Śak. 13, 10; 25, 1; 32, 1, 8; 51, 4; 54, 7 etc.; Vikr. 13, 4; 15, 3; 32, 17; 46, 7; Ratn. 297, 32; 303, 32; 304, 11 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 114, 14; 116, 19; 154, 20; 164, 4). — Voc. *appām* (Hc. 3, 49). — Plur. nom. *appāno* = *ātmānaḥ* (Bh. 5, 46; Hc. 3, 56; Kī. 3, 41; Mk. fol. 45). — From *appa-* = *ātma-*, that appears in the beginning of a compound, has been deduced a substantive *appa-*, that is declined according to the *a*-declension (Hc. 3, 56; Mk. 45): nom. *appo*; abl. *appāo*, *appāu*, *appāhi*, *appāhinto*, *appā*; loc. *appe*; voc. *appa*, *appā*; Plur. ins. *appehi*; abl. *appāsumto*; gen. *appānam*; loc. *appesu*. Found in the texts are: acc. AMg. *appām* (Sūyag. 282); ins. AMg. *appāna* (Sūyag. 282), *appānam* (Sūyag. 207); gen. A. *appāho* = **ātmasyaḥ* (Hc. 4, 346); loc. AMg. *appe* (Uttar. 293); Plur. *appā* in M. *suhaṁbharappa ccia* = *sukhaṁbharātmāna eva* (G. 993). With *kaḥ svārthe*, this stem occurs in JM. *appayām* (Erz. 52, 10) and A. *appāu* (Hc. 4, 422, 3) = *ātmakam*. Further new *a*-stems are built from the old strong and weak stems. Thus from the strong stem: sing. nom. M. JM. *appāno* = **ātmānaḥ* = *ātmā* (Vr. 5, 45; Hc. 3, 56; Mk. fol. 45; G. 882; H. 133; R.; Sagara 10, 1); *attāno* (Mk. fol. 45); AMg. *āyāne* (Vivāhap. 132). — Ins. AMg. *appāṇenam* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 6; 1, 5, 5, 2; 2, 1, 3, 3. 5; 2, 15, 2, 24; Vivāhap. 178). — Gen. JM. *appāṇassa* (Erz.). — Loc. M. *appāne* (R.). — Plur. nom. AMg. *āyānā* (Sūyag. 65); *appānā* (Hc. 3, 56). With *kaḥ svārthe*:

acc. JM. *attāṇayaṃ* (Erz.); Ś. Mg. *attāṇaṃ* (see above). — Gen. M. *appāṇaassa* (G. 955). In the first member of a compound the strong stem appears in AMg. *appāṇarakkhū* = *ātmarakṣī* (Uttar. 197); JŚ. *appāṇasamaṃ* (Kattig. 400,331). From the weak stem: sing. nom. *appāṇo* (Kt. 3,41). — Acc. A. *appāṇu* (Hc. 4,337). — Ins. M. *appāṇena* (Kt. 3,41; H. 827); A. *appāṇem* (Hc. 4,416). With *kaḥ svārthe*: acc. *appāṇaṃ* (Hc. 2,153); A. *appāṇāu* (Hc. 4,350,2); gen. Mg. *attāṇaśśa* (Mṛcch. 163,20). — In the first member of a compound the weak stem appears in Ś. *attāṇakeraka* (Mṛcch. 74, 8; 88, 24), Mg. *attāṇakelaka* (Mṛcch. 13, 9; 21, 20; 118, 17; 130, 10; 139, 16; 164, 3; 167, 2); A. *appāṇachandaū* = *ātmacchandakam* (Hc. 4,422,14). It occurs also in the ins. *appāṇiā*, *appāṇiā* (Hc. 3,14, 57) of which the explanation is uncertain and in JM. *savvaṇṇaṇṇāyā* = **sarvātmanatayā* (Erz. 58, 31). Whilst the nom. sing. AMg. *āyā* would be taken as in the femin. (§ 358), one built as ins. sing. AMg. *āyā* = *ātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76. 845), *anāyā* = *anātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76).

1. In Śak. 104,4 we should probably read with I *appā*. — 2. PISCHEL on Hc. 3,56. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14,235.

§ 402. The stems, appearing in Skt. in compounds and as the strong stems, also of other masculine nouns ending in *-an*, are used, as independent *a*-stems, beside the old flexion of Skt., as in the case of *ātman* (§ 401); So sing. nom. *addhā* and *addhāṇo* = *adhvā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45) — acc. AMg. *addh* for *addham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59) and in the bahuvrīhi *dīha-mt addham* = *dirghādhvānam* (§ 353); loc. AMg. *addhāṇe* (Uttar. 712). In the first member of a compound stands the strong *a*-stem in AMg. *addhāṇapaḍivanna* = *adhvapatipanna* (Vivāhap. 153). Since *addhā* elsewhere in AMg. is used as feminine (§ 358), the acc. *addham* too may be derived from it. — Sing. nom. D. *bamhā* (Vr. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mṛcch. 105,21), JM. *bambho* (Erz. 30,20), AMg. *bambhe* (Kappas. Th. § 6) = *brahmā*; acc. M. *bamham* (H. 816); gen. AMg. *bambhassa* (Jiv. 912); plur. nom. AMg. *bambhā*, as *ajjamā* = *aryamaṇau* (Thāp. 82). — Sing. nom. *muddhā* and *muddhāṇo* = *mūrdhā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); acc. AMg. *muddhāṇam* (Ovav. § 19; Kappas. § 15); ins. AMg. *muddheṇa* (Uttar. 788) and *muddhāṇeṇam* (Uvās. § 81. 83); loc. AMg. *muddhi* = *mūrdhni* (Sūyag. 243) and *muddhāṇamsi* (Vivāhap. 1442); plur. nom. AMg. **kajamuddhāṇā* = **kṛtamūrdhāṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 40). — M. *mahimam* = *mahimānam* (G. 885). — M. *savvatihāmeṇa* = *sarvasthāmnā* (H. 567). — Ś. *viḥavammā* = *viḥavarmā* (Ratn. 320,16), voc. *viḥavammam* (Ratn. 320,19 32); Ś. *dīdhavammā* = *dīdhavarmā* (Priyad. 4,15); but PG. *siḥakhandavamo* = *siḥakandavarmā* (5,2), *bhaṭṭisammasa* = *bhaṭṭisarmaṇaḥ* (7,50), VG. *sirivijayabuddhavammassa* (101,3); Ś. *cittavammo* = *citravarmā* (Mudrār. 204,2); Ś. *māṇkavammo* (Viddhaś. 73,2), *māṇkavammassa* (Viddhaś. 43,7; 47,6; 113,2); A. *vaṇkima* = *vaṇkimānam* (Hc. 4,344); *ucchā* and *ucchāṇo* = *ukṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45), also *ukkhāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); *gāvā* and *gāvāṇo* = *grāvā*; *pūsā* and *pūsāṇo* = *pūṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); *takkhā* and *takkhāṇo* = *takṣā* (Hc. 3,56). So is explained also AMg. *siṃghāṇa* = *śleṣman* (§ 267). At the end of bahuvrīhi the words mostly go over to the *u*-declension from the stem of the composita, particularly when the last member is a neuter (cf. § 404): M. *thirapēmno* = *sthīrapremā* (H. 131; so to be read with H.¹ 134, as also Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,117) has **pimmo*); M. *aññāṇṇapparūḍhāpēmmanāṃ* (Pārvatīp. 45. 13); AMg. *akamme* = *akumā* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1); AMg. *kayabalikamme* = *kṛtabalikarmā* (Ovav. § 17), femin. **kammā* (Kappas. § 95); JŚ. *rahitaparīkammo* = *rahitaparīkarmā* (Pav. 388,27); AMg. *sarivouḍakammasa* = *sarivṛtakarmaṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 144); AMg. *bahukūrakammā* = *bahukūrakarmāṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 282);

JM. *kajāyamaṇakammā* = *kytācamanakarmāṇaḥ* (Dvār. 500,39); AMg. *jāyathāme* = *jāstathāmā* (Kappas. § 118; AMg. *itthiyāo.. parūḍhanahakesakakkharomāo* = *striyaḥ ... prarūḍhanahakesakakṣaromnyaḥ* (Ovav. § 72); JM. *namuññāmo* = *namucināmā* (Erz. 1,20), but also *cittasambhūjanāmāno* = *cittasambhūtanāmānau* (Erz. 1,19); Ś. *laddhañāmussa* = *labdhanāmnaḥ* (Ratn. 321.29); Ś. *kidāārāparikammaṁ* = *kytācārāparikarmāṇam* (Śak. 30,6); Ś. *aṇṇasaṁkantoppemṁ* = *anyasaṁkrāntapremāṇaḥ* (Vikr. 45,2); Mg. *diṇṇakalavilādāme* = *datiakaravīradāmā* (Mṛcch. 157,5), *uddāme* = *uddāmā* (Mṛ. ch. 175,14). For Mg. *uddānēva kiṣṭi* (Mṛcch. 161,5) we should read *uddāma vva kiṣṭi*.

§ 403. From *maghavan* the nom. sing. is *maghoṇo* (Hc. 2,174) from the extended weak stem, the acc. is AMg. *maghavaṁ* (Vivāhap. 249). — *juvan* is inflected as: sing. nom. M. JM. Ś. *juvā*, *juā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; H.; Dvār. 501,15; Mṛcch. 28,5.9; Pārvaṭip. 31,8); beside M. JM. *juvāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45; H.; Prabh. 38,10; Dvār. 506,31 also at the end of compounds), AMg. *juvāṇe* (Vivāhap. 212.214.218.222.280.287.349) and *juvaṁ*, as from a *t*-stem (§ 396; Āyār. 2,4,2.10; 2,5,1,1); with *kah* *svārthe*: M. *haṁsajuāṇao* (Vikr. 64,5; 74,4); femin. M. *°juāṇā* (H.); ins. M. *juāṇeṇa* (H.), JM. *°juvāṇeṇa* (Erz. 43,18); voc. M. *juāṇa* (H.); plur. nom. M. *juāṇā*, AMg. *juvāṇā* (H., also at the end of compounds; Thān. 371; Antag. 55); ins. M. *°juvāṇehi* (H.); gen. AMg. *juvāṇāṇam* (Aṇug. 323); voc. AMg. *juvāṇā* in *he juvāṇa tti* (Thān. 488; Aṇug. 324). — From *śaṇ* are found: sing. nom. *sāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56), AMg. *sāṇe* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8), A. *sāṇa* (Piṅga'a 1,99), therefore, the stem, which likewise occurs in AMg. (Panhāv. 20); gen. AMg. *sāṇassa* (Uttar. 12). — From the different stems, which one tends to put together under *panthan* or *pathin* or *pathi* or *path*, are found exclusively from *paṭha*: sing. nom. *pantho* (Hc. 1,30) and *paho* (Vr. 1,13; Hc. 1,88; Kī. 1,18; Mk. fol. 7); acc. AMg. JM. *pantham* (Hc. 1,88; Āyār. 1,7,1,2; Thān. 248; Āv. 22,26; 46,5.11.15), AMg. *pan'h* = *panthan* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59), AMg. *paham* (Sūyag. 59; Uttar. 324); ins. M. JM. *pahena* (G. 423; Kk. 269,29; Āv. 36,33), AMg. *pahenam* (Uttar. 635); abl. JM. *panthāo* (Kk. 264,4); loc. JM. *panthe* (Erz. 36,28); A. *panthi* (Hc. 4,429,1), AMg. *pahe* (Uttar. 324), JM. *pahammi* (Dvār. 504,1); plur. nom. M. *panthāṇo* (H. 729), AMg. JM. *panthā* (Sūyag. 110; Erz. 7,3); gen. AMg. *panthāṇam* (Sūyag. 189); loc. AMg. *panthesu* (Uttar. 53). — In compounds appear the stems M. JM. *pantha*, *°vantha* (H.; R.; Āv. 46,6) and *paha*, *vaha* (G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.).

§ 404. The neutra in *-an* sometimes become masculine (§ 358); but they are inflected mostly like the neutra in *-a*. Thus e. g. *pemma* = *preman*: sing. nom. M. Ś. *pemmaṁ* (H. 81.95.124.126.232; Ratn. 299,18; Karp. 78,3.6); acc. M. Ś. *pemmaṁ* (H. 522; Vikr. 51,16; Karp. 76,8.10); ins. *pemmaṇa* (H. 423.746.966); gen. M. Ś. *pemmaṣsa* (H. 53,390.511.910.940; Karp. 75,9); loc. M. *pemmammi* (Karp. 79,5), M. Ś. *pemma* (H. 304; Karp. 75,10); plur. nom. M. *pemmaṁ* (H. 127.236.287); gen. M. *pemmāṇam* (H. 10). — Sing. nom. M. Ś. Mg. *nāmaṁ*, AMg. JM. *nāmaṁ* (H. 452; Kappas. § 108; Āv. 13,29; 14,19; Erz. 4,34; Vikr. 30,9; Mg. Mudrār. 191,5; 194,7); acc. Ś. Mz. *nāmaṁ* (Mṛcch. 28,21; 37,25); ins. Ś. Mg. *nāmeṇa* (Vikr. 16,9; Mṛcch. 161,2), JM. *nāmeṇa* (Āv. 8,5), AMg. *nāmeṇam* (Ovav. § 105), *nāmeṇam* (Kappas. § 107); loc. M. *nāme* (G. 89); plur. nom. JM. *nāmāṇi* (Āv. 13,28) and AMg. JM. *nāmāṁ* (Uvās. § 277; Āv. 14,18). Skt. *nāma* (by name; namely) becomes M. Ś. Mg. *nāma* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 23,22; 28,23; 40,22; 94,25; 142,12 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,10; 38,2; 40,9), JM. *nāma* (Āv. 15,8; 16,29; 39,2;

Erz. 1,1. 20; 11,17 etc.), but AMg. *nāmaṁ* (Ovav. § 11; Kappas. § 124; Uvās.; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.) and *nāma* (Ovav. § 1. 12; Kappas. § 42. 129).—Sing. nom. AMg. *JŚ. jammaṁ* = *janma* (Uttar. 636; Kattig. 399,321); acc. M. AMg. *jammaṁ* (H. 844; Āyār. 1,3,4. 4; Sūyag. 689); ins. *Ś. jammeṇa* (Śak. 141,10); abl. AMg. *jammāo* (Sūyag. 689. 756); gen. AMg. *jammassa* (Sūyag.); loc. JM. *Ś. jamme* (Āv. 12,13; 25,37; Nāgān. 35, 5), A. *jami* (Hc. 4, 383, 3; so to be read).—Sing. nom. M. AMg. *kammaṁ* = *karma* (R. 14, 46; Uttar. 247. 413. 505); acc.; AMg. *JŚ. kammaṁ* (Sūyag. 381. 382. 456. 496; Kattig. 399,319; 400, 327; 403,373. 374. 377); ins. AMg. *kammeṇaṁ* (Vivāhap. 168. 190; Uvās. § 72. 76); gen. M. AMg. *JŚ. kammassa* (H. 614; Uttar. 178; Paṇḥāv. 665. 671 f.; Kappas. § 19; Pav. 383,27), Mg. *kammāha* (Hc. 4,299, with note; the Kashmir recension of Śak. reads 108,13 *kammaṇo*); loc. AMg. *kammaṁsi* (Thāp. 208; Rāyap. 249), JM. *kamme* (Erz. 38,31); against the dialect is *Ś. kammammi* (Kāṁsav. 50,2) for the correct *kamme* (Kāleyak. 25,8); plur. nom. AMg. *kammā* (Uttar. 113); acc. AMg. *kammāṁ* (Sūyag. 284; Uvās. § 138; Ovav. § 153) and *kammā* (Uttar. 155), *ahākammāṁ* (Sūyag. 873), *JŚ. kammāṁ* (Pav. 384,59); ins. AMg. *kammehiṁ* (Āyār. 1,4, 2,2,3,3; 1,5,2,3; Sūyag. 716. 718. 719. 721. 771; Uttar. 155. 175. 205. 218. 221. 593; Vivāhap. 147. 168. 185), *ahākammehiṁ* (Uttar. 155. 205); gen. AMg. *kammāṇaṁ* (Sūyag. 1012; Uttar. 156. 205; Samav. 112; Uvās. § 74), *kammāṇa* (Uttar. 177); M. according to Hc. 4,300 also *kammākā*; loc. *Ś. kammesu* (Viddhaś. 28,6), Mg. *kammesu* (Mudrār. 191,9). On the nom. *Ś. kamme* see § 358. Of the isolated forms may be mentioned: sing. loc. AMg. *cammaṁsi* = *carmaṇi* (Kappas. § 60), *rommaṁsi* = *romṇi* (Uvās. § 219), *ahamṇi* = *ahani* (Āyār. 2,15,11); *Ś. pavve pavve* = *parvaṇi* (Kāleyak. 13,20); plur. acc. M. *cammaṁ* (H. 631); ins. AMg. *lomehiṁ* = *lomabhiḥ* (Uvās. § 94. 95); AMg. *Ś. dāmehiṁ* = *dāmbhiḥ* (Jiv. 348; Rāyap. 63; Mrcch. 69,1); loc. M. *dāmesu* (G. 784); *JŚ. pavvesu* = *parvasu* (Kattig. 402,359). Dialectically the old Skt. forms have sometimes been retained: sing. nom. M. *camma* = *carma* (H. 955); nom. acc. AMg. *JŚ. Ś. Mg. kamma* = *karma* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 2,2,2,13. 14; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 113. 178; Pav. 386,4; Venis. 62,5; Uttarar. 197,10; Mg. Śak 114,6 [verse]; Venis. 33,5). For *Ś. Mg.*, except in verses, the form will be false for *kammaṁ*. In Mrcch. 70,24 we should read *amūṁ...kammatorañāṁ*, which is pointed to by the v. l. in GODABOLE p. 201; for *Ś. pema* (Prab. 41,6) the ed. Bomb. 91,6 reads *ppema* for *pemma* (Karp. 77,10 ed. Bomb.) Konow 76,8 rightly has *pemmaṁ*. Ins. AMg. *kammaṇā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4); Āyār. 1,4,4,3¹; 1,8,1,13. 17; Sūyag. 108. 151. 377. 542. 873. 978; Uttar. 28. 43. 177. 217. 505. 592. 753 f.; Jiv. 796; Paṇḥāv. 134. 391; Vivāhap. 283. 1808; Erz. 25,20; Sagara. 2,9). Likewise there appears *u* for *a* in the gen. sing. AMg. *kammuno* (Uttar. 170. 223. 312), in the gen. plur. AMg. *kammunaṁ* (Sūyag. 542) and in the ins. sing. AMg. *dhammunaṁ* from *dharmān* in the combination *kāladhammunaṁ saṁjitta* = *kāladharmaṇā saṁyukta* (Thāp. 157; Vivāgas. 82 ff. 117. 155. 207. 217. 225. 238; Nāyādh. 329. 1099. 1421). Corresponding to Skt. *karmataḥ* AMg. has *kammao* (Uvās. § 51), and *Ś. jammado* (Raṇ. 298,11) is = Skt. *janmataḥ*. The loc. *Ś. kammaṇi* (Bālar. 251, 8) will be false. A loc. plur. AMg. *kammasu* = *karmasu* stands at Sūyag. 403 in the verse.—As the masculina form a new stem in *-āṇa* (§ 401. 402), so the neutra dialectically form a stem in *-āṇa*: AMg. *jammaṇaṁ* = *janma* (Hc. 2,174; Jiv. 122. 123. 136 ff.); AMg. JM. *jammaṇa*° (Uttar. 1105; Paṇḥāv. 72 ff.; Nāyādh. 290; Vivāhap. 1159. 1738. 1741 f. 1773; Sagara 6,10; Erz.); JM. *kammaṇaṁ* = *karma* (Erz. 52,17; 56,31), *kammaṇa*° (Erz. 29,23). The same stem with *u*, as in the ins. gen. sing., gen. plur. of *karman*, occurs in the abl. sing. AMg. *kammunaṁ*

(Āyār. 1,7,8,2; Sūyag. 17)². *bamhaṇa* = *brahman* (Ki. 3,41) too is to be included in the neuter.

1. JACOBI reads with the ed.Calc. against the MSS. *kammāni*, to accept which he is constrained to refer to this acc. plur. by *saphalam* (SBE. XXII, p. 4.). We should with the MSS. read *kammupā*, and *saphalam* is to be assumed as = *svaphalam*.—2. *kammupā* *u* can also be deduced. Yet perhaps the interpretation given above is better.

§ 405. 2) Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*. The stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, partly according to the style of Skt., and partly on the basis of the stem in *-i*, that appears in the beginning of the composita, are declined according to the *i*-declension. Sing. nom. M. AMg. JM. *Ś. hatthī*, Mg. *hasṭī*, A. *hatthi* = *hasṭī* (R. 8,36; Ovav. § 11; Erz. 16,18; Mṛcch. 40,22,25; Mg. Hc. 4,289; Mṛcch. 40,9; 168,4; A. Hc. 4,443); M. *sihi* = *śikhī* (H. 13); AMg. JM. *Ś. tavassī*, Mg. *tavaśśī* = *tapasvī* (Kappas. S § 61; Āv. 32,18; Erz. 25,6; Śak. 132,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 97,3); AMg. *mehāvī* = *medhāvī* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,6,2. 5; 1,6,4,2. 3), metrically also *mehāvi* (Sūyag. 414); JŚ. *nānī*, AMg. *nānī*, = *jñānī* (Kattig. 402. 358. 360; 403,377. 379. 382. 384; 404,386; Sūyag. 318); neuter M. *viāsi* (Mukund. 14,10); *Ś. kārī* (Bālar. 56,14). The acc., in majority of cases, is formed according to the *i*-declension: M. AMg. JM. *hatthim* = *hasṭinam* (Mṛcch. 41,16; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Vivāhap. 850; Nirayāv. § 18; Erz. 72,21); AMg. *tavassim* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Vivāhap. 232), *bambhayaṛim* = *brahmacāriṇam* (Uttar. 487), *ojassim tejassim vacassim jasassim* = *ojasvinam tejasvinam varcasvinam yaśasvinam* (Āyār. 2,2,1,12), *paḥkhim* = *paḥṣṇam* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8; 2,4,2,7), *seṭṭhim* = *śreṣṭhinam* (Samav. 84); JM. *sāmiṃ* = *svāminam* (Āv. 32,14. 32; 33,6); *Ś. kañcūm* = *kañcukinam* (Vikr. 45,10; Priyad. 48,21), but otherwise *Ś. piāṛiṇam* (Vikr. 10,14), *uaāriṇam* (Vikr. 12,11; 13,18), *jālovaṇiṇam* = *jālopaṇiṇam* (Śak. 116,7), *vālinam* (Mahāv. 55,12).—Ins. M. *sasiṇā* (R. 2,3; 10,29. 42), *avalambīṇā* (G. 301); AMg. *gandhahatthīṇā* (Nirayāv. § 18), *nihāriṇā* = *nirhāriṇā* (Ovav. § 56), *tāmalīṇā bālatavassīṇā* (Vivāhap. 235); JM. *Ś. sāmiṇā*, Mg. *sāminā* = *svāminā* (Āv. 32,24; Kk. 260,29; Śak. 116,8; Mahāv. 120,12; Venis. 62,23; 64,5; 66,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,21; 162,17. 19; Venis. 35,12); JM. *visambhaghāṇīṇā* = *visrambhaghātīṇā* (Erz. 68,4), metrically also *manṭina* for *manṭinā* = *mantriṇā* (Āv. 13,13); *Ś. kaṇṇovaghāṇīṇā* = *kaṇṇopaghātīṇā* (Śak. 29,8); Mg. *kālīṇā* = *kāriṇā* (Mṛcch. 158,21; Prab. 54,6).—Abl. AMg. *siharīo* = *śikharīṇaḥ* (Thān. 177).—Gen. M. *piṇāṇo* = *piṇākīṇaḥ* (G. 41), *sasiṇo* (G. 60. 953. 1108. 1132; H. 319; R. 10,46), *guṇasālīṇo vi karīṇo* = *guṇasālīṇo'pi karīṇaḥ* (H. 788); AMg. *jasassīṇo* = *yaśasvināḥ* (Sūyag. 304), *gihiṇo* = *grhīṇaḥ* (Uvās. § 83. 84); JM. *sāmiṇo* (T. 5,12) and AMg. JM. *sāmissa* (Vivāhap. 188; Āv. 32,27); JM. *egāgiṇo* = *ekākīṇaḥ* (Erz. 9,16). In AMg. JM. more frequent is the ending *-issa*, that is yet otherwise traceable in JŚ. only: AMg. *māyissa*, *amāyissa* = *māyīnaḥ*, *amāyīnaḥ* (Thān. 150), *bambhayaṛissa* = *brahmacāriṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 87; Uttar. 917 f.), *vatthadhāriṇissa* = *vastradhāriṇaḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,2,1), *abhikañḥhissa* = *abhikāñḥṣṇaḥ* (Uttar. 921), *tavassissa* (Vivāhap. 231. 233. 236), *hatthissa* (Rāyap. 270; Vivāhap. 491. 493); both forms stand beside one another in AMg. *egantacāriṇa tavassīṇo* (Sūyag. 909); JM. *paṇaissa* = *pranayīnaḥ*, *virahissa* = *virahīṇaḥ* (Kk. 270,23; 274,4), *kāmissa* = *kāmināḥ* (Erz. 71,4), *seṭṭhissa* = *śreṣṭhīnaḥ* (Āv. 37,26); JŚ. *kavalāṇāṇissa* = *kevalajñānīnaḥ* (Pav. 381,20); *Ś. virohiṇo* = *virodhīnaḥ*, *vāsiṇo*, *paribhoiṇo* = *parithogīṇaḥ* (Śak. 18,11; 23,8; 38,5), *ahiniṇiṇiṇo* = *abhiniveśīnaḥ* (Mālav. 41,17), *sohiṇo* = *sobhīnaḥ* (Ratn. 292,12); Mg. *sāmiṇo* = *svāmināḥ* (Śak. 117,6), *aṇumagga-gāmiṇo* = *anumārgagāmiṇaḥ* (Venis. 35,6).—Loc. AMg. *ruppimmi* = *rukmiṇi* *siharammi* = *śikharīṇi* (Thān. 75), *cakkavaṭṭimsi* = *cakravartini* (Nāyādh. § 46).—Voc. AMg. JM. *sāmi* (Kappas. § 49; Nāyādh. § 46. 73; Āv. 32,

26); JM. *sāmi* (Āv. 15,24; Erz. 6,34; 8,19); Ś. *kañcui* (Vikr. 45,15; Ratn. 327,7; Priyad. 50,8 [text 7]).—Plural: nom. M. *phaṇiṇo*, *virāviṇo*, *sankiṇo* (G. 390. 611. 863. 880); *guṇiṇo* = *guṇinaḥ*, *cāiṇo* = *tyāgiṇaḥ* (H. 673), also *sāmi* = *svāmināḥ* in *sāmi ccia* (H. 91), *vaṇahatthi* = *vanahastināḥ* (R. 8,36); AMg. *duvālasaṅgiṇo* = *dvādaśaṅgināḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *daṇḍiṇo* *muṇḍiṇo* *sihaṇḍiṇo* *jaḍiṇo* *picchiṇo* beside *daṇḍi* *muṇḍisihaṇḍi* *picchi* in the similar following verses (Ovav. § 49, V), *agāriṇo*, *daṁsiṇo* = *darśināḥ* (Sūyag. 301. 368. 370), *tassankiṇo* = *tacchankināḥ* (Sūyag. 936), *abambhacāriṇo* = *abrahmacāriṇāḥ* (Uttar. 351), *pāragāmiṇo*, *dhuvacāriṇo*, *sammattadaṁsiṇo* = *samyaktvadarśināḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,2,3,4; 1,2,6,3), beside the more frequent nom. in -ī, as *nāṇi* = *jñānināḥ*, *akkandakāri* = *ākrandakāriṇāḥ*, *pakkhi* = *pakṣināḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,6,1,6; 2,3,3,3), *hatthi* = *hastināḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Sūyag. 172; Nāyādh. 348), *oṇaṁsi* *teyaṁsi* *vaccaṁsi* *jasāṁsi* = *oṇasvinas* *tejasvino* *varcasvino* *yaśasvināḥ* (Vivāhap. 185), *rūvi* *ya arūvi* *ya* = *rūpiṇas* *ca cārūpiṇas* *ca* (Vivāhap. 207), *cakkavattī* = *cakravartināḥ*, *cakkajohi* = *cakrayodhināḥ* (Thāp. 197. 512). JM. too has both the forms beside one another: *mantīṇo* = *mantrināḥ* (Kk. 262,30), *dariddiṇo* = *daridrināḥ* (Erz. 50,2), beside *mahātavassī* = *mahātapasvināḥ* (Kk. 269,24), *hatthi* = *hastināḥ* (Erz. 32,6). In Ś. and presumably in Mg. too the form in -ī is not used so little, as in the case of the *i*-stems (§ 380): Ś. *pakkhiṇo* = *pakṣināḥ*, *sippiṇo* = *śilpiṇāḥ*, *avvattabhāsiṇo* = *avyaktabhāsiṇāḥ* (Mṛcch. 38,21; 71,2; 103,6), *kusumadāiṇo* = *kusumadāyiniṇāḥ*, *dhammaāriṇo* = *dharmacāriṇāḥ* (Śak. 10,2; 20,1), *parivantiṇo* = *paripanthināḥ* (Vikr. 8,9), *kañcuiṇo* = *kañcukināḥ* (Mallikām. 186,16). Very seldom and probably a false reading is the ending -īo in Ś.: *sāmiṇo* = *svāmināḥ* (Kāṁsav. 48,19; 50,1). Neuter: AMg. *akālapaḍibhoṇi* *akālapaḍibhoṇi* = *akālapratibodhini* *akālapratibhogini* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8), *rājakulagāmīṇi* (Nirayāv. § 21).—Acc. AMg. *pāṇiṇo* = *prāṇināḥ* (Sūyag. 266), *maūli* = *mukulinaḥ* (Paṇhāv. 119), *thāṇi* = *sthānināḥ* (Sūyag.); JM. *bharahaviṇāsiṇo* (Sagara 9,8).—Ins. AMg. *pakkhihiṇi* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 289), *savvadariṣiṇi* = *sarvadarsibhiḥ* (Nandis. 388), *paravāhiṇi* = *paravādibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *mehāvihim* = *medhāvibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *hatthihi* (Nāyādh. 330. 344); JM. *mantihī* = *mantribhiḥ* (Āv. 8,36; Kk. 262,17); Mg. *vamdihiṇi* = *vandibhiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13).—Abl. AMg. *asaṇṇihimto* = *asaṇṇibhyaḥ*, *pakkhihimto* = *pakṣibhyaḥ* (Jiv. 263. 265); A. *sāmiḥū* = *svāmiḥbhaḥ* (Hc. 4,341,2).—Gen. M. *barahina* = *barhiṇām* (G. 349); AMg. *mahāhimavantaruppiṇam* = *mahāhimavadrukmiṇoḥ* (Samav. 114. 117), *pakkhiṇam* = *pakṣiṇām* (Jiv. 325), *gandhahatthiṇam*, *cakkavattīṇam*, *savvadariṣiṇam* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); JM. *kāmattiṇam* = *kāmāriṇinām*, *vāṇam* = *vādinām* (Erz. 29,31; 69,20), *paṇaṇa* = *prāṇayinām* (KI. 15); JŚ *dehiṇam* (Kattig. 402, 363); Mg. *sāmīṇam* = *svāminām* (Kāṁsav. 48,17; 49,12; so to be read for °mi°).—Loc. M. *paṇaṇsu* = *prāṇayisu* (G. 728); AMg. *hatthisu* = *hastisu*, *pakkhisu* = *pakṣisu* (Sūyag. 317), *tavassisu* = *tapasviṇu* (Paṇhāv. 430); Ś. *sāmisu* (Mahāv. 119,14; so to be read).—Voc. Ś. *samkaragharādhivāsino* (Mālatim. 128,7); Mg. *vamdiṇo* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5.15). Numerous forms built according to Skt. flexion are retained in verses, especially in AMg. (§ 99).

§ 406. Sometimes also in the case of nouns in -in, we find a stem extended by *a*: *sakkhiṇo* = *sākṣi* (Hc. 2,174), but JM. Ś. *sakkhi*, Mg. *sākhi* (Āv. 38,5; Mṛcch. 53,11; 164,25), Ś. *sakkhiḥkadua* = **sākṣikṛtvā* (Vikr. 45,20), plur. nom. M. Ś. *sakkhiṇo* (Karp. 86,5; Ś. Uttarak. 77,4; Karp. 14,2); M. *sihinām* = *śikhi*, plural nom. *sihiṇā*, ins. *sihiṇehi* (bosom; Deśin. 8,31; Triv. 1,4,121; Karp. 31,7; 79,10; 95,10); AMg. *kimīṇa* = *kṛmin*, *sakimīṇa* = *sakṛmi* (Nāyādh. 995; Paṇhāv. 525. 529); AMg. Ś.

barahiṇa, A. *barhiṇa* = *barhin* (Pannav. 54; Ovav. § 4; Nāyādh. § 61. 62; p. 914; Uttarar. 21,9; A. Vikr. 58,8), A. *bariṇa* (Hc. 4,422, 8), beside M. Ś. *barahi-* (G.; Viddhaś. 51,7); M. JM. *gabbhiṇa* = *garbhin* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Kī.2,31; Mk.fol.15; G.R.; Sagara 4,11; cf. § 246). — In PG. the following forms are found: °*yāji* (5,1), gen. °*ppadāyino* = *pradāyinaḥ* (6, 11), but also *lehaṃdakōṃḍisa* = *skandakuṇḍinaḥ* (6, 19), *nāganamḍisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *golisa* = *goḍinaḥ* (6,25) from *goda* = *goṇḍa* 2) in B.-R. appropriately; ins. plur. °*sāmīhi* = °*svāmibhiḥ* (6,11). °*vāsīhi* = °*vāsibhiḥ* (6,35. 36).

7) STEMS IN -s.

§ 407. Like the nouns in -t and -n, those in -s too have three stems: 1) the old stem in -s, 2) after dropping off of s, a stem in -a, -i, -u, i. e. in the vowel that was immediately before the s, and 3) a stem in -sa, formed by extension with a. So: M. *siroampa* = *śiraḥkampa* (R. 12,31), *sirakavalana* = *śiraḥkavalana* (G. 351); AMg. *devio...* °*raiyasirasāo* = *devyaḥ...* °*racitaśiraśkāḥ* (Ovav. § 55); Mg. *śiḥācālana* (Mṛch. 126,7). Cf. § 347. AMg. *joithāṇa* = *jyotiḥsthāṇa*, *joisama* = *jyotiḥsama* (Uttar. 375. 1009); PG. *dhamāyubalayasovadhanike* = *dhamāyurbalayaśovardhanakān* (6,9; cf. VG. 101,8); M. JM. *āyukhaḥ* = *āyukṣaye* (H. 321; Erz. 24,36), JM. *āudalāṇi* = *āyurdalāni* (Kk. 268.22). In M. JM. AMg. the neuter nouns in -as are used as masculine as a rule (§ 356).

§ 408. Nouns in -as. — The forms built from the old s-stem are: sing. masc. nom. AMg. *dummaṇā*, *sumaṇā* (Sūyag. 692), Ś. *duvāsā* = *duvāsāḥ* (Śak. 72,10), the stem also in the compound *duvāsāsāvo* = *duvāsāśāpāḥ* (76, 5), with a long vowel according to § 64; Ś. *purūravā* = *purūravāḥ* (Vikr. 40,21), Mg. *samaśśasidamaṇā* = *samaśśvastamanāḥ* (Mṛch. 134,23). One must consider, M. JŚ. Ś. Mg. *ṇamo*, AMg. JM. *namo* = *namas*, as neuter, since Ś. Mg. do not turn the neuter in -as to masc. (e. g. M.: G. H.; AMg.; Vivāhap. 172; Ovav.; Kappas.; JM.: Kk.; Rśabhap.; JŚ.: Pav. 379,4; 389,4; Ś.: Mṛch. 128,18.21; Śak. 120,5; Mg.: Mṛch. 114,10. 22; 133,17; Prab. 46,11). Cf. § 175. 498. Neuter is also JŚ. *tao* = *tapāḥ* (Pav. 387,26). Acc. Ś. *purūravasaṁ* (Vikr. 36,9); neut. AMg. JŚ. *maṇo* = *manas* (Kappas. § 121; Pav. 386, 70). The old forms in the ins. are frequent in AMg. JM.: AMg. *maṇasā vajāsā* = *manasā vacasā* (Thāṇ. 40), more often *maṇasā vajāsā kājasā* (§ 364), *na cakḥkhusā na maṇasā na vajāsā* (Paṇhāv. 461); AMg. JM. *tejasā* = *tejasā* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Paṇhāv. 507; Thāṇ. 568; Ovav. § 22; Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Kappas. § 39. 59. 118; Erz. 39, 8); AMg. JŚ. *tavasā* = *tapasā* (Sūyag. 348; Uttar. 174; Uvās. § 76. 264; Ovav. § 21. 24. 38. 62; Pav. 388,27); AMg. *rajasā* = *rajasā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1. 3,4; Sūyag. 551), *sahasā* (Thāṇ. 368), *cejasā*, *jasasā* (Samav. 81. 83. 85), *sirasā* (Kappas.; Ovav.), also in Ś. (Vikr. 27,17). On the iṣ. in -sā of a-stems see § 364. — Loc. *urasi*, *sirasi*, *sarasi* (Hc. 4,448); AMg. *tamasi* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); Ś. *purūravasi* (Vikr. 35,15), *tavasi* (Śak. 21,5); Mg. *śiḥāsi* (Mṛch. 17,1; 116,15).

§ 409. The usual flexion is with the a-stem: sing. nom. M. *vimaṇo* (R. 5,16); AMg. *uggatavo* = *ugratapāḥ* (Uttar. 362), *tanmaṇe* = *tanmanāḥ* (Vivāhap. 114), *pūmaṇe* = *pūṭimanāḥ* (Kappas. § 15,50; Ovav. § 17), *uggatave dittatave tattatave mahātave ghoratave* (Ovav. § 62); °*raiyavacche* = °*racitavakṣāḥ* (Ovav. § 19); JM. *tanmano* = *tanmanāḥ*, *bhāsurasiro* = *bhāsuraśiraḥ* (Erz. 12,6; 69,6); JŚ. *adhikatejo* = *adhikatejāḥ* (Pav. 381,19); fem. M. *vimaṇa vva* (R. 4,31), AMg. *pūmaṇā* (Kappas. § 5); Ś. °*samkantiamaṇā* = °*samkrāntamanāḥ* (Mṛch. 29, 3); *pajjassuamaṇā* = *pratyutsukamanāḥ*

(Śak. 50,2); neut. M. *dummaṇaṁ* (R. 11,14); AMg. JM. *sejaṁ* = *śreyaḥ* (Uttar. 204. 672. 678; Vivāgas. 218; Vivāhap. 232; Nāyādh. 333. 482. 574. 609 616; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Mg. *śila* (Mṛcch. 112,8,9) stands on account of metre for *śile* = *śiraḥ*. Cf. § 364. In the masc. the comparative in *-yas* in AMg. JM. partly have extended their strong stem with *a*, as *seyaṁse* = *śreyaṇ*, *pāvīyaṁse* (text *pāvaṁse*) = *pāpīyaṇ* (Thān. 314. 315), and partly have weakened them, as AMg. *kaṇṇiyase* = *kaṇṇiyan* (Kappas. Th. § 1; Antag. 32), JM. *kaṇṇiyaso* (Dvār. 501,29), which, however, as the acc. AMg. JM. *kaṇṇiyasaṁ* (Uvās.; Dvār. 495, 30) too can be equated as = Skt. *kaṇṇiya*, which, however, is probably itself a first secondary. From the old comparative *bālīyas* has developed an adjective **bālīya*, nom. Ś. *balīo* (Śak. 50,5; 51,2), which has regularly shortened its *i* under the influence of the old accent: *balia* (strong, thick, dense; Deśin. 6,88; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,10; JM. Āv. 35,17; Erz. 9,17; Kk. 261,42) and of which the neuter *balīam* is used adverbially in the meaning "very" (Pāiyāl. 90; M. Śak. 55,16; Ś. Vikr. 27,21; 51,15; Mālav. 68,11; Mg. Śak. 154,13; Venis. 34,3).— Acc. AMg. masc. *dummaṇaṁ* (Kappas. § 38), *jāyaveaṇ* = *jātavedasam* (Uttar. 365), *jāyateyaṁ* = *jātatejasam* (Samav. 81); femin. M. *viṁaṇaṁ* (R. 11,49); very frequently in the neuter: M. AMg. *uraṁ* (R. 1, 48; 4,20. 47; Āyār. 1,1,1,5; Vivāgas. 127); M. AMg. *jaṣaṁ* = *yaṣas* (R. 2, 5; 4,47; Uttar. 170), Dh. *jaṣaṁ* (Mṛcch. 30,9); M. *ṇaṇaṁ*, AMg. *naṇaṁ* (R. 1,7; 5,2. 64; Ovav.); AMg. *tamaṇ* (Sūyag. 31. 170); M. *siraṁ* (R. 11,35. 64. 73. 90. 94); AMg. Mg. *maṇaṁ* (Uttar. 198; Mṛcch. 30,24); AMg. *vaṇaṁ* = *vayas* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2. 5 beside nom. *vao* in 1,2,1,3); JM. *tejaṁ* = *tejas* (Erz. 3,10; 8 24); AMg. JS. *rajaṁ* = *rajas* (Sūyag. 113; Pav. 385,61); A. *tail*, *tavu* = *tapas* (Hc. 4,441,1. 2).— Ins. M. *vaccheṇa* = *vakṣasā* (G. 301); *sireṇa* = *śirasā* (Hc. 916), also in A. (Hc. 4,367,4) and Ś. (Bālar. 246,6), AMg. *sireṇaṁ* (Thān. 401); M. *tameṇa* = *tamasā* (R. 2, 33); AMg. *teeṇa* (Uttar. 363), *teenṇaṁ* = *tejasā* (Uttar. 341; Vivāhap. 1250; Uvās. § 94); M. AMg. *raeṇa*, AMg. *raeṇaṁ* = *rajasā* (H. 176; Uttar. 109; Ovav. § 112); M. *maṇeṇa*, AMg. *maṇeṇaṁ* = *manasā* (G. 347; Sūyag. 841 f. 844; Panhāv. 134); JM. *parituttṭhamaneṇaṁ* = *parituttṭhamanasā* (masc.; Erz. 39,9); Ś. *purūraṇeṇa* (Vikr. 8,14); A. *chandeṇa* = *chandasā* (Piṅgala 1,15); femin. M. *viṁaṇā* (H. 118); Ś. *taggadamaṇāe* = *taggatamanaskayā* (Viddhaś. 43,8).— Abl. M. *sirāhi* (G. 58), *ṇahāhi* (G. 1164; R. 13,51); AMg. *tamaṇ* and metrical *tamao* = *tamasah* (Sūyag. 31. 170), *pejjāo* = *preyasaḥ* (Ovav. § 123).— Gen. M. *asuddhamaneṇassa* = *asuddhamanasah* (masc.; H. 35); Ś. *purūravassa* (Vikr. 22,16), *tamassa*, *rajaṇassa* (Prab. 48, 1; 56, 14); JM. *jaṣassa* (KJ. 21), A. *jaṣaḥ* = *yaṣasaḥ* (Erz. 86,19).— Loc. M. AMg. *ure* (G. 773; H. 31. 276. 299. 671; R. 11,76; 12,56. 62; 15,50. 53. 64; Vivāgas. 168), M. also *urammi* (G. 1022; R. 11, 100; 15, 46) and AMg. *uraṁsi* (Kappas. S. § 29; Uvās.); M. *ṇaṇammi* (G. 135. 476. 819. 829; R. 13,53; 14,23. 83), *ṇahe* (R. 13,58), AMg. *ṇabhe* (Sūyag. 310); AMg. *tamaṇsi* (Āyār. 1, 4, 4, 2); Ś. *soṭte* = *srotasi* (Karp. 71, 1); AMg. *tave* = *tapasi* (Vivāhap. 194); AMg. M. *sire* (R. 4,4; Uttar. 664); JM. *sirammi* (Erz. 58,1; Kk. 268,39); M. *sarammi* = *sarasi* (H. 491. 624); M. JM. D. *maṇe* = *manasi* (R. 5,20; Erz. 79,34; Mṛcch. 104,2); AMg. A. *chande* = *chandasī* (Vivāhap. 149; Piṅgala 1,93); A. *maṇi*, *siri* (Hc. 4,422,15. 423,4).— Plural: nom. M. *sarā* = *sarāṁsi* (masc.; G. 524); AMg. *ahosirā* = *adhaḥśiraḥ*, *mahāyasā* = *mahāyaśasaḥ*, *hāravirāiṇiṇavacchā* = *hāravirāiṇiṇavakṣasaḥ* (Ovav. § 31. 33), *thūlavayā* = *sthūlavacasah* (Uttar. 15), *pāvacejā* = *pāpacetasah* (Sūyag. 289); A. *āsattamaṇa* = *āsaktamanasah* (Kk. 261,4); femin. M. *gaavāṇo* = *gataṇvayaskāḥ* (H. 232); AMg. *raiṇiyasirāṇo* = *racitaśiraśkāḥ* (Ovav. § 55), *mūyasirāṇo* = *mrgaśiraśi* (Thān. 81).— Acc. femin. Ś. *sumañṇo* = *sumanasah* (Mṛcch. 3, 1. 21); neut. AMg. *sarāṇi* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2).

—Ins. M. *sarehi* (H. 953), *sirehi*, *sirehiṃ* (H. 682; R. 6,60), °*maṇehi* (masc.; G. 88), *urehi* (R. 6,60); femin. M. *vimaṇāhiṃ* (R. 11,17), *maṇḡalamāṇāhi* (R. 15,43).—Gen. M. *saṛāṇa* (H. 953); JM. *gaṇavajāṇa* (KI. 14), femin. M. *gaṇavāṇa* (H. 233).—Loc. AMg. *tavesu* (Sūyag. 318), *saresu* (Nāyādh. 412). Like *āpas* becoming *āu* and *tejas* becoming *teṭṭ* (§ 355), *vacas* too becomes AMg. *vaū* (femin.): *itthivaū* = *strivacaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369); *puṃvaū* (Paṇṇav. 363), *ṣuṃvaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369), *napuṃsagavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369), *egavaū*, *bahuvaū* (Paṇṇav. 367).—In the case of words in -*sa* the stem -*sa* is rare: AMg. *adīṇamaṇaso* = *adīṇamanāḥ* (Uttar. 51); JM. *viuso* = **vidusaḥ* = Vedic *viduḥ* = *viduān* (Erz. 69,18).

§ 410. *apsaras* is declined in all the dialects as an **ā*-stem, which is found in Skt. to: sing. nom. AMg. JM. *Ś. accharā* (Paṇhāv. 229; Thān. 269. 489; Nāyādh. 1525; Erz. 64,26; Śak. 21,6; Vikr. 16,15; Karnas. 15,2); *Ś. anaccharā* = *anapsarāḥ* (Vikr. 7,18); plur. nom. AMg. *Ś. accharāo* (Ovav. [§ 38], Paṇhāv. 288; Vivāhap. 245. 254; Bālar. 218, 11); ins. AMg. *Ś. accharāhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 245; Ratn. 322,30; Bālar. 202, 13), and so to be read also at Vikr. 40,11 for *accharohiṃ*. On the suggested form *accharehiṃ*, that is correct at R. 7, 45, at the end of a bahuvrihi relative to *dharāharehiṃ*, see § 328. 376, on the stem *accharā°*, AMg. *accharā°* see § 97. 347. According to Hc. 1,20; Sr. fol. 25 the stem *accharasā* is also formed: nom. sing. *accharasā*, nom. plur. *accharasāo*. To it belongs the acc. M. *accharasāṃ* R. 13,47.

§ 411. 2) Nouns in -*is* and -*us*. The old forms are: sing. ins. AMg. *cakkkusā* = *cakṣuṣā* (Paṇhāv. 461; Uttar. 726. 734. 779); AMg. *viusā* = *viduṣā* (Hc. 2,174 p. 68).—Gen. *Ś. āusso* = *āyusaḥ* (Vikr. 80,4), *dhanuho* = *dhanusaḥ* (§ 263; Bālar. 113,17; rightly?).—Plur. gen. AMg. *joisām* = *jyotiṣām* (Ovav. § 36; so to be read with the MSS. ABβD), also *joisām* in the combination *joisām ayaṇe* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77). The nominative sing. in -*ū* may be tugged either with it or with the *ū*-stem: AMg. *viū* = Vedic *viduḥ*¹ (Sūyag. 89. 147. 342. 560. 665; Uttar. 644. 691; Āyār. 2,16,5^a), *dhammaviū* = *dharmaviduḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *egaviū* = *ekaviduḥ*, *dhammaviū* = *dharmaviduḥ*, *maggaviū* = *mārgaviduḥ*, *pāravīū* = *pāraviduḥ* (Sūyag. 560. 565. 665), *ekkārasaṅgaviū* = *ekādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Nāyādh. 967), *bārasaṅgaviū* = *dvādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Uttar. 691), *cakkkū*, *ega°*, *bi°*, *ti°* = *cakṣuḥ*, *eka°*, *dvi°*, *tri°* (Thān. 188); *dhanū* = *dhanuḥ* (Hc. 1,22); *Ś. āū* = *āyuh* (Vikr. 81,20; cf. *āuo* = **āyukaḥ* 82,13); *Ś. dīhāū* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20; Mṛcch. 141,16; 154,15; Śak. 165,12; Vikr. 80,12; 84,9; Uttarar. 71,8 etc.).—From the *i*- or *u*-stem are derived: sing. nom. AMg. *sappi* = *sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291; neuter), *joī* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 374 f.; mascul.).; cf. 358^a; M. *haviṃ* = *haviḥ* (Bh. 5,25); M. *dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 603. 620; R. 1,18. 24. 45); AMg. *āum* = *āyuh* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2).—Acc. AMg. *joim* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 375. 677. 1009; Nandis. 146), *sajoi* = *sajjyotiṣam* (Sūyag. 270), *sappim* = *sarpiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Kappas. S. § 17; Ovav. § 73), *cakkkum* = *cakṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4), also *cakkkhu* (Sūyag. 223), as in the nom. (Uvās. § 5; so to be read), *paramāum* (Ovav. § 53; Samav. 112); M. AMg. *Ś. dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 177. 631; Nirayāv. § 5; Venis. 62,17); *Ś. dīhāum* = *dirghāyusaṃ* (Uttarar. 132,9).—Ins. AMg. *joinā* = *jyotiṣā* (Āyār. 2,16,8; Sūyag. 460. 731), *accīe* = *arciṣā* from *arcis* has become feminine (Ovav. § 33. 56); *Ś. dīhāunā* (Śak. 44,6; so to be read).—Abl. AMg. *cakkkhuo* (Āyār. 2,15,5,2).—Gen. AMg. *āussa* (Sūyag. 504), *cakkkussa* (Uttar. 924 f.).—Loc. AMg. *āummi* (Sūyag. 212); JM. *cakkkummi* (Āv. 15,17).—Plur. nom. masc. AMg. *vejaviū joisaṅgaviū*, *viū* (Uttar. 743. 756), *dhammavidū* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1), *anāū* = *anāyusaḥ* (Sūyag. 322); neuter *cakkkūim* (Hc. 1,33); AMg. *cakkkū* (Sūyag. 549. 639).—Ins. *dhanūhim* (Nirayāv. § 27).—The stem in -*sa* occurs: nom. *Ś. dīhāuso* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20;

Mālav. 55,13); M. *adiharāuso* (H. 950); *dhaṇuham* = *dhanuḥ* for **dhanuṣam* (§ 263; Hc. 1,22), from which the loc. M. *dhaṇuḥe* (Karp. 38,11), the stem M. *dhaṇuḥa*° (Prab. 65,5); JM. *cirāusā* (T. 7,8; femin.). *āsīs* forms, according to Triv. 1,1,3,3, the nom. *āsi* = *āsiḥ*, or the form *āsīsā*, derived from it, that Hc. 2, 174 too teaches. There are found in JM. the acc. *āsīsam* (Erz. 80,11) and *laddhāsīsō* = *labdhāsīḥ* (Erz. 84,25); Ś. ins. *āsīsā* (Venīś. 23,17), ins. plur. *āsīsāhiṃ* (Mallikām. 79,3). Beside them is assured the extended form *āsīsā* built from the weak stem: Ś. nom. (Śak. 83,1); acc. *āsīsam* (Mālatīm. 351,7); gen. *āsīsāe* (Nāgān. 84,15; so to be read with the v. l. for *āsīsām* of the text); gen. plur. *āsīsānam* (Mālatīm. ed. Bomb. 107,12; cf. v. l. ed. BHĀNDĀRKAR p. 363; Mahāv. 133,5).

1. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,236.—2. The words *viū* [text *vidū*] *nae dhammapajam aputtaram* belong to verse 4. The conjecture of JACOBI with regard to the use of *vidūnate* in the meaning of *vidunvataḥ* (SBE. XII, 212, note 2) is linguistically impossible. *nate* is a false form used for *nae* (§ 203) = *naṇet* (§ 493, note 4).—3. Where *sappi* is to be erased.

§ 412. From *pums* are found four stems: 1) *pum-* from *pums-* in M. AMg. JM. *pumgava* (G. 87; Uttar. 666; Nāyadh. 1262. 1272; Erz. 4,25); AMg. *pumveja* (Samav. 62 [text °veda]; Bhag.), *pumvau* = **pumvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363), *pumāms-*, which occurs in the nom. sing. AMg. *pumam* = *pumān* (Dasav. 628,9); 3) the stem *puma-* deduced from it, AMg. nom. sing. *pume* (Thāp. 479. 482), AMg. acc. sing. *pumam* (Āyār. 2,4.1,8.9; Dasav. 637,8), and in the derivatives and compounds like AMg. *pumavau* = **pumvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363 [text °veū]. 368. 369), *pumāṇamanāṇi* = **pumā-jñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363 ff. 369), *pumapannavaṇi* = **pumprajñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 364), *pumitihiveja* = *pumstriveda* (Uttar. 960), *pumattam* = *pumstvam* (Uttar. 421), *pumattāe* = *pumstvāya* (Ovav. § 102; Thāp. 479. 482. 523), *pumavajana* = *pumvacana* (Paṇṇav. 370. 388; Thāp. 174 [text *pumma*°]), 4) the stem *pumsa-* extended from *pums-* in AMg. *pumsakoilaga* = *pumsa-kokilaka* (Thāp. 568), *napumsaveja* (Uttar. 960). In PG., from the *s*-stem, is found only *bhūyo* (7,41).

8) THE REMAINING CONSONANTAL STEMS.

§ 413. In addition to those from *t-*, *n-*, and *s*-stems, numerous forms built according to the old flexion from the *ś*-stems only, particularly from *dis*, and that mostly in formulaic phrases, as AMg. *diso disam* (Āyār. 2,16. 6); AMg. JM. *diso disim* (Panhāv. 197; Uttar. 793; Nāyadh. 348; Erz. 13,6. 38,26; 63,25), M. JM. *disi disi* (Viddhaś. 90,5; Erz. 7,29); AMg. *padiso disāsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); otherwise seldom, as gen. M. *puvvādiso* = *pūrvadīśaḥ* (Bālar. 179,2); Mg. *nīsi* (Mṛcch. 10,14; Verse) are retained. Otherwise only isolated forms are found (§ 355), as ins. sing. AMg. *vājā* = *vācā* (Uttar. 28; Dasav. 630,32), *kāyaggirā* = *kāyagirā* (§ 196; Dasav. 634,24). All the remaining consonantal stems almost always are taken over to the *a-*, the feminine ones to the *ā-* or *i-* declension. Thus *vāc*, through **vācā* becomes M. *vāā* (Bh. 4,7; G. 69), AMg. *vājā* (Sūyag. 931. 936); acc. *vāam*, AMg. *vājām* (G. 67; Sūyag. 932), ins. M. Ś. Mg. *vāāe* (G. 63; Pras. 46,14; 47,1; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,22), M. *vāāi* (H. 572), AMg. *vājāe* (Dasav. 631,34; Panhāv. 134); gen. Mg. *vāāe* (Mṛcch. 163, 21); loc. M. *vāāi* (H. 32); plur. nom. M. *vāā* and *vāāo* (G. 93); acc. AMg. *vājāo* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); ins. AMg. *vājāhi* (Āyār. 2,16,2); loc. M. *vāāsu* (G. 62). Beside them AMg. frequently has *vai* = **vaci* from **vaci* with *a* according to § 81¹: sing. nom. *vai* (Āyār. p. 132,16. 17; Vivāhap. 70), acc. *vaim* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1 [so to be read]; 2,3,1,21; 2,3,3,16; p. 132, 15. 17; Sūyag. 169 [read *vaī*]. 866), *vai*° (Āyār. 1,5,5,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,13,22; p. 133,2; Sūyag. 128; Uttar. 646; Jiv. 25. 276; Vivāhap. 1431.1453.1462;

Kappas. § 118 [so to be read]).—*tvac* forms sing. nom. AMg. *tayā* = **tvacā* (Sūyag. 639; Vivāhap. 1308.1529); abl. AMg. *tayāo* (Sūyag. 639); plur. gen. AMg. *tayānam* (Sūyag. 806); nom. AMg. *tayāni* (§ 358). The stem often appears in compounds, as AMg. *tayāppavāla*^o = *tvakprabāla* (Paṇhāv. 408), *tayāsuha* = *tvaksukha* (Nāyādh. § 34; Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *tayāmanta* (Ovav. § 4. 15), *sarittayā* = *sadr̥ktvacāḥ* (Vivāhap. 123; nom. plur.). From *rc* is found the acc. plur. Ś. *ricāim* (§ 358). From *bhisaj* follows the nom. sing. *bhisao* (Hc. 1,18), from *yakrt*, the gen. sing. AMg. *jagayassa* = **yakrtasya* (Vivāhap. 869), from *śarad* the nom. sing. *sarao* (§ 355). — From *vid* AMg. forms nom. sing. *saḍaṅgavi* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77), *vejavi* = *vedavit* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,5,4,3; 1,5,5,2; Uttar. 742), from *parisād*, gen. nom. AMg. *parisā* from **parisādā* (Vivāgas. 4. 13. 15. 58. 138. 242; Ovav.; Uvās.; and very often, also in JM. Erz. 33,10), ir. s. gen. loc. AMg. *parisāe* (Kappas. § 113; Ovav. § 56); plur. nom. AMg. *parisāo* (Vivāhap. 303), ins. *parisāhim* (Nāyādh. 1026), gen. *parisānam* (Vivāgas. 201). From *sampad* the nom. is *sampā*, from *pratipad*, nom. *paḍivā* (Hc. 1,15), JM. *sampajā*, *āvayā* (Erz. 81,35); A. *sampai* = **sampadī*, likewise *āvai* = *āpad*, *vivai* = *vīpad* (Hc. 4,335. 372. 400); cf. AMg. *āvaikālam* = *āpatkālam* (Ovav. § 86); acc. A. *sampaa* (Piṅgala 1,81^a; GOLDSCHMIDT *maṅgala*), plur. nom. M. *sampā*, AMg. *sampayā* (H. 518; Kappas. § 134 ff.), *āvai* (G. 988). From *hyd* the acc. is AMg. *hiyam* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5).—*kṣudh* forms nom. *chuhā*, *khuhā* (§ 318).—On *āu* see § 355. — *kakubh* builds nom. *kaūhā* (Hc. 1,21), *gir* forms nom. *girā*, likewise *dhur*, nom. *dhurā*, *pur*, nom. *purā* (Hc. 1,16); acc. D. *dhuram* (Mṛcch. 102,2); plur. nom. AMg. *girāo* (Paṇhāv. 287), ins. *girāhim* (Vivāhap. 944; Kappas. § 47; Nāyādh. § 23), gen. *girānam* (Uttar. 358). — In AMg. *aho* is the acc. from *ahar* (day; § 342), frequently in the combination *aho ya rāo* or *aho ya rāo ya* (§ 386). — The very frequent *dis̥* forms mostly in all the dialects *disā*, Mg. *disā* in compounds as in flexion: nom. *disā*, acc. *disam*, ins. gen. loc. *disāe*, abl. *disāo*, AMg. also *ahedisāo*, *anūdisāo* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2; Sūyag. 574), Ś. *puvādisādo* (Ratn. 313,7); plur. nom. acc. *disāo*, ins. *disāhim*, gen. *disānam*, loc. *disāsu*, AMg. also *vidisāsu* (Thān. 259 ff.). From **disi*, we frequently have in AMg. JM. the acc. *disim*, particularly in the combination *diso disim* (see above), but elsewhere too (Vivāgas. 4. 38; Kappas. § 28. S. § 61 [v. l. *disam*], *anūdisim* (Kappas. S. § 61), *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 145), *paḍidisim* (Thān. 135; commentary: *ikāras tu prākṛtatvāt*), and in the composition *disi*^o (Vivāhap. 161; Ovav. § 2; Kappas. § 27. 63; Uvās. § 3. 7; Āv. 14,10) and *disi*^o (Uvās. § 50); so also gen. plur. JŚ. *disīnam* (Kattig. 402,367) beside *disāna* (401,342), loc. JŚ. *disisu* (Kattig. 401,341), A. *disih* (Hc. 4,340,2). — *prāvṛṣ* becomes *pāuso* (§ 358); from *upānah* the stem is Ś. *uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), nom. acc. plur. in AMg. *pāhaṇāo*, *vāhaṇāo* (§ 141).

1. WEBER (Bhag. 1,404) wrongly traces *vai*^o back to *vacas*.

B. COMPARISON

§ 414. Pkt. employs *-tara*, *-tama*, *-īyas*, *-iṣṭha*, as suffixes of the comparative and superlative wholly as Skt.: M. *tikkhaara* = *tikṣṇatara* (H. 505); JM. *ujjalatara* = *ujjvalatara* (Āv. 40,6), *daḍḍhaya* = *dṛḍhatara* (Erz. 9,35); AMg. *paggaḥiyatara* = *pragr̥hātara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,11), *thovata* = *stokata* (Jiyak. 92); Ś. *adhiadara* = *adhikata* (Mṛcch. 72,3; 79,1; Mālatim. 214,1; Vṛṣabh. 10,21; Nāgān. 24,5), *nihudadara* = *nibhṛtata* (Vikr. 28,8), fem. *diṇṇadara* = *dvigunatara* (Mṛcch. 22,13), *ri* (Priyad. 25,7); JM. Ś. *mahattara* (Erz.; Uttarar. 118,5), Mg. *mahattala* (Śak. 118,5); *piaama* (H. R.), JM. *pija ama* (Dvār. 498,26; Erz.), Ś. *piadama* (Vikr.

28,9; 52,20; 58,5; Prab. 39,2), A. *piama* (Vikr. 66,16) = *priyatama*; AMg. *taratama* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañiyasa* (§ 409), Ś. *kañiśi* (femin.; Mālav. 78, 9); Ś. *kañiṭṭha* = *kañiṣṭha* (Mahāv. 3, 14; Kāleyak. 26, 20; Subhadr. 3,18), AMg. *kañiṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 622); AMg. *seyaṃ* = *śreyas* (§ 94), *seyaṃsa* (§ 409); PG. *bhūyo* (7,41), AMg. JM. *bhujjo* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,5, 4,2; 1,6,3,2; 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 361. 579. 787. 789. 979; Uttar. 212.232.238. 239. 365. 434. 842; Vivāhap. 18. 27. 30 ff. 145. 238 f. 387 etc.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *bhūo* (Śak. 27,6; 90,14; 123,13; Mālav. 48,7), Ś. *bhūiṭṭha* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 71,8) = *bhūyas*, *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside Ś. *bahudara* (Mṛcch. 37,23; Śak. 73,3; Uttarar. 66,1; Cait. 42,2; 43,5; 45,11); AMg. *pejja* = *preyas* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 885; Paṇṇav. 638; Vivāhap. 125. 1026; Uttar. 199; Uvās.), also *pijja* (Uttar. 822. 876); AMg. *pāviyaṃsa* = *pāpiyān* (§ 409), JM. *pāviṭṭha* = *pāpiṣṭha* (Kk.); AMg. JM. Ś. *jeṭṭha* = *jyeṣṭha* (Āyār. 2,25,15; Vivāhap. 333. 511; Uttar. 622 [j]); Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Dvār. 495,26; Erz.; Vikr. 88,16; Uttarar. 128,12; Anarghar. 297,13); AMg. *dharmiṭṭha* = *dharmiṣṭha* (Sūyag. 757); JM. *dappiṭṭha* = *darpiṣṭha* (Kk. 270,9); Ś. *adibalitiṭṭha* (Pras. 83,10). On AMg. *heṭṭhima* see § 107. Double formations are: AMg. *uttaratara* (Ovav.), *baliyatarāṃ* (Vivāhap. 839); *jeṭṭhajara*, *kañiṭṭhajara* (Hc. 2, 172). Noteworthy hybrid formations are the adverbs AMg. *bhujjataro* and *bhujjayaro*, in which the comparative suffix *-tara* has been added to the comparative stem *bhujja* = *bhūyas*, and which have retained the ending *-o* of *bhujjo* = *bhūyas*. On their pattern¹, as in numerous other cases², are regulated *appataro*, *oppayaro* = *alpatarāṃ* in the combination *appataro vā bhujjataro vā* or *appayaro vā bhujjayaro vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13; Sūyag. 628. 699. 751. 986; Vivāhap. 40; Ovav. § 69). — Sometimes the positive is used in the sense of the comparative: M. *ovaṇṇāhi vi lahuam* “quicker than downward rush” (R. 6,77), *seubandhalahuam* “smaller than a bridge” (R. 8, 15); Ś. *tatto vi...pia tti* “dearer than thou” (Śak. 9,10), *padhuma-daṃsaṇādo vi savisesaṃ piadaṃsaṇo* “more charming than at the first view” (Vikr. 24,1).

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *appataro*. — 2. § 355 on *āu*.

C. THE PRONOUN.

§ 415. Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.

- Nom. *ahaṃ*, *ahaṃ*, JM. *ahajam*, *haṃ*, [*amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi*, *ahammi*]; Mg. *hage*, *hagge*, [*hake*, *ahake*]; A. *hañ*.
 Acc. *maṃ*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *me*, [*mi*, *mimaṃ*, *ammi*, *amhaṃ*, *amha*, *mamha*, *ahaṃ*, *ahammi*, *ṇe*, *ṇaṃ*]; A. *mañ*.
 Ins. *mae*, *mañ*, [*mamae*, *mamāi*, *mañi*], *me*, [*mi*, *mamaṃ*, *ṇe*]; A. *mañ*.
 Abl. [*matto*, *mamatto*, *mahatto*, *majjhatto*, *mañtto*], *mamāo*, [*mamāu*, *mamāhi*], *mamāhiṃto* etc. (§ 416); P. [*mamāto*, *mamātu*]; A. [*mahu*, *majjhu*].
 Gen. *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *majjhaṃ*, *me*, *mi* [*mañ*, *amha*, *amhaṃ*]; A. *mahu*, *majjhu*.
 Loc. [*mae*]; *mañ*, [*me*, *mi*, *mamāi*], *mamammi*, [*mahammi*, *majjhammi*, *amhammi*]; A. *mañ*.

Plural.

- Nom. *amhe*, [*amha*, *amho*, *mo*, *bhe*]; D. *vaṃ*; AMg. JM. *vayaṃ* too; Mg. [*hage*] too; P. *vayaṃ*, *ampha*, *amhe*; A. *amhe*, *amhañ*.
 Acc. *amhe*, *amha*, [*amho*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhe*, [*amhañ*].

- Ins. *amhehiṃ*, [*amhāhiṃ*, *amhe*, *amha*], *ṇe*; A. *amhehi*.
 Abl. [*amhatto*, *amhāhiṃto*, *amhāsumto*, *amhesumto*, *mamatto*, *mamāhiṃto*, *mamāsumto*, *mamesumto*; A. *amhahā*]; J.M. *amhehiṃto*.
 Gen. *amhāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *amhaṃ*, *amha*, *mha*, [*amhāhā*], *amhe*, [*amho*, *mamāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *mahāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *majjhāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *majjha*, *ṇe*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhātā*.
 Loc. *amhesu*, *amhāsu*, [*amhasu*, *mamesu*, *mamasu*, *mahesu*, *māhasu*, *majjesu*, *majjhasu*]; A. *amhāsu*.

Cf. Vr. 6,40—53; 11,9; 12,25; C. 1,26—31; 2,27; 3,105—117; 4,301. 375—381; Ki. 3,72—83; 5,40—48.97.114; Mk. fol. 49. 70; Sr. fol. 30—32

§ 416. A very great number of forms taught by the grammarians have not as yet been attested in the texts, and without that, therefore, their correctness still remains doubtful¹. From amongst the forms, which perhaps are inferred only according to the schema, given by Sr., one can be in doubt about only some of them. Sr. teaches, of course not merely, as Hc., in the abl. sing. of the all the stems given above the forms: *mamatto*, *mamāo*; *mamāu*, *mamāhi*, *mamāhiṃto*; *mahatto*, *mahāo*, *mahāu*, *mahāhi*, *mahāhiṃto*, *majjhatto*, *majjhāo*, *majjhāu*, *majjhāhi*, *majjhāhiṃto*; *maṭitto*, *maṭio*, *maṭu*, *maṭhi*. *maṭhiṃto*; *mamā*, *mahā*, *majjhā*; but also the special feminine forms *mamāa*, *mamāā*, *mamāi*, *mamāe*, likewise from the stems *maha*, *majjha*, *maṭ*, so that he mentions 39 forms for the abl. In the loc. sing. he teaches in addition *amhattha*, *amhassim*, *amhammi*, *amhahim*, *amhe*, further the feminine forms *amhāa*, *amhāā*, *amhāt*, *amhāe*, and all these forms also from the stems *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, altogether 41 forms. Likewise in the case of the pronoun of the second person from the stems *tuma*, *tuva*, *tuha*. *tumha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tui*, *taṭ*. How far would such forms be used in literature, only the future can tell.

1. BLOCH goes too far, Vr. und Hc. 36. Cf. KONOW, GGA. 1894. 478.

§ 417. Singular. In the nom. all the dialects, including Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,7; 34,25; 35,1), Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,17; 103,10; 105,1) and D. Mṛcch. 102, 23; 104, 19; 106,1) employ *aham* = *aham*, Mg. *hage* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12,14; 136,16; 175,15; Lalitav. 565,17; 566,6. 16; Śak. 113,5. 9; 114,2; Mudrār. 193,8; 194,2 etc.). So teach also Vr. 11,9, who has also *hake* and *ahake*, Hc. 4,301; Sr. fol. 63; Ki. 5,97, who has *hake* too; Mk. fol. 75, who has also *hakke*, *hake*, *hagge*. In Mṛcch., with the exception of the three particular places, which are all in verse, STENZLER has *hage* elsewhere throughout (12,5; 13,4. 8; 16,18; 20,14; 21,20; 37,4 etc.), as also at Häsya. 31,3; Prab. 32,6. 14 stands, and at Prab. 55,15; 58,17 (K. *hakke*) is to be read for *haggo*; so has the ed. P. 58, 17; whilst at 55,15 it has *ham*; the ed. Bomb. has *aham* (55,15) and *hagge* (58,17); the ed. M. has *aham* in both the places, as also Mudrār. 178,2 (v. l. *hage*); 187,1; 193,1 (v. l. *hage*), 267,2; Vaṇis. 35,4 and elsewhere stands in uncritical editions. The MSS. of Mṛcch. in GODABOLE almost throughout have *hage*, as is to be read there. Both the forms are correct, since they go back to one **ahakādh* (§ 142. 194) i. e. *ahakām* (Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya I, 91,11), Aśoka *hakaṃ* with so frequent change of gender in Mg. (§ 357). A. *haṭṭ* (Hc. s. v. *hām*; Piṅgala 1,104^a; 2,121; Vikr. 65,3 [so to be read for *haṭ*, *hām*; cf. v. l. A]) and M. *aham* (H. R.), J.M. *ahaṇam* (Āv. 7,34; 36,49; Erz.) go back to *ahakām*. Sometimes after vowels (§ 175) appears M. AMg. J.M. Mg. *ham* (R. 15,18; Karp. 75,2; Uttar. 575. 623; Samav. 83; Erz. 12,22; 53,34; Mṛcch. 136,11). Of the remaining four forms Vr. and Mk. have *ahammi* only, Ki. has *amhi*, Hc. alone has *mmi* too. All the four forms are rejected by BLOCH¹, as mistakes of the

grammarians. However, it is certain that already in Skt. *asmi* is used in the sense of "I"², a meaning, that has developed from the original parenthetical *asmi* "I am", as is shown appropriately by the much quoted *rāmo'smi sarvaṃ sahe*. One may compare this with the use of *asti* in B-R. s.v.1 as p. 535, which is found in Pkt too: AMg. *atthi naṃ bhante gihīno...ohināne naṃ samupphijjāi* (Uvās. § 83); *atthi naṃ bhante jīṇavajjane...āloijjāi* (Uvās. § 85); *atthi naṃ bhante...siddhā parivasanti* (Ovav. § 162); *taṃ atthi jāim te kaḥim pi* [ed. vi] *devānuppiyā erisae orohe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1284); *taṃ atthi jāim* [ed. jā] *ittha kei bhe* [ed. te] *kaḥim pi* [ed. vi] *accherāe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1376); Ś. *atthi e'ttha naare...tiṇṇi purisā...sirim na saṃhanti* (Mudrār. 39,2). Likewise *santi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585) and more often *siyā* = *syāt* (as in Pāli *siyā* and *assa*) are used (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,1,6,3; 1,2,6,1; 1,5,5,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,2,2; Dasav. 613,22), and so certainly *amhi* = *asmi* too is to be used. *ammi* and *mmi* are not made up forms, as AMg. *mi*, *mo*, *mu* (§ 498) show, when even the examples given by Hc. 3,105 rest on false readings.³ *ahammi* should be = *aham mi*.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 37.—2. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 478; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz. (Bonn 1897), p. 62, note 2.—3. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 37. In Hc. 3,105 we should with ed. Bomb. read *jeṇa haṃ viddhā* for *teṇa haṃ diṭṭhā* (WEBER on H. 441). Correct, however, is the analysis *jeṇ' ahaṃ* (§ 173). Cf. § 34.

§ 418. Except in A., the form that can be used in all the dialects in the acc. is *maṃ* = *mām* (H. R.; Uvās. s. v. *ma-*; Erz. Kk. s. v. *aham*; Rṣabhap. s. v. *ma*¹; Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 2,22. 25; Śak. 16. 10; Vikr. 16,6; Mg. Mṛcch. 11,1; 29,23; 32,5. 15). A. has *maṃ* (Hc. 4,377. 414,4; Vikr. 69, 2). In M. AMg. JM. is found also *mamaṃ* (H. 16; R. 11,84; Thāp. 477; Nāyādh. s. v.; p. 932; Uttar. 791; Vivāhap. 257. 1215; Uvās. § 68 [so to be read with the MSS. for *mama*]. 140. 219; Dvār. 500,8; Erz. 43,29). For Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 129, 4) we should, in the verse, read *mamā*. After *mamaṃ*, AMg. has formed also a feminine *mamiṃ*; *mamaṃ vā mamiṃ vā* (Sūyag. 680). We should read *amhi ahammi* for *asmi asammi* in Kī. 3, 73. Rare is M. AMg. *mahaṃ* (R. 15. 90; Vivāgas. 221), which escaped the notice of the grammarians, more often *me* in AMg., as in the Veda², (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Uttar. 362. 710; Thāp. 158. 360. 361; Kappas. § 16).—The ins. is *mae* in all the dialects, except in A., which has *maṃ* (Hc. 4,330, 2. 346. 356 etc.; Vikr. 55, 1). *me* stands in the sense of the ins. in JM. (Erz. 72,12; 83,32); Mg. Mṛcch. 40,5; *maṃ* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,1) in a verse.—In the abl. *mamāhimito* alone is traceable in AMg. JM. (Vivāhap. 1245; Nāyādh. 1329; Erz. 54,20) and *mamāo* in JM. (Āv. 27,25; Dvār. 495,23).—In the gen. *mama* is rare in M. At H. 123 we should read *mamaṃ ti* with the v. l. (§ 182), so that G. H. R. do not have *mamā*, except in H. 617; it stands in M. (Śak. 55,15). M. uses *maha*, *mahaṃ*, *majjha*, *majjhaṃ*, *me*, JM. AMg. often in addition to *mama* also *mamaṃ* (Vivāgas. 121 f.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 12,28), Ś. *mama* (Mṛcch. 9,7; Śak. 9,13; Vikr. 16,5), *maha* (Lalitav. 554,7; Pras. 83,6; 123,3; Venis. 11,25), *me* (Mṛcch. 15,25; Śak. 27,9. 10; Vikr. 8,15); *majjha*, that is forbidden by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś., stands at Karp. 10,10; 58,1 against the dialect for *mama* or *maha*; Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 14,1; 21,8. 12; 30,25), *maha* (Mṛcch. 114,18; Venis. 33,13), *me* (Mṛcch. 9,25; 10,3. 5; Venis. 34,22; 35,2. 8.14); Dh. *mama* (Mṛcch. 31,1; 34,17); Ā. *maha* (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,22), likewise D. (Mṛcch. 104,2. 11); A. *mahu* (Hc. 4,333. 370,2. 379,1; Vikr. 59, 13. 14), *majjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 379,2); under the pressure of the rhyme with *paṃ* also *maṃ* at Vikr. 63,4.—*maha* goes back likewise as *majjha*, to *mahyam*. For *me* stands *mi* metri causa in AMg. Uttar. 489. False readings are JM. *mujjha*, *muha* (Erz.). We should read *yad imam* in the place of P.

yai mañ (Hc. 4,323).—Loc. M. JM. *mamammi* (R.; Erz.); Ś. *mañ* (Mālav. 41,18); A. *mañ* (Hc. 4,377).

1. These references hold good also for the rest of the cases in the sing.; besides one should also see Nāyādh. ed. STEINTHAL s.v. s.v. In places, where nothing has been noted, the old texts, like Āyār., Sūyag., Uttar., Āv., have the same forms. Only a few examples have been given from Ś. Mg., as most of the forms are very frequent. This holds good also for the remaining pronouns.—2. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,714.

§ 419. Plural. Nom. The form that can be used in all the dialects, including PG.(6,41), is *amhe*, for which in Mg. *asme* is to be written (§ 314) = Vedic *asme*¹: M. (G. 1072; H. s. v. *amha*); AMg. (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Nāyādh. § 137; Vivāgas. 229; Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134); JM. (Erz. 3,28; 12,13. 19; Kk. 271,7); Ś. (Mṛcch. 20,18; Śak. 16,12; Vikr. 6,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 158,23; 161,14. 17; 168,11; Venis. 35,21); A. (Hc. 4,376,1). In AMg. *vayam* = *vayam* too is frequent (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 1,7,1,5; 2,1,9,11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,1,17; 2,5,1,10; 2,6,1,10; Sūyag. 585. 603. 633. 935. 948.972; Uttar. 432. 446. 748; Vivāhap. 1180; Dasav. 613,11), which occurs in JM. too (Kk. 270,1). For Ś. too Vr. 12,25 and Mk. fol. 70 permit *vaam*. It stands in Mṛcch. 103,5 in D., in Ś. only in bad texts (also Mālav. 46,12; 48,18)². For Mg. Hc. 4,301 teaches in the plural too *hage*, as is attested by 4,302 (p. 148) in a quotation from Vikrāntabhīma; A. has also *amhañ* (Hc. 4,376). For P. Kī. 5,114 teaches *vayam*, *ampha* and *amhe*.—According to C. 2,27 *bhe* may be used in the plural in all the cases.—Acc. M. AMg. *ne* = *nas* with the ending -e of the nouns in -a (§ 367a) (R. 3,16; 5,4; Āyār. 1,6,1,5 [ne]; Sūyag. 174. 176. 239), but Ś. *no* (Śak. 26,12); JM. Ś. also *amhe* (T. 5, 3; Mālatim. 361,2; Uttarar. 7,5; Venis. 70,5), Mg. *asme* (Venis. 36,5), M. *amha* (H. 356), A. *amhe* (Hc. 4,422,10), according to Hc. 4,376 also *amhañ*.—Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *amhehiṃ* (H. 509; Nāyādh. § 137; Āv. 16,6; Erz. 5,10; Mṛcch. 23,23; Viddhaś. 27,4; Mālatim. 283,2), M. also *amhehi* (H. R.), as also PG. has (6,29); Mg. *asmehiṃ* (Mṛcch. 11,19; 21,11); in AMg. also *ne* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3); A. *amhehi* (Hc. 4,371).—Abl. JM. *amhehinto* (Āv. 47,20).—Gen. M. JM. Ś. *amhāṇaṃ* (H. 951 [ṇa]; Erz. 2,17; Kk.; Mṛcch. 2,18. 19. 24), Mg. *asmāṇaṃ* ([text *amhāṇaṃ*]; Lalitav. 565,14; Mṛcch. 31,15; 139,13; Śak. 116,2); M. AMg. JM. *amhaṃ* (H.; Uttar. 356. 358; Vivāgas. 217. 218; Nāyādh. § 26. 116; p. 482. 609. 616; Vivāhap. 233. 511; Āv. 8,17; 14,16; 17,17; Erz. 6,35; 12,34), M. JM. also *amha* (H.; Āv. 11,9; 17,7; Erz.; Kk.), that falsely stands in Ś. in Vikr. 73,12, for which with P should be read either *amhe* and which is to be considered as in the acc. (cf. *mañ* of the Dvāvid. recen.), or with the ed. Bomb. 119,7 *amhāṇaṃ*. In M. *mha* too (H.). *amhaṃ* is in AMg. JM. the prevalent form, which PG. too has (5,3; 7,42). It corresponds to one Skt. **asmām*, i. e. a gen. built from the stem *asma-* with the ending of the consonantal declension, whilst *amhāṇaṃ* presupposes one **asmānām*, and M. *amhāñā*, A. *amhañā* (Hc. 4,379. 380. 439) mentioned by Hc. 4,300 presuppose one **asmāsām*, therefore, with the ending of the pronominal declension. On AMg. *asmākaṃ* see § 314. AMg. JM. have also *amhe* (Sūyag. 969; T. 5,6), Ś. very frequently has *no* = *naḥ* (Śak. 17,11; 18,8; 26,12; Vikr. 5,11; 6,16; 10,3), AMg. *ne* (Vivāhap. 132 f.).—Loc. Ś. *amhesu* (Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 75,1; Venis. 70,2). *amhāsu*, quoted from an unnamed author in Hc. 3,117, mentioned in Sr. fol. 32, and taught by Hc. 4,381 himself for A., stands in M. R. 3,32.

1. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,716 —2. FISCHEL, KB. S. 142 f.

§ 420. The Pronoun of the Second Person.

Singular.

Nom. *tumam*, *tuñ*, *tañ*, [tuha, tuvañ]; Dh. *tuham*; A. *tuhū*.

- Acc. *tumañ*, [*tum̃*, *tañ*], *te*, [*tuha*, *tuvam̃*, *tume*, *tue*]; Ś. Mg. *de* too; Dh. *tuham̃*; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.
- Ins. *tae*, *taĩ*, *tue*, *tui*, [*tumañ*], *tumae*, [*tumai*], *tumāi*, *tume*, *te*, *de*, [*dī*, *bhe*]; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.
- Abl. *tatto*, *tumāhi*, *tumāhinto*, *tumāo*, [*tumāu*, *tumā*, *tumatto*, *taitto*, *tuitto*], *tuvatto*, [*tuhatto*, *tubbhattto*, *tumhattto*, *tujjhattto*, further from all these stems with the endings -o, -u, (Ś. Mg. -do, -du), -hi, -hinto, then *tumā*, *tuvā*, *tuhā*, *tubbhā*, *tumhā*, *tujjhā*, *tumha*, *tuyha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tahinto*]; P. [*tumāto*, *tumātu*]; A. *tujjhu*, *taĩ*, *tudhra*].
- Gen. *tava*, *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuham̃*, *tubbha*, *tubbham̃*, *tumha*, *tumham̃*, *te*, *de*, [*taĩ*], *tu*, [*tuvā*, *tumā*], *tumam̃*, *tumma*, [*tume*, *tumo*, *tumāi*, *dī*, *i*, *e*, *ubbha*, *uyha*, *umha*, *ujjha*]; Ś. *tuha*, *de*; Mg. *tava*, *tuha*, *de*; A. *taĩ*, *tujjhu*, *tujjhaha*, *tudhra*, *tuha*.
- Loc. *taĩ*, *tumammi*, *tume*, *tui*, *tui*, [*tue*, *tae*, *tumae*, *tumāi*, *tummi*, *tuvammi*, *tuhammi*, *tubbhammi*, *tumhammi*, *tujjhammi*]; AMg. *tumam̃si*; Ś. *taĩ*, *tui*; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.

Plural.

- Nom. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*, [*tubbha*, *tumha*, *tujjhe*, *tujjha*, *tuyhe*, *uyhe*, *bhe*]; AMg. *tubbhe*; JM. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*; Ś. Mg. (?) *tumhe*; A. [*tumhe*, *tumhaĩ*].
- Acc. as the nom., and *vo*, AMg. *bhe*.
- Ins. *tumhehim̃*, *tubbhehim̃*, [*tujjhehim̃*, *tuyhehim̃*, *tummehim̃*, *umhehim̃*, *ubbhehim̃*, *ujjhehim̃*, *uyhehim̃*], *bhe*; AMg. *tubbhehim̃*, *tumehim̃*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhehim̃*, *tubbhehim̃*; Ś. *tumhehim̃*; A. *tumhehĩ*.
- Abl. [*tumhattto*, *tubbhattto*, *tujjhhattto*, *tuyhattto*, *umhattto*, *ubbhattto*, *ujjhhattto*, *uyhattto*; from the same stems with the endings -e, -u (Ś. Mg. -do -du), -hi, -hinto, -sinto]; A. *tumhañā*.
- Gen. *tumhāñam̃*, *ñā*, [*tubbhāñam̃*, *ñā*, *tujjhāñam̃*, *ñā*, *tuhāñam̃*, *ñā*, *tuvāñam̃*, *ñā*, *tumāñam̃*, *ñā*], *tumham̃*, *tumha*, *tubbham̃*, [*tubbha*, *tujjham̃*, *tujjha*, *tu*], *bhe*, *vo*; AMg. *tubbham̃*, *tumhāñam̃*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhāñam̃*, *tubbham̃*, *tumha*, *tumham̃*; Ś. Mg. *tumhāñam̃*; A. *tumhañā*.
- Loc. [*tumhesu*, *tubbhesu*, *tujjhesu*, *tuhesu*, *tumesu*, *tusu*, *tumhasu* etc., *tumhāsu* etc., *tujjihisuñ*, *tumbhisuñ*; A. *tumhāsu*].

Cf. Vr. 6,26—39; C. 1,18—25; 2,26; Hc. 3,90—104; 4,368—374; Kī. 3,59—71; 5,113; Mk. fol. 47—49. 70. 75; Sr. fol. 26—30 and take notice of § 416.

§ 421. Singular. Nom. The prevalent form is *tumañ* from the stem *tuma* in all the dialects, except Dh. A.: (M. G. H. R.; AMg. e. g. Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [read *tumañ si*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; JM. e. g. Āv. 8,33; 14,29; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e. g. Lalitav. 561, 5. 11. 15; Mṛcch. 4. 5; Śak. 12, 8; Mg. e. g. Lalitav. 565, 15; Mṛcch. 19, 8; Prab. 58, 1; Mudrār. 267, 1; Ā. Mṛcch. 99, 18. 19; 101, 23; 103, 2; D. Mṛcch. 101, 10. 21; 103, 17. 18)¹. In AMg. the nom. *tume* too appears to occur (Nāyādh. § 68 against *tumañ* § 70; p. 448. 450), which would be related to *tumañ*, like Mg. *hage* to *ahakām* (§ 417). In M. *tañ* too (G. H. R.), which AMg. (Uttar. 637. 670. 678. 712) and JM. (Rṣabhap.; Erz.) too have in verses, is very frequent; beside it seldom appears *tum̃* (H.; Śak. 78, 11 ed. BÖHTL.). Dh. *tuham̃* (Mṛcch. 34,24; 35, 1. 3; 39, 8), A. *tuhū* (Hc. s. v. *tu*; Piṅgala 1,4^b) go back to *tvakām* (§ 206)². At Piṅgala 1,5^b *taĩ* (GOLDSCHMIDT *taim̃*, text *taĩ*; cf. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 530) has been used as nom.—Acc. *tumañ* as in the nom. in the same dialects (Ś. Mṛcch. 4,9; Śak. 51,6; Vikr. 23,1; Mg. Mṛcch. 12,10; Mudrār. 183,6); Dh. *tuham̃* (Mṛcch. 31, 12); A. *taĩ* (Hc. 4, 370) and *paĩ* (Hc. 4, 370; Vikr. 58,8; 65, 3).

On *pa* see § 300. *te* is acc. in AMg. (Uvās. § 95. 102; Uttar. 368.677.696), likewise in Ś. (Mṛcch. 3,13) and *de* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 54,8) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 128,12. 14)³.—Ins. M. *taī*, *tae*, *tui*, *tue*, *tumae*, *tumāe tumāi*, *tume* (G. H. R.); JM. *tae*, *tumae*, *tume*; AMg. *tume* (so also Uvās. § 139. 167 to be read with the v. l.); Ś. *tae* (Lalitav. 554,6; 555,5; Śak. 12,12; Ratn. 299,1,2), *tue* (Mṛcch. 7,5; Vikr. 25,5; Mahāv. 56,3); Mg. *tae* (Lalitav. 566,4), *tue* (Mṛcch. 31,23. 25; Venīs. 34,3; Prab. 50,9). The dramas waver; Mṛcch. Vikr. Venīs., and most others have *tue* (Vikr. 42,6 is to be corrected as *tue* with A), Śak. Ratn. have *tae*. Often the MSS. waver at the same place in M. Ā. has *tue* (Mṛcch. 102,1; 103,2; 105,1), D. *tue* (Mṛcch. 101,25) and *tae* (105,4), where, however, GODABOLE p. 299,5 reads more correctly *tue*.—*te*, *de*, even where they stand in the past passive participle, may be considered as gen. But the interpretation as the ins. is sometimes necessary, as Ś. Mṛcch. 60,24 *na hu de...sāhasam karēntēṇa...ācaridaṁ = na khalu twayā...sāhasam kurvatā...ācaritam*, or very probably, as Ś. Mṛcch. 29,14 *suṭṭhu de jāṇidaṁ = suṭṭhu twayā jñātam*, compare with 27,21; 28,24 *suṭṭhu tue jāṇidaṁ*. A. *taī*, *paī* (Hc. 4,370; 422,18; Vikr. 55,18; 58,9), as in the acc.—Abl. M. *tumāhi*, *tumāhinto*, *tumāo* (G. H.); Ś. *tatto* = *tvattah* (Śak. 9,10), *tuatto* (Mallikām. 219,8) and undoubtedly in the meaning of the sing., but against the dialect, *tumhāhinto* (Karp. 53,6; Viddhaś. 71,6; 113,6); P. *tumāto*, °*tu* (Hc. 4,307. 321).—Gen. M. *tuha*, *tuham*, *tujjha*, *tujjham*, *tuham*, *tumma*, *tu*, *te*, *de* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tava*, *te*, *tubbham*⁴, *tuham* (Uttar. 444. 597 f.), *tumam* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Uttar. 358); JM. *tuha*, *tumha*, *tujjha*, *tava*, *tujjham* (Āv. 7,11; 22,5), *tuham* (Āv. 7,33; 12,14); Ś. *tuha* (Lalitav. 554,5; Mṛcch. 22,25; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 26,9); *te* in Ś. only Mṛcch. 3,16 (v. l. *de*); 80,20; Vikr. 24,7, elsewhere always *de* (§ 185), hence *te* apparently false.⁵ Against the dialect are also *tava* and *tujjha*. In Vikr. *tava* stands at 27,21 only, where the MSS. BP have *tuha*, as also the ed. Bomb. 48,5 reads, in Mṛcch. only at 17,21; 24,3 in the repetition of words of the Śakāra; 138,23 in the reproduction of the Skt. words; 151,21. In Ratn., in places where *tava* or *tua* stood earlier, CAPPELLER reads *tuha*, so that Ratn. has only *tuha* (294,21; 299,3; 305,8; 309,6; 313, 12. 27; 318,26) and *de*. We should read *tuha*, as at 39,5 of the ed. Bomb. has, for *tuva*, *tua* in Prab. 37,14:39,5 of the editions. *tujjha* correctly stands in the dramas, Mṛcch. 100,11 (Ā.); 104,1 (D). 17 (Ā.); Śak. 55,15 (M.), Nāgān. 45,7 (M.); in Ś. it occurs only in Śak. 43,9, and is, therefore, false, since Lalitav. 554,4; Karp. 10,9; 17,5; Nāgān. 71,11; Kārṇas. 52, 13 and other Indian editions do not come into consideration. Against this Mg., like AMg. JM., has *tava* (Mṛcch. 12,19; 13,9; 14,1; 21,3; 22,4 etc.; Śak. 116,11), *te* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 113,1), for which the observation made above holds good, elsewhere very often *de* (e.g. Mṛcch. 21,22; Śak. 113, 7; Mudrār. 184,2), false *tujjha* (Mṛcch. 176,6, for which we should read *tue* with GODABOLE 478,1; Nāgān. 67,1 for which we should we should read *te* [*de*] with the ed. Calc. 63,1; Prab. 58,17 where BROCKHAUS perhaps has *ujjha*, and for which, with the v.l., we should read *tuha*; Dh. *tuha* (Mṛcch. 39,5); A. *taū*, *tujjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 370,4. 372. 425), the noteworthy *tudhra* (Hc. 4,372), *tujjhaha* (Vikr. 72,10; in addition to BOLLENSEN), *tuha* (Hc. 4,361. 370,1. 383,1; Piṅgala 1,123^a), *tumha* (Piṅgala 1,60^a), *tujjhe* in rhyme with *jujjhe* = *yudhi* (Piṅgala 2, 5). AMg. *tubbham* is = *tubhyam*; *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tuyha* presuppose one **tuhyam* (cf. *mahyam*). From this are deduced the stems *tubbha*, *tuyha*, *uyha*, which appear in the plural.⁶ The stems *tuyha*, *uyha* must have originated either from Mg. or from a dialect allied to Mg. (§ 236. 331).—Loc. M. *taī*, *tui*, *tumammi*, *tume* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tumāmsi* (Nirayāv. § 15); JM. *taī*, *tumammi*; Ś. *taī* (Vikr. 30,3; 84,4), *tui* (Mālav. 41,19; Venīs. 13,8 [so to be read with the ed. Calc. 1870, p. 26,5]);

A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*, as in the acc. ins. (Hc.4,370). In JM. too *paĩ* and *paĩm* have been used by Dhanapāla⁷.

1. See note 1 to § 418. — 2. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 528 reads *tūhū* and wants to derive it from *tumhañ* at p. 529. — 3. FISCHER, GGA. 1877, 1066; BB. 3,250 note; ZDMG. 35, 714. — 4. HOERNLE on Uvās., Transl., note 262. — 5. Certainly false is *de* in the beginning of the sentence in Śak. ed. BÖHTL. 107,13, as already noted by BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 176. — 6. Others KERN Jaartelling 102; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge 55, note 1. — 7. KLATT, ZDMG. 33,448.

§ 422. Plural. Nom. Except in AMg. the usable form, in all the dialects, is *tumhe* = **tusme*: M. (H. R.); JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,15; 70,15; Śak. 106,2; 109,7); Mg. (Mṛcch. 16,19; 149,17); A. (Hc. 4,369). For Mg. the correct form will be **tusme* or even *tuyhe*; cf. *tusmā*^o, EI. 3,313,4, which KIELHORN has correctly equated as = *yusmat*. The same stems are to be presupposed also for the plural forms of the other cases for this dialect, in which now *°mh*^o stands in the editions. AMg. has throughout *tubbhe* = Aśoka *tuphe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; 2,3,3,5. 7; Sūyag. 192. 194. 783. 972; Vivāhap. 132. 332; Nāyādh. [also § 138 to be read so with v. l. for *tumhe*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.). In contemptuous sense is used *tumāim* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8). JM. has, beside *tumhe*, also *tubhe* (Āv. 14,28. 30; 41,22; Erz.; Kk.); according to Hc. 4,369 A. has also *tumhaĩ*, according to Kī. 5,113; P. has *tumpha*, *tuppha*, *tumhe*. — Acc. *tumhe*: M. (R. 3,27); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,17; Nāgān. 48,13); JM. *tubbhe* (Dvār. 497,18; 498,38) and *tumhe* (T. 5,3); AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās.) and *bhe*¹, which originated from it under the influence of loss of accent (Nāyādh. 938. 939; Uttar. 363); A. has *tumhe*, *tumhaĩ* according to Hc. 4,369. — Ins. M. *tumhehi* (H.420); AMg. *tubbhehi* (Vivāgas.17; Uttar.579 [°*bhbhe*^o]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. p. 359. 361. 363. 419 etc.), also *tumhehi* (Nāyādh. 454, if the reading is correct), *tubbhe* (Sūyag. 932) and *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Nāyādh. 1284.1376 [text *te*]); JM. *tumhehi* (Erz.), *tubbhehi* (Āv. 11,26; 18,27; Erz.); Ś. *tumhehi* (Mahāv. 29,4; Viddhaś. 48,5); *tumhehi* (Hc. 4,371). — Gen. in all the dialects *tumhānām*: M. (H. 676, °*na*); AMg. (Sūyag. 964); JM. (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. (Lalitav. 568,5; Mṛcch. 17,22; Vikr. 48,4; Mālatīm. 285, 2); Mg. (Lalitav. 566,9; Śak. 118,4; Mudrār. 178,4; 258,4). In M. more frequent is *tumha* (R.), in AMg. the prevalent form is *tubbham* (Sūyag. 967. 1017; Nāyādh. § 79; p. 452. 590; Uttar. 355; Vivāhap. 1214; Vivāgas.20.21; Uvās.; so to be read with the v. l. for *tumhañ* in also Kappas. § 79). Besides there is found in AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās. § 68,153 [so to be read]) and often *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 2,1,5,5. 9,6; Sūyag. 284. 734. 972; Nāyādh. 907; Uttar. 50; Vivāhap. 132), which JM. too has (Āv. 24,8. 12). M. Ś. frequently have also *vo* = *vaḥ* (G. H. R.; Śak. 20,7; 52,15; Vikr. 51,16), likewise PĠ. (7,46), which I cannot find in other dialects and in Mṛcch. At Āv. 41,18 we should read *keṇa bhe kiñ gahijam*. A. has *tumhāhā*. (Hc. 4,373). According to Hc. 4,300 there is found in M. *tumhāhā* too. I cannot quote any form of the loc. Śākalya,² according to Mk. fol. 48 f., taught, without any strong justification, the forms *tujjhisum*, *tumbhisum*; A. has *tumhāsu* according to Hc. 4,374. According to C. 2,26 *bhe* is used in all the cases in the plural. It is found in the texts in the acc., the ins. and the gen. On the ecriture *hha* for *bbha* (*bhbha*) in the MSS. of Sr. see FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 3.

1. E. MÜLLER (Beiträge p. 55) has already noted that *bhe* is not = Skt. *bho* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,404, note 4; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.). — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2 f.

§ 423. Not only are the nom. singular masculine and the fem. of the stem *sa-*, as in Classical Skt., been retained, but dialectically also other cases, partly in agreement with the Iranian dialects¹. Sing.: nom. masc. M. JM. JŚ. S. Ā. D. P. *so* (H. s. v. *sa-*; G. R. Erz. Rṣabhap. s. v.

ta-; Kk. s. v. *tad*; JŚ. Pav. 380,7; 381,16. 21; Kattig. 398,302; 399,312; Ś. Lalitav. 555,1; 560,19; Mṛcch. 6,8; Śāk. 52,5; Vikr. 10,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,16; 101,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,5. 9; P. Hc. 4,322. 323), seldom *sa* (Hc. 3,3; PG. 7,47; M. R. 11,21 [where, however, with C. we should read *a* = *ca*]); AMg. (Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [where *sa cceva* is to read]; Uttar. 361 [*sa eso* beside *eso hu so* 362]; JM. (Erz. 6, 36; Kk. 258,4); Ś. Mṛcch. 42,11 [in A. only]; 63,18); AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s. v. *ta*²); Mg. *śe* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 19,17; Śāk. 114,2; A. *su* and *so* (Hc. s. v. s. v.). Falsely stands *so* in AMg. in Āyār. 1,1,1,4 and elsewhere in prose (cf. § 17). In conformity with the alteration of gender (§ 356 ff.) one says AMg. *se diṭṭham ca ne* = *tad dṛṣṭam ca naḥ*; *se duddiṭṭham ca bhe* = *tad durdṛṣṭam ca vaḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3.4); Mg. *eśe śe daśanāmake* = *etat tad daśanāmakam* (Mṛcch. 11,1), *śe munde* = *tun munḍam* (Mṛcch. 122,7), *eśe śe śuvarṇake* = *etat tat suvarṇakam* (Mṛcch. 165,7), *śe kamma* = *tat karma* (Śāk. 114,6); A. *so sukkhu* = *tat saukhyam* (Hc. 4,340, 1). — Acc. AMg. *se* corresponding to *me* (§ 418) and *te* (§ 421) in *se s' evaṃ vajāntaṃ* = *sa tam evaṃ vadantam* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8. 9,6), whilst in *se s' evaṃ vajāntassa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4,6,4. 7,5. 9,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,1,10) the second *se* gen. is = *sa tasyaivaṃ vadataḥ*; A. *su* (Hc. 4,383,3; masc.), *so* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; neuter.). — Inst. AMg. *se* (Sūyag. 838. 848. 854. 860). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *se*, Mg. *śe*, very frequently as masc. and fem., corresponding to *me* and *te* (Vr. 6,11; C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Kī. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22; Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 12,24; Śāk. 37,10; Vikr. 15,10; fem. Lalitav. 561,9; Mṛcch. 25,8; Śāk. 21,2; Vikr. 46,1; Mg. masc. Mṛcch. 36,10; 161,7; fem. Mṛcch. 134,8; Venis. 34,12); AMg. JM. metri causa also *se* (Dasav. 633,17; 635,4; Āv. 8,2.16) and AMg. *si* (Sūyag. 282)³. — Plural. nom. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,4,2,1 [ed. Calc. *te*]; Sūyag. 859); Mg. *śe* (Mṛcch. 167,1)⁴. — Acc. JŚ. *se* (Pav. 388,4; beside nom. *te*). — Gen. JM. *se* (C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22; Kk. 273,29; cf. § 34) and *siṃ* (Vr. 6,12; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22). — Voc. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1). As in the Atharvaveda 17, 1,20 f.⁵, in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (B.-R. s. v. *sa* p. 452), in Pāli *sace* (when) *sa*, in Pāli *seyyathā se*, so in AMg. *se* is placed before pronouns and pronominal adverbs without any effect on the meaning. Initial *t* of the pronoun *ta-* and *j* of the pronoun *ya-* are in most cases reduplicated after it. So AMg. *se taṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2. 4,4. 5,2. 5; 2,3,1,14; 2,4,2,7. 8; Jiv. 36ff. 316f.; Vivāhap. 160.596; Pannav. 7 ff. 63.480); *se taṃ* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,5; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se teṇ' attheṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 34 ff. 47 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 2,1,1,1. 4. 11; 2,1,2,3. 3,4 ff.; 2,3,1,2 ff.; 2,7,2,2 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,14. 2,2. 3,10; 2,5,1,4); *se jjaṇ' imāni* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10); *se jje ime* (Ovav. § 70. 71. 73 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,3; Ovav. § 72); *se jam* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); *se kiṃ taṃ* (Ānuog. 356; Nandis. 471; Pannav. 62. 480; Ovav. § 30; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se ke naṃ* (Nāyādh. § 138); *se kahaṃ ejaṃ* (Vivāhap. 142); *se kei* (Sūyag. 301); *se kiṃ tu hu* (Sūyag. 846). In contrast to Pāli *seyyathā* in AMg. *j* of *jahā* is never reduplicated after *se*: *se jahā* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 593 f. 613. 747; Vivāhap. 134. 161 f. 270. 929; Uvās. § 12. 210; Ovav. § 54; Nāyādh. § 133). The scholiasts explain *se* with *tad*; e. g. Śilāṅka on Āyār. 230 *se tti tacchaddārthe*; p. 300 *śeśabadda tacchaddārthe* *sa ga vākhyopanyāsārthah*, an explanation, that is more correct than that by CHILDERS⁶ and WEBER⁷. The reduplication of *t* and *j* in Pkt. and of *y* in Pāli *seyyathā* shows that *se* should not be taken as the AMg. nom. *se*, which Pāli too makes improbable, if not impossible⁸. *se* is rather = Vedic *se'd* i. e. *sá* = *id*, that is used almost as *sá*. It is proved through the RV. 4,37,6 : *se'd bhavo yam dvatha yūyam indraśca mṛtyam | sa' dhībhr̥ astu sānitā medhāsātā so' drvatā*, where *se'd yam...sa'*⁹

almost is = AMg. *sē jjañ se*. Hence one writes in a better way *sēttam*, *sējjam*, etc., like Pāli *sēyyathā* and *sace*⁹.

1. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24,600 ff. In the Veda there occurs also the loc. *sasmin*. — 2. The remark made under § 418, note 1 holds good. — 3. *se* is merely an enclitic, hence a false reading at Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6, as also *de* (§ 421, note 5). — 4. *se* cannot be gen. sing., since after p. 166,24 both the Cāṇḍālas speak. The Calc. editions (316,10 ed. Calc. 1829; 357,1 ed. Calc. Śak. 1792) and GOPABOLÉ p. 452,6 read *ese*, that is translated in the old Calc. edition and in GOPABOLÉ as *ete*, rightly with the scholiasts. — 5. Hitherto overlooked, even by DELBRÜCK, Altind. Syntax § 140. — 6. Dictionary s. v. *sa*. — 7. Bhag. 1, 421 f., where also additional examples from Vivāhap. are given. — 8. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 9. — 9. The Vedic accent prohibits assumption of proclisis of *se* and reduplication according to § 196.

§ 424. The impersonal pronouns partly have the special endings of the pronouns as in Skt., and partly they are inflected like nouns. Only the loc. sing. masc. and neut. and the nom. plur. masc. have the pronominal endings. In the abl. sing. masc. and neut., abl. gen. loc. sing. fem. and gen. plur. masc. fem. neut., both the endings are found to be used, partly for the sake of dialectical distinction. The stem of the fem. ends in the case of *tad*, *etad*, *yad*, *kim*, *idam* in *-ā* or *-ī* (Hc. 3,32; Ki. 3,45): *tā-*, *tī-*; *eā-*, *ei-*; *jā-*, *jī-*; *kā-*, *kī-*; *imā-*, *imī-*. *yad*, *tad*, and *kim*, however, have only *ā* in the nom. acc. sing. and gen. plur. (Hc. 3,33), Ś. Mg. in the case of all the pronouns have only *ā*. Cf. Vr. 6,1 ff.; Hc. 3,58 ff.; Ki. 3,42 ff.; Mk. fol. 45 ff.; Sr. fol. 19 ff.

§ 425. The pronoun *ta-*. Sing. nom. acc. neutr. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. D. A. *tañ* (JŚ. Pav. 381,20; 385,61; Ś. Lalitav. 561,13; 562,23; Mṛcch. 2,18; Śak. 27,6; Mg. Lalitav. 565,19; Mṛcch. 40,5; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,4; 32,3,8; 35,7; Ā. Mṛcch. 102,1; D. Mṛcch. 102,19; A. Hc. 4,360); A. in the sense of "therefore" also *trañ* (Hc. 4,360; see § 268 and cf. § 427) and *tu* in the combination *tañ tu* (Vikr. 55,19) corresponding to *ju* (§ 427). — Acc. masc. and fem. in all the dialects *tañ*. — Ins. *teṇa*, AMg. *teṇaṃ*, A. *teñ* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 3,69 also *tiñā*; femin. M. *tiē*, *tia*; AMg. JM. *tiē*, *tāē*; Ś. *tāē* (Lalitav. 555,1; Mṛcch. 79,3; Śak. 40,4 [so to be read for *taē*, as also Mṛcch. 77,10 with D]; Vikr. 45,21); Mg. *tāē* (Mṛcch. 133,21); P. *tiē* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tāē* (Hc. 4,370,2). — As pure abl. AMg. JM. have *tāo* (e. g. Ōvav. § 101; Uvās. § 90. 125; Āv. 8,48; Sagara 6,4), AMg. also as femin. (Dasav. 613,24). The forms *tatto*, *tao*, Ś. Mg. *tado* (Ki. 3,50; where also *tadao*), *to*, *tamhā*, taught by the grammarians (Vr. 6,9.10; Hc. 2,160; 3,66.67; Mk. fol. 46), are adverbially used, *tamhā* in AMg. and JŚ. only (Pav. 380,8; 381,20; 382,23. 27; 384,36); *to*, that stands, except in M. AMg. JM. A. (Hc. s. v.), also in the verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,11), is apparently = *dtas* (§ 142). In addition there comes AMg. *taohimto* (Vivāhap. 1047. 1189. 1240 f. 1283. 1288 f.; Nāyādh. 1178) and *tā* M. JM. JŚ. (Pav. 398,303); Ś. (Lalitav. 555,2; 561,15; Mṛcch. 2,16. 18. 22; 3,20); Mg. (Lalitav. 565,8. 15; 567,1; Mṛcch. 20,21; 21,12); Dh. (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,13; 32,8); Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,23; 105,2); D. Mṛcch. 101,1. 9; 102,18; 103,16; 104,19); A. (Hc. 4,370,1). *tā* = Vedic *tāt*¹, is wrongly translated as = *tāvat*. From A. Hc. gives also *tahām* (Hc. 4,355). — Gen. masc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh. *tassa*, also PG. *tasa* (7,41. 45); Mg. *taśśa* (Mṛcch. 14,1. 7; 19,10; 37,25) and *tāha* (Mṛcch. 13,25; 36,13; 112,9; 164,2); M. also *tāsa* (Vr. 6. 5. 11; Hc. 3,63; Vetālap. p. 218 Nr. 15); A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, *taḥo* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); femin. M. *tissā*, *tiē*, *tia*, according to Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64 also *tīā*, *tī*; AMg. JM. *tiē* (also in Vr. Hc.), *tāē*, *tiē*; Ś. *tāē* (Mṛcch. 79,3; 88,20; Śak. 21,8; Vikr. 16,9. 15); Mg. *tāē* (Mṛcch. 133,19; 152,5); P. *tiē* (Hc. 4,323); A. *taḥo* (Hc. s. v. *ta*), *tāsu* (acc. in rhyme with *jāsu*; Piṅgala 1,109. 115). — Loc. masc. neut. M. JM. *tammi*; AMg. *tañsi*, *tammi*, *tañmi* (also Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *tassim* (Mṛcch. 61,24; Śak. 73,3; 74,1; Vikr. 15,12); Mg.

taṣṣim (Mṛcch. 38,16; 121,19; Prab. 32,7); according to Hc. 3,11 also *taṁ*. False is JŚ. *taṁhi* (Kattig. 400,322) beside the correct *tammi*. A. has, according to Kī. 5,50, also *tadru*, as in relation with *yadru* (§ 427). In the sense of "there", "thither" very frequent is *tahim* (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 3,60) in all the dialects. As *tatra* in Skt., so *taṭṭha* in Pkt. is used in the sense of the loc. too (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 2,161, who has also *taha*, *tahi*). Femin. *tīe*, *tīa*, according to 3,60 also *tāhim*, *tāe*; AMg. *tīse* (Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 1148). As loc. feminine, we should probably consider also M. AMg. JM. *tāhe* for **tāse* (corresponding to *tīse*, that mostly stands in correlation with *jāhe* and has the meaning "then" = *tadā* (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; G. R. Erz.; s. v. *tāhe* and *jāhe*; Uvās. s. v. *ta-* and *ja-*; Nāyādh. § 143; p. 768. 944. 1052. 1420. 1435 etc.). — Plural. Nom. *te*, femin. *tāo*, neuter. *tāim*, in all the dialects, AMg. JM. also *tāni*. Ś. Mg. have, beside *te*, also *de* behind other pronouns²: Ś. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 39,3; Uttarar. 68,8; Mālatim. 243,3 [*edē kkhū de*]; 273,4); Mg. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 38,19), *ye de* (Mudrār. 183,2), elsewhere also Ś. *te* (Uttarar. 77,4,5; Mudrār. 260,1), as *tāo* (Mṛcch. 25,20; 29,7; Mālatim. 80,1; Prab. 17,8) and *tāim* (Uttarar. 60,5). — Acc. *te*, also JŚ. (Pav. 379,3; 381,21) and A. (Hc. 4,336); falsely Ś. *de* in the beginning of the sentence (Uttarar. 72,5); femin. AMg. *tāo* (Nirayāv. 59). — Ins. *tehim*, femin. *tāhim*, in M. AMg. JM. also *tehi*, *tāhi* (Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 25,14; Prab. 10,9; 12,11). — Abl. AMg. *tēbbho* (Sūyag. 19; correct?); AMg. JM. *tehimto* (Pannav. 308 f.; Āv. 48,14) and JM. *tehim* (Erz. 22,5). — Gen. M. *tāṇaṁ*, *tāṇa*; Ś. *tāṇaṁ* (Uttarar. 73,10), also femin. (Prab. 39,1); AMg. *tesim*, *teṣi*, femin. *tāsim*, *tāsi*; JM. *tesim*; femin. *tāsim* and *tāṇaṁ* for masc. and femin.; JŚ. masc. *tesim* (Pav. 379,5; 383,44); A. *tāṇa*, *tāhā*, *tāhū* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 4,300 *tāhā* in M. too, according to 3,62 *tāsa* in the plural too. — Loc. *tesu* (Hc. 3,135; M. R. 14,13; JM. Erz. 4,3); Ś. *tesu* (Vikr. 35,6; Mudrār. 38,10; 160,2) and *tesum* (Śak. 162,13); femin. JM. Ś. *tāsu* (Erz. 15,14; Mālatim. 105,1) and A. *tahū* (Hc. 4,422,18). On AMg. *tām*, *teṇaṁ* see § 68, on AMg. *sē tām* § 423.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 171; FISCHER, BB. 16,171 ff. — 2. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 1. 176 too strictly limits *de*, when he permits it to stand only after *je*; it is not used even as a correlative. The form makes it certain, that *de* was enclitic in such cases.

426. The pronoun *eta-* is essentially inflected like *ta-* (G. s. v. *etat*; H. R. s. v. *ea-*; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk. s. v. *eya-*). The nom. sing. masc. is M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Ā. D. *eso* (JŚ. Kattig. 398,314; Ś. Mṛcch. 6,10; Śak. 17,4; Vikr. 7,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,19; 100,23; D. Mṛcch. 102,16), AMg. *ese*, in verses also *eso* (Uttar. 361 f.) Mg. *ese* (Lalitav. 565,6. 8; 567,2; Mṛcch. 11,1; Prab. 32,10; Śak. 113,3; Venis. 33,15), Dh. *esu* (Mṛcch. 31,12; 34,17; 35,15), A. *ehō* (Hc. s. v. *eha*). Unlike *sa* (§ 423), beside it there occurs very frequently, however, *esa* (Hc. 3,3), which, according to Hc. 3,85 is used also for the femin. and neut.: *esa*, *mahī*, *esa siram*. *esa* does not stand merely as an adjective before substantives, but also as a substantive, in verse, as in prose, e. g. JŚ. Pav. 379,1; Ś. Mṛcch. 54,13; Vikr. 82,14. In M. *esa* is seldom (Mṛcch. 139,17); in Dh. stands *esa* (Mṛcch. 36,23). The femin. is *eṣā* (Ś. Lalitav. 555,2; Mṛcch. 15,24; Vikr. 7,13; Śak. 14,6; also P. Hc. 4,320 and D. (Mṛcch. 102,23), Mg. *eṣā* 10,23.25; 13,7,24; Prab. 32,9), A. *eha* (Hc. s. v.; Piṅgala 2,64), the neut. PG. *etam* (6,30), M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*, Ś. Mg. Ā. D. *edam* Ś. (Lalitav. 555,18; Mṛcch. 2,18; Vikr. 6,1; also acc. Mṛcch. 49,8. 14; Śak. 25,1; Vikr. 13,4; Mg. nom. Mṛcch. 45,21; 168,18; 169,7; acc. Mṛcch. 29,24; 132,21; A. nom. Mṛcch. 100,18; D. acc. Mṛcch. 100,16); A. *ehu* = **eṣam* (Hc. s. v. *eha*), also acc. *ehaṇ* = **eṣakam* (Hc. 4,362). — Acc. masc. femin. neut. M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*. Ś. Mg. *edam*; A. masc. *ehu* (Piṅgala 1,81). — In the

ins. M. has *eena* (H. R.), AMg. *eenam*, JM. beside *eeṇa* also *einā*, Ś. Mg. beside *edēṇa* (Ś. Mṛcch. 42,12; Vikr. 31,14; Uttarar. 78,3; 163,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,11; 133,19; 154,9) much more frequently *ediṇā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 5,5; 18,3; Śak. 10,12; Vikr. 53,1; Uttarar. 13,11; Mālatim. 31,4; 73,3; 100,3; Ratn. 293,21; Mg. Mṛcch. 39,25; 40,11; Venis. 36,1). See § 128. In the femin. beside *ejāye* JM. has also the form *ēie*, from the femin. stem *ei-* = **eli-*, mentioned by Hc. 3,32; both the forms are valid for the abl. gen. loc. too. In Ś. Mg. the ins. gen. loc. is spelt as *edāe*: ins. (Ś. Mṛcch. 94,16; 95,8; Vikr. 27,15; 41,7; Ratn. 299,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 173,8; Prab. 61,7); gen. (Mg. Mṛcch. 123,3); loc. (Ś. Mṛcch. 9,9; 42,11). — For the abl. Vr. 6,20 gives *ētto*, *edādo*, *edādu*, *edāhi*; Hc. 3,82: *ētto*, *ēttāhe*, *eāo*, *eāu*, *eāhi*, *eāhinto*, *eā*; Kī. 3,51: *etto*, *edo* [sic], *edādu*, *edāhi*, *ēttā*. From it is *ētto* = **etataḥ* (§ 197); it is used in AMg. M JM. in the sense of “hence”, “thence”, “now”, in AMg. as pure abl. too: *ētto uvasaggāo* = *etasmād upasargāt* (Nāyādh. 761); *ētto annayaram* = *etasmād anyataram* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4. 6,4. 7,8; 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,5). This use is wrong in Ś. In Indian editions in places where it occurs, such as in Mālatim, ed. Bomb. 69,9; 255,1, we should read *imādo*, as in the first place, the ed. Calc. 1866 p. 37,13 and the ed. BHĀṆḌĀRKAR 92,3 have. In AMg. *itto* too (Sūyag. 360; Uttar 599). *ēttāhe*, however, is derived from the stem *ēttā-* = *etā-*¹, and like *tāhe* (§ 425) is to be taken as the loc. sing. of the feminine. It is used in M. adverbially in the sense of “now” (Hc. 2,134; G. H. R.), in A. as *ēttahē* in the meaning “hence” (Hc. 4,419,6. 420,6) and of “hither” (Hc. 4,436). According to it is built A. *ēttahē* “thither” (Hc. 4,436). JM. *ejāo* (Dvār. 495,27). — Gen. M. *eassa*; AMg. JM. *ejassa*; Ś. *edassa* (Śak. 29,2; Vikr. 32,3; Uttarar. 67,6); Mg. *edaśsa* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 19,5; 79,19) and *edāha* (Mṛcch. 145,4; 164,4). — Loc. according to Hc. 3,60 *eassim*, according to 3,84 *eammi*; AMg. JM. *ejammi*, *ejāmmi*; in AMg. also *ejāmsi* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 116. 513 [text *eesi*, correctly in the commentary]. 1119); Ś. *edassim* (Śak. 78,12; Vikr. 6,3; 23,17; Ratn. 301,5; Priyad. 13,16; Prab. 36,1); Mg. *edaśsim* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 134,22; 137,4; Mudrār. 185,1). On *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429. — Plural. Nom. M. AMg. JM. *ee*; JS. Ś. *ede* (Pav. 386,8; 389,1; Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; Mālatim. 243,3; 284,10); Mg. *ede* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 38,19; 71,22); striking *ede akkhalu* Mṛcch. 40,2 (all editions) = *etāni akṣarāṇi*; A. *ei* (Hc. 4,330,4. 363); femin. M. *eāo*; AMg. JM. *ejāo*, Ś. *edāo* (Caṇḍak. 28,10; Mallikām. 336. 8. 13), JM. also *ejā*; nei t. M. *ēāi*; AMg. JM. *ejāim*, AMg. JM. also *ejāṇi* (Sūyag. 321; Erz.), Ś. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 128,4; 153,9. 13); Mg. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 132,16; 169,6). — Acc. masc. AMg. JM. *ee*, A. *ei* (Hc. 4,363). — Ins. masc. neuter. M. JM. *eehim*, *cehi*; Ś. Mg. *edehim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,1; Prab. 12,10; 14,10; Mg. Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 11,12; 122,19; 132,15); femin. AMg. JM. *ejāhim*. — Gen. masc. neuter. M. *eāṇa* (Hc. 3,61; G.H.); PG. *etesi* (6,27); AMg. JM. *eesim*, *eesi*, JM. also *ejāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* (Mṛcch. 38,22; Uttarar. 11,4; 165,3; 197,10); femin. M. *eāṇa* (H. 89), according to Hc. 3,32 also *eiṇam*, *eāṇam*; AMg. JM. *ejāsim*, JM. also *ejāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* (Ratn. 293,13; Karp. 34,3.4). — Loc. M. AMg. (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,5,3); JM. *eesu*, *eesum*; Ś. *edesum* (Śak. 9,12.14) and *edesu* (Mudrār. 72,3).

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22.

§ 427. The relative pronoun *ja-*, Mg. *ya-* is inflected almost wholly like the demonstrative *ta-*. In the nom. acc. sing. neut. A. has *ju* too (Hc. 4,350,1; 418,2), beside the frequent *jam* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); both the forms stand beside one another in *jam ju* (Vikr. 55,19; cf. *taṁ tu* § 425). Besides A. uses *dhrum* too (Hc. 4,360; cf. *traṁ* § 425). According to Kī. 5,49 *jrum* is used in the acc. sing. for the demonstrative *dhrum*. The example is: *jrum*

cintesi drum pāvasi = *yac cintayasi tat prāpnoṣi*. The old form *yad* has been retained in AMg. *jad atthi* and Mg. *yad iścaṣe* (§ 341).—In the ins. sing. is found, according to Hc. 3,69 also *jīnā*; A. has *jem* (Hc. 4,350,1) beside *jeṇa* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); in Piṅgala 2,272. 280 stands *jīni*, for which probably we have to read *jīṇa* = *jīnā*.—In the abl. is found also *jā* = Vedic *yāt* (BB. 16,172), in A. also *jahām* according to Hc. 4,355, beside *jāo*, *jao*, *jado*, *jatto*, *jamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,66), about which the remark made in § 425 holds good.—In the gen. Mg. has also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9), beside *yaśsa* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 165,7) also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9); A. *jāsu*, *jasu* (Hc. s. v. *jo*; Piṅgala 1,68.81^a.89^a etc.), also in the fem. Hc. 4,368; Piṅgala 1,109.111 ff.), for which are used *jīa*, *jīe* (G.H. s.v. *ja-*), *jissā* (Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Karp. 49,4.7; 84,11), according to Vr. Hc. also *jīā*, *jīi*, *jīse* in M.; A. has *jahē* for **jāse* (Hc. 4,359); Ś. *jāe* (Mṛcch. 170,25; 172,5; Prab. 39,6).—In the loc. is used in AMg. *jamsi* = *yasmin*, in verses also *jamsi* (§ 75), sometimes for the fem. too: *jamsi guhāe* (Sūyag. 273) and in relation to *naī* = *nadi* (Sūyag. 297), in relation to *nāvā* = *nauh* (Uttar. 716); in A. stands *jassammi* = *yasyām* (Piṅgala 1,52), in AMg. *jassammi* in the sense of the gen. (Vivāhap. 264). According to Hc. 3,60 beside *jāe*, *jīe*, also *jāhim* is used in the fem., as *jahim* in the masc. neut., which is frequent in all the dialects in the sense of “where”, “whither”. A. has also *jahī*, *jahi* (§ 75), according to Kī. 5,50 also *yadru*, as in the demonstrative *tadru* (§ 425). Presumably *yadru* is to be written. On *jāhe* see § 425. According to Vr. 6,7 even *jattha* is used in the sense of the locative; beside it Hc. 2,161 teaches also *jahi*, *jaha* in the sense of *yatra*. In the nom. plur. beside the usual *je* (Hc. s. v. *jo*) A. has also *jī* (Hc. 4,387,1), in the neut. AMg. has *yām* too (Āyār. 2,1,3,4. 5,5. 9,1; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,3,8; 2,4,1,8; 2,5,1,10. 2,4; 2,7,1,1; Nāyādh. 450. 1248; cf. 1376), beside *jām*; the adverbial *yām* = *yad* stands, and may be comprehended as *ām* with the scholiasts on Nāyādh. 450, since it appears only after *i* (*pi*, *avi*, *ii*, *atthi*), and *y* would be explained as that in *yāvi* (§ 335).—In the abl. plur. AMg. has *jehimto* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.), in the gen. plur. M. JM. *jāṇa*, *jāṇam*, JM. also, as always AMg. *jesim*, *jesi*, Ś. *jāṇam* (Uttarar. 68,9), A. *jāhā* (Hc. 4,353.409); in the fem. AMg. has *jāsim* (Vivāgas. 189). On AMg. *jām*, *jeṇām* see § 68, on AMg. *se jjam*, *se jahā* § 423. In PG. we find only the nom. sing. *jo* (7,44).

§ 428. In the interrogative in Skt. there are found two stems: *ka-* and *ki-*.—The stem *ka-* is inflected like the stems *ta-* and *ja-* (§ 425. 427). The abl. *kāo*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,71; Kī. 3,49) are analysed in the same way as those in the case of *ta-* and *ja-*. A. has also *kaū* (Hc. 4,416—418) and *kahām* (Hc. 4,355), AMg. also *kaohimto* (Jiv. 34. 263; Paṇṇav. 304; Vivāhap. 1050 ff. 1340. 1433. 1522. 1526. 1528. 1603 ff.). In the gen. Vr. 6,5; Hc. 3,63; Kī. 3,47; Mk. fol. 46 give, beside *kassa*, also *kāsa* (Kī. ed. *kāso*), that occurs as *kāsu* in A. (Hc. 4,358,2) and as *kāha* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 38,12), and according to Hc. 3,63 is also feminine. The loc. is M. *kammi*, AMg. *kaṇsi* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1), and *kamhi* (Uttar. 454; Paṇṇav. 637), Ś. *kassim* (Mṛcch. 81,2; Mahāv. 98,14), Mg. *kaśsim* (Mṛcch. 80,21; Prab. 50,13); in all the dialects *kahim*, *kattha* (§ 293) in the sense of “whither?”, “where?”, beside which Hc. 2,161 mentions also *kahi*, *kaha*, as *kāe* *kāhim* for the fem. 3,60. are frequent. AMg. *kāhe* “when?” (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Kī. 3,44; Mk. fol. 46; Vivāhap. 153) is to be considered as *tāhe jāhe* (§ 425. 427). As the gen. there occurs in A. *kaḥē* (Hc. 4,359). In the nom. plur. fem. is found many times in Ś. *kā* instead of *kāo* in the phrase *kā amhe* [*kā vaam*] with the gen. loc. or inf. (Śak. 16,12; Mālav. 46,12; 65,3). Probably it is to be corrected as *kāo* (§ 376)¹. The neuter A. *kāi* (Hc. s.v.) Prabandhac. 109,5) is used like *kim*, also adverbially in the sense of “why”, “on what reason?”; likewise *kaī* (Hc. 4,426; Vīkr. 62,11). The gen.

is M. *kāṇaṃ*, *kāṇa* (G. s. v. *kim*); AMg. JM. *kesim*. In PG. is found only the nom. sing. *ko* in *ko ci* (6,40).—In all the dialects is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *kim* = *kim* from the stem *ki-*. Ś. *keitti* (Lalitav. 555,4), that occurs as a v. l. also in Śak. 15,4 and elsewhere, is not with JOHANSSON² and KONOW³ to be considered as **kidti*, but as an erroneous ecriture for *kim ti*⁴. The ins. *kiṇā* (Hc. 3,69; Kī. 3,55; Mk. fol. 45) occurs in M. *kiṇā vi* (G 413), and as adverb "in which manner?", "by what means?" in AMg. (Uvās. § 167). *tiṇā*, *jiṇā* might be formed accordingly. — *kiṇo* and *kisa* are referred to as abl. by Hc. 3,68, *kiṇo* as an interrogative particle also by Hc. 2,216; Kī. 4,83, as it is in M. (G. 182; H. s. v.), is used⁵. *kisa*, Mg. *kīsa* occur in M. (H. R., but not G.), JM. (Āv. 18,14; Erz.), AMg. (Nirayāv. § 13; Dasav. N. 648,23. 33), especially frequent in Ś. and Mg. (Ś. Mṛcch. 29,8; 95,18; 151,12; 152,12; 161,16; Ratn. 290,30; 295,19; 299,1.15; 301,25; 302,5; 303,23.30; 305,24; 310,29; 314,32; 316,23; 317,33; Mallikām. 253,5; 266,6 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 113,17; 114,8; 121,2; 151,24; 170,16; Veṇīs. 33,16), but not in Kālidāsa (PISCHEL on Hc. 3,68). Although it is undoubtedly used later as abl., as Mg. *kisa kālanādo* = *kaśmāt kāraṇāt* (Kaṃsav. 49,6), nevertheless according to its origin gen., is corresponding to Pāli *kissa*, as also Kī. 3,46 mentions, and it has, like it, almost always the adverbial meaning "why?", as Kī. 4,83 mentions. Striking is the meaning "what?" in Mg. Mṛcch. 112, 8. *kiṇo* too is to be interpreted accordingly. For the gen. sing. femin. Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Kī. 3,46; Mk. fol. 46 give the forms *kissā*, *kīse*, *kīa*, *kīā*, *kīi*, *kīe*, Hc. 3,60 the last one also for the loc. *kīa* stands at H. 604 and so we have to read for *kīe* in G. 1123. 1152, also, that is correct at G. 1145.—A. has as interrogative also *kavaṇa*, from which are found the nom. sing. masc. *kavaṇu*, feminine *kavaṇa*, ins. sing. neut. *kavaṇeṇa*, gen. sing. masc. *kavaṇahe* (H. s. v. *kavaṇa*), acc. sing. neut. *kavaṇu* (Prabandhac. 70,11.13). Cf. therewith also Skt. *kavapatha*, *kavāgni*, *kavoṣṇa* and Pkt. *kavaṭṭia* (§ 246).

I. So rightly LASSEN, Inst. p. 326; wrongly BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 191. — WEBER, IS. 14,262 ff. has overlooked that in the Devanāgarī-recension of Śakuntalā too, in all the places referred to by him at p. 263, the MSS. have only *-ā*, and that *-āo* is just a conjecture of BÖHTLINGER.—2. Shāhbāzgarhī 1,176. — 3. GGA. 1894, 480. — 4. So rightly BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 35. — 5. Cf. also Haripāla on G. 182: *kiṇo iti kaśmādarthe deśinīpāṭha*.

§ 429. The stems combined together under the pronoun *idam* in Skt. have been retained as a whole in Pkt. The *a*-stem is very much restricted in its use, the stem *ima-*, except in A., where it is almost completely wanting became prevalent. From the *a*- and *i*- stems are found to have been formed: nom. sing. masc. AMg. JM. *ayaṃ* (Uvās. Nāyādh. Nirayāv. s. v.; Kappas. Kk. s. v. *ima*); Ś. Dh. *aam* (Ś. Mṛcch. 3,24; Śak. 13,3; Vikr. 29,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 34,9. 12). Whilst *aam* is very frequent in Ś., it has almost entirely vanished from M. It stands only in R. 14, 44 *ahavāam kaakajjo* = *athavāyam kṛtakāryaḥ*, a passage, that is cited as example by Hc. 3,73 too; elsewhere *imo* occurs for it. It is completely wanting in Mg., where *eśe* is used. In fact Hc. 4,302 cites *ayaṃ dāva śe āgame* = Śak. 114,11; but here only the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions read *aam*, as throughout, offending against the dialect. The Bengali recension has *ēttake*, the Kashmirian *ittake*. In AMg. *ayaṃ* in the combination *ayaṃ eṣārūve* = *ayam etadrūpaḥ* has become completely indeclinable, so that one says also *ayameṣārūvaṃ*, *ayameṣārūvassa*, *ayameṣārūvaṃsi* too¹. As in Pāli, so in AMg. too, *ayaṃ* is used as femin. at the same time: *ayaṃ koṣi* = *yaṃ koṣi*, *ayaṃ araṇi* = *yaṃ araṇiḥ* (Sūyag. 593. 594), and so on, or it is to be taken as the masc. (§ 358), also *ayaṃ atthi* =

idam asthi; *ayaṁ dahī* = *idam dadhi* (Sūyag. 594). As neuter it stands in AMg. *ayaṁ tēllam* = *idam tailam* (Sūyag. 594), therefore, formed from the *aya*-stem. The femin. *iyam* has been attested by Ś. only: *iam* (Mṛcch. 3,5,21; Śak. 14,1; Vikr. 48,12). Since Mg. employs elsewhere only *eṣā*, *iam* is a false reading in Mṛcch. 39,20 (all editions), brought in through the similar following Ś. *iam* in the same combination with *kalā*. The neut. *idam* has been retained in AMg. M. and Ś. only, and that in fact as nom. only (Karp. 92,6 [rightly?]; Sūyag. 847 [rightly?]; Mṛcch. 3,20 [so to be read with C for *iamam*]; 7,8; 42,8; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 19,15; 45,15; 86,6); as acc. is used *iamam* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 38,23; 39,14; 42,3; 61,24; 105,9; 147,18; Śak. 57,8; 58,13). For *idam* (Vikr. 40,20) we should read, with A *edam*, and for *idam* at Vikr. 47,10, where it would have been used as masc., we should, with ed. Bomb. 79,3 and ed. Sh. P. PANDIT 94,7, read *iamam*. In Mg. *idam* appears in *taṁ nīdam* at Lalitav. 566,20, falsely for *taṁ nēdam*; Mg. has as nom. and acc. neut. only *iamam* (Mṛcch. 108,11; 166,24; 169,22), as also P. as acc. (Hc. 4,323). — Ins. M. *eṇa* (R. 14,47); A. *em* (Vikr. 58,11). — Abl. M. *ā* = Vedic *āt* in the sense of *tāvat*². — Gen. M. JM. *assa* = *asya* (Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47; Karp. 6,5; Pārvaṭip. 30,15; Kī. 4,5); falsely assumed for *jassa* of the editions and best MSS. by WEBER on H. 979; falsely in Ś. too at Vikr. 21,1, where we have to read °*sūidassa* for °*sūidam assa* with the MSS. BP and the ed. Calc. 1833, and at Prab. 8,7, where we should read *jado se* for *jado ssa* (so all the four editions). — Loc. *assim* = *asmin* (Vr. 6,15; Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47), in AMg. in verses (Āyār. 1,4,1,2; Sūyag. 328, 537, 938, 941, 950; Uttar. 22), and in prose (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,5,3,3; 2,2,1,2; 2,2,9; Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 163; Jīv. 797,801), as already *casi* = *cāsmīn* in PG. 7,46³. For Ś. *kaṇiṭṭhamādāmaha assim* (Mahāv. 98,4) we should, with the ed. Bomb. 219,8, read °*mādāmahassa*. It stands in Ś. in the text in Pārvaṭip. 5,10; Mallikām. 219,23. — Ins. plur. *ehi*, AMg. Dh. *ehim* (Rāyap. 249; Mṛcch. 32,7), femin. *āhi*, loc. JM. *esu* (Hc. 3,74; T. 7,16), gen. M. *esim* (H. 771). — Probably *aammi* and *īammi* are the loc. from it, and with the grammarians (Hc. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22), are not to be derived from *etad*. For *īammi* Triv. 2,2,87 and Sr. fol. give, probably more correctly, *iammi*, as likewise Hc. 3,89, gives from *adas* both *aammi* and *iammi*. Therefore *aammi* is to be derived from *ada* = *adas*, but also from *aa* = *aya* (§ 121), as undoubtedly the loc. sing. AMg. *ayaṁsi* (Uttar. 498), the nom. sing. neut. AMg. *ayaṁ* (Sūyag. 594; see above), and at least according to the meaning A. *āa*, whereof have been found in the text, the ins. *āeṇa* = *anena*, *āahō* = *asya*, *āahim* = *asmin*, *āāi* = *imāni* (Hc. 4,365, 383,3). *iammi*, however, belongs to *idam*, hence to the stem *ia* = *ida*. Loc. from one *i*-stem are *iha* “here”, “hither” = **itha* (§ 266; Vr. 6,17; Hc. 3,75, 76), A. as masc. and femin. = *asmin* and *asyām*, *ithi*, in all the dialects *ēṭtha* = Vedic *itthā* (§ 107), and M. AMg. JM. *ēṇim* “now” (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2,134), for which the MSS. give more often as v. l. *iṇim* (G. H. R. s. v.), likewise false as *ittha*, which Vr. 6,17 and Hc. 3,76 expressly forbid, so that in Ś. too at Prab. 46,8 and in P. with v. l. and Hc. 4,323 too we have to read *ēṭtha*. In Mg. is used *ēṇim* in verses only (Mṛcch. 29, 22; 40,6), in Ś. not absolutely, but *idānim*, *dānim* (Hc. 4,277; § 144). Hence falsely in Hāsy. 36,11; Karp. 62,10 and more often in Indian editions. Likewise the word has not been as yet traced in A., where *ēvāhū* stands in the sense of “now” (Hc. 4,420). Deśin. 1,50 mentions the pronoun *ajjho* (according to Droṇa), femin. *ajjhā*, by which the audience is to be pointed to, can be derived from the gen. *asya* through **ahya*.

1. STEINTHAL, Specimen Anm. 77. — 2. FISCHER, BB. 16,172. — 3. FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211 ff.

§ 430. The stem *ana*- has been retained in the ins. only and indeed

only in prose of AMg. (Āyār. 1,6,4,3), JM. (Erz. 30,14), in Ś. (Mṛcch. 95,2; Śak. 163,8; Vikr. 41,11) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 149,24; Mudrār. 192,3); AMg. also *aṇṇaṃ* (Uttar. 487).—The most usual stem is *ima-*, femin. *imā-* or *imī-* (Hc. 3,32), in Ś. Mg. only *imā-*, as in all the dialects in the nom. acc. sing. and plur. It is used in all the cases of the sing. and plur. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s.v. *ima-*; Hc. s. v. *imaṃ*). Sing.: nom. *imo*, AMg. *ime*, in verses also *imo* (Uttar. 247; Dasav. N. 654,26; Nandis.84), femin. *imā*, also *imiā* = **imikā* (Hc. 3,73), neut. *imaṃ*. In Ś. Mg., these forms, not even the neuter (§ 429), are not used by good writers. In many of the later-day dramas *imo* is found in Ś. so frequently, that it can hardly be considered to be a contribution of the edition, as Pras. 11,12. 18; 12,5. 9. 13; 14,9; 17,9; 34,6; 35,1;45,1. 12. 14; 46, 1. 2 etc.; Mukund. 14,15. 17; 19,14; 70,15; Unmattar. 4,12; Vṛṣabh. 23,9; 26,5; 48,3 etc. Here we have cases of error against the dialect. A. has only the neut. *imu*. In AMg. *ime*, like *aṇṇaṃ* (§ 429), in the combination *im' ejārūva*, has wholly weakened, so that one says also *im' ejārūvā* (nom. sing. fem.; Uvās. § 113. 167 [so to be read; see v. l.] 168), *im' ejārūveṇaṃ* (v. l. to Uvās. § 72). In addition, the usage described in § 173 has indeed made its contribution after the weakening of the nasal sound.—Acc. masc. fem. neut. *imaṃ* (masc. Ś. Mṛcch. 24,21; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 72,18; Mg. Mṛcch. 169,17; Śak. 115,11; femin. Ś. Mṛcch. 54,18; Śak. 14,2; Ratn. 297,23; neut. § 429); A. neut. *imu* (Hc.; Ki. 5,10).—Ins. masc. fem. neut. M. *imeṇa*; AMg. *imeṇaṃ*, *imeṇa*; JM. *imeṇa*, *imiṇā*; Ś. Mg. only *imiṇā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,16; Śak. 16,10; Vikr. 24,10; Mg. Venis. 35,1); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (also Śak. 101,13), Ś. *imāe* (Mṛcch. 90,15; Śak.81,10; Ratn.291,2). At Viddhaś.96,8, where *imiā* stands, falsely, we should with the v. l. read *iam*, as *nijjhādi* = *nīrdhyāyati* shows.—Abl. AMg. (Sūyag. 630. 635), JM. *imāo*, Ś. Mg. *imādo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 12,25;74,25; Mudrār. 57,3; Ratn. 299,11; Mg. Lalitav. 565,8), also femin. (AMg. Āyār. 1,1,1,4; Ś. Ratn. 315,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 162,23).—The remark made under § 375 on Ś. *imāe* (Vikr.17,1) holds good in this place too.—Gen. *imassa* (Ś.Mṛcch. 148,12; Śak. 108,1; Vikr. 45,4); Mg. *imaśsa* (Mṛcch. 32,17;152,6; Śak. 118,2); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (Karp. 27,12); AMg. *imīse*; JM. *imīe*, *imāe*; Ś. *imāe* (Śak.168,14).—Loc. masc. neutr. M. *imammi*; AMg. *imammi* (in verses; Uttar. 180; Āyār. 2,16,12), *imaṃsi* (prose; Āyār. 2,3,1,2; 2,5,2,7; Vivāhap. 1275; Ovav. § 105); Ś. *imassim* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 36,16; 53,8; Vikr. 15,4); Mg. *imaśsim* (Venis. 33,7); femin. AMg. *imīse* (Vivāhap. 81 ff.; Uvās. § 74. 253. 255. 257; Thān. 31. 79; Samav. 66); JM. *imāi* (Rṣabh.7; so to be read with ed. Bomb. for *imāim*, as at Erz. 35,18 for *imāe*); Ś. *imassim*-(Śak. 18,5), for which *imāe* would be expected. — Plural nom. masc. *ime* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,18; Vikr. 41,19; Mālatīm. 125,5; Mg. Mṛcch. 99,8); femin. *imāo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 70,1 and also at 71,8 so to be read for *imā*); M. also *imā* (Karp. 101,4) and *imīu* (Karp. 100,6); neut. *imāim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,16; Mālatīm. 125,3), AMg. JM. also *imāṇi* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Āv. 31,21).—Acc. masc. *ime*; femin. JM. *imīo*; ins. masc. neutr. M. *imehi*; AMg. Ś. *imehim* (Sūyag. 778; Śak. 62,6; Vikr. 45,9; Ratn. 296, 23), fem. AMg. *imāhim* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,7,2,7). — Gen. masc. neutr. *imāṇa*; AMg. *imesim* (Hc.3,61); femin. M. *imāṇaṃ*, *imāṇaṃ* (Hc.3,32); AMg. *imāsīm* (Uvās. § 238); Ś. *imāṇaṃ* (Śak. 119,3; Vṛṣabh. 15,8).—Loc. M. *imesu*; Ś. *imesuṃ* (Śak. 53,9; Vikr. 52,1) and *imesu* Mālatīm. 125,1).

§ 431. The stem *ena-* exists in the acc. sing. only, and indeed only in M.Ś. Mg., but even here it is seldom: masc. M. *eṇaṃ* (R.5,6); Ś. (Mṛcch. 51,9); Mg. (Mudrār. 265,1); femin. *eṇaṃ* Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,2, in repetition

of the word of Śākāra in Mg.); Mg. (Mṛcch. 21,12; 124,17) Mk. fol. 47 teaches them also in the ins. sing., but both the forms are restricted to the neuter. In M AMg. JM. either under the influence of accent (*end-*) or that of the early loss of accent *ena-* has become *ina-*, from which frequently is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *inaṃ* (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Kī. 3,57), especially in AMg. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. Erz.; Kk. s. v. *inaṃ*; Āyār. 1,1,2,2, 4; 1,1,3,4, 5,4, 6,3,7,2; 1,2,4,3; 1,2,5,5; 1,3,3,1; 1,4,2,2 etc.; Uttar. 281 ff. 351. 355; Ovav. § 94). Cf. § 81. 173. In AMg. *inaṃ* is also acc. masc. (Sūyag. 142. 307). Perhaps *imaṃ* is to be read. In M. AMg. JM. *inaṃ* too is used as the nom. acc. neut. (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Kī. 3,57; Mk. fol. 47; G. s. v. *idam* and *etat*; Sūyag. 259; Dasav. N. 658,30; 661,27; Ovav. § 124; Āv. 7,21. 29; 13,11). At Dasav. N. 647,12 it is used as plural too: *inaṃ uddharaṇā*. LEUMANN writes in Āv. *inaṃ-o*, hardly rightly. The explanation of the form is uncertain. Through *ina-* the stem has been weakened further to *na-*, P. *na*, which is used in the acc. sing. masc. fem. neut., acc. plur. masc., ins. sing. and plur. masc. fem. neut. (Hc. 3,70. 77). Sing. acc. masc. *naṃ* (M. G. 1071; H. 131; R. s. v. *na*; AMg. Uttar. 601. 670; Ś. Mṛcch. 68,5; Śak. 12,2; Vikr. 15,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,11; Prab. 32,11; 53,12; A. Hc. 4,396); femin. *naṃ* (M. H. R. s. v. *na*; Ś. Śak. 77,9; Vikr. 12,19; Mg. Mṛcch. 123,4; 132,23); neut. *naṃ* (M. R. s. v.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45, 25; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 31,9; Mg. 96,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,9). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. A. *nena* (R. Erz. s. v. *na*; Āv. 11,21; 15,31; 16,15; 28,10; Dvār. 501,3; Piṅgala 1,17), P. *nena* (Hc. 4,322)¹; fem. *nāe* (Hc. 3,70; Erz. s. v. *na*); P. *nāe* (Hc. 4,322). — Plur. acc. *ne* (Hc. 3,77). — Ins. masc. neut. JM. *nehiṃ* (Āv. 18,4; Erz. 3,28; Dvār. 500,31. 35; 505, 27); femin. *nāhiṃ* (Hc. 3,70). In P. Hc. 4,322 restricts the stem to the ins. sing. In Ś. Mg. it is noticeable in acc. sing. only in critical texts; false reading is *nena* Śak. BÖHTL. 68,10; 108,8.

1. For *tattha ca nena* | *katasinā nena* we should read *tattha ca nena katasinānena* = *tatra ca tena kṛtsinānena*. Cf. § 133.

§ 432. The pronoun *adas* according to Vr. 6,23; Hc. 3,88; Kī. 3, 58; Mk. f.l. 47 is inflected: sing. nom. masc. femin. *amū*, neut. *amum*; acc. *amum*; ins. *amuṇā*; abl. *amūo*, *amūu*, *amūhiṃto*; gen. *amuṇo*, *amussa*; loc. *amummi*; plur.: nom. *amuṇo*, as also Vr. 6,23 we should read for *amūo* (cf. v. l.); femin. *amūu*, *amūo*; neut. *amūṇi*, *amūim*; ins. *amūhi*; abl. *amūhiṃto*, *amūsiṃto*, gen. *amūṇa*; loc. *amūsu*. A few forms only have as yet been found in the text. Sing. nom. AMg. *aso* = *asau* (Sūyag. 74) and *amuge* = **amukaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; Nandis. 361.363.364, JM. *amugo* (Āv. 34,30); acc. masc. A. *amum* (Hc. 4,439,3); neut. Ś. *amum* (Mṛcch. 70,24); ins. M. *amuṇā* (Karp. 27,4); loc. AMg. *amugammi* = **amukasmīn* (Paṇḥāv. 130); plur. nom. masc. M. *amī* (G. 246). According to Vr. 6,24; Hc. 3,87 the nom. sing. for all the three genders would be *aha*: *aha puriso*, *aha mahilā*, *aha vaṇaṃ*. In the first two examples from the literature, which Hc. quotes as proof and which can be attested (= G. 892 and R. 3,16) *aha* is = *atha*, likewise in all the places in G. (s. v. *etat*) and H. (s. v. *aha*), where the scholiasts assume it as = *ayam*, *iyam*, *eṣaḥ*, *eṣā*, *asau*, so that upto the present day the assumption for a pronoun *aha* is nowhere necessary. Kī. 3,58 has the nom. sing. *aho*, which may be = *asau* according to § 264. In A. the nom. acc. plur. is spelt as *oi* (Hc. 4,364); it is = **ave* from the stem *ava-*, which is current in the Iranian dialect. — On loc. sing. *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429.

§ 433. All the remaining pronouns are inflected according to § 424. 425. One says, therefore, for example in the sing. abl. *parāhiṃto* = *parasmāt* (G. 973), AMg. *savvāo* = *sarvasmāt* (Sūyag. 743), and also in the

femin. (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); femin. AMg. *annajariō* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2. 4); in the loc. JM. *annammi* (Āv. 25,5; Sagara 10,15), *anṇassim* = *anyasmin* (Mahāv. 98, 14; Mālatim. 111, 7; Ratn. 298, 24); JŚ. *kadarassim* = *katarasmin* (Anarghar. 271,9), but AMg. *kajaramsi* (Vivāhap. 227) and *kajarammi* (Ovav. § 156 ff.); Ś. *kadamassim* = *katamasmin* (Vikr. 35,13); Ś. *avarassim* = *aparasmin* (Cait. 40,10); Ś. *parassim* = *parasmin* (Lalitav. 567,18), but AMg. *paramsi* (Sūyag. 750), JŚ. *parammi* (Pav. 387,25); AMg. *samsi* = *svasmin* (Vivāhap. 1257) beside abl. *sāo* = *svāt* (Vivāgas. 84); AMg. also *annajare* = *anyatarasmin* (Ovav. § 157). Plural: acc. PG. AMg. *anne*, JŚ. *āne* = *anyān* (PG. 5,6; 7,43; Āyār. 1,1,6,3; 1,1,7,2; Pav. 383,24; Bālar. 229,9); abl. AMg. *kajarehinto* = *katarebhyah* (Paṇnav. 160 ff.; Vivāhap. 260. 262. 460. 1057 f.), *saehim* = *svakebhyah*, *savvehim* = *sarvebhyah* (§ 369); gen. AMg. JM. *annesim* = *anyeśām* (Āyār. 1,1,4. 7,1; 1,5,6,1; 1,7,2,3; 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 387. 663; Nāyādh. 1138. 1140; Kappas. § 14; Āv. 14,7); AMg. JM. *savvesim* = *sarveśām* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,3,4; 1,4,2,6; 1,6,5,3; Uttar. 625. 797; Āv. 14,18); AMg. JŚ. *paresim* = *paresām* (Uttar. 625. 797; Pav. 385,65), but M. *aṇṇānaṃ* (Mudrār. 83,3; Karp. 1,2), also femin. Ś. (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *savvānaṃ* (Vikr. 83,8); *avarānaṃ* = *aparesām* (Mṛcch. 69,10). According to Hc. 3,61 *aṇṇesim* and *savvesim* are used for the femin. too, and so JŚ. has *savvesim itthānaṃ* = *sarvāsām sirīṇāṃ* (Kattig. 408,384). The regular forms in AMg. JM. are *aṇṇāsim*, *savvāsim*. I oc. plur. in A. is *aṇṇahī* (Hc. 4,422,9). On *kati* see § 449.

§ 434. Of the nouns *ātman* (§ 401) and *bhavat-* (§ 396) are used as in Skt. Of the pronominal derivatives *-iya*, Hc. 2,147 mentions *maia madiya*. Besides, for it are used *kera*, *keraa*, *keraka* (§ 176). Without epenthesis *kārya* would become **kara*, and from it have originated in A. *mahāra*, *mahāraū* = **mahakāra* from the gen. *maha* (§ 418) + *kāra* (Hc. 4,351. 358,1. 434) in the sense of *madiya*, likewise *tuhāra* = *tvadiya* (Hc. 4,434), *amhāra* = *asmadiya* (Hc. 4,345. 434). A. *hamāra* (Piṅgala 2,121), metri causa also *hammāra* (Piṅgala 2,43) has originated through the line of development **mhāra* (§ 141), **mahāra* (§ 132), *hamāra* (§ 354). A. *tohāra* = *yusmākam* (Piṅgala 2,25 stands metrically for **tohāra*, and has arisen from *tumhāra*, **tohmāra* (§ 125), **t'hāra*, *tohāra* (§ 76. 89. 127), exactly as *kohaṇḍi* from *kūsmāṇḍi* (§ 127). On the derivatives in *-drś*, *-drśa*, *-drkṣa* see § 121.122.245.262, on *ettia*, *ittia*, *ētila*, *ēttula*, *tēttia*, *tittia*, *ettila*, *tēttula*, *iēttia*, *jittia*, *jēttila*, *jēttia*, *jēttula*, *kēttia*, *kittia*, *ke'ttula*, *ke'ttula* see § 153, on A. *sāha* = *śasvat* § 64. 262, on AMg. *evāiya*, *kevaīya* § 149. A. *evaḍu* in the sense of *iyat* (Hc. 4,408) is = **ayavaḍra* = JM. *evaḍḍa* (§ 149), as *kevaḍu* (Hc. 4,408) = **kayavaḍra*. Analogical formations are *jevaḍu*, *tevaḍu* (Hc. 4,395,7. 407). At Mṛcch. 164,5 we should read *evaḍḍe* for Mg. *evaḍḍhe*.

D. THE NUMERALS.

435. 1 is *e'kka* = *eka* in all the dialects (§ 91), femin. *ēkkā*, in AMg. JM. frequently *ega*. It is inflected according to the pronominal inflection. So sing. loc. M. *e'kkammi* (G. 153. 441; H. 827), very seldom *e'kke* according to the nominal declension (H. 846), AMg. *egamsi* (Vivāhap. 1394 ff.); AMg. JM. *egammi* (Paṇnav. 521; Erz. 2,21), AMg. JM. *egammi* (Vivāhap. 922f. 928. 931. 1658. f. 1736. 1752; Āv. 10,22; 11,12.18; 17,22; 19,9.18; 22,10; etc.); JM. *e'kkammi* (Āv. 27,19); Ś. *e'kkassim* (Karp. 19,17); Mg. *e'kkāssim* (Mṛcch. 81,13); A. *e'kkahī* (Hc. 4,357,2), also as femin. (Hc. 4,422,9); plur. nom. masc. M. JM. *e'kke* (G. 721. 866. 909; Kk. 273,23); AMg. *ega*

(Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4. 4,6; Sūyag. 74. 204. 240. 438. 597; Uttar. 219; cf. § 174); gen. masc. AMg. *egesim* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 2; 1,1,2,4; 1,2,1,2. 4; 1,2, 3,3 etc.; Sūyag. 46. 81) and *egesi* (Sūyag. 19. 35. 74). Of the less frequent forms mention should be of sing. ins. AMg. *ēkkēṇam* (Vivāhap. 258 ff.), JM. *egeṇam* (Āv. 33,24); gen. Mg. *ēkkāha* (Mṛcch. 32,4). In JŚ. Dh. the following has been found in the text: *ēkkam* (Kattig. 403. 370. 377; Mṛcch. 30,5). Before other numerals *ēkka°*, AMg. JM. also *ega°* appear as stems; but *ēkkā°*, AMg. JM. also *egā°*; A. *eā°*, *eggā°* in *ēkkārasa*, AMg. JM. *egārasa* A. *eāraha*, *ēggāraha* (11), *ēkkārasama* (the eleventh) (§ 443. 449); AMg. *ēkkāṇāim* (91) (§ 446). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In PG. is found *aneka* (6,10), in which *k* is never duplicated: M. Ś. *aneā* (G. H.; Mṛcch. 28,8; 71,16; 73,8). AMg. JM. *anega* (Vivāhap. 145. 1285; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *aneja* (Erz.); AMg. *ⁿnega* (§ 171); Ś. *aneaso* = *anekaśaḥ* (Śak. 160,3); AMg. *ⁿnegaso* (§ 171).

436. 2 in the nominative and accusative is *do*, *duve*, *be*, neuter *dōṇṇi* *duṇṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi* (Vr. 6,57, where *doṇi*; C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,119. 120; Kī. 3,85. 86; Mk. fol. 49)¹. *do* = *dvau* and *duve*, *be* = *dve* (neuter) are old duals, and are declined and used as plurals. Nom. acc. *do* is frequent in M. (G.H.R.), AMg. Uvās. s. v. *du*; Kappas. s. v.; WEBER, Bhag. 1,424), JM. (Erz.)¹; traceable in A. too (Piṅgala 1,5), and in D. (Mṛcch. 101,13), and it has as yet not been found in the text in Ś. Mg. Ś. *do vi* (Pras. 84, 4; Bālar. 216,20; 246,5) is an error for *duve vi*, as at Śak. 106,1 stands. *do* is used for all the genders. As femin., it stands e. g. in M. *do tiṇṇi* [mahilā] (H. 587), *do tiṇṇi rehā* = *dvitrā rekhāḥ* (H. 206); AMg. *do guhāo* = *dve*, *guhe*, *do devayāo* = *dve devate*, *do mahāṇāo* = *dve mahānadyau*, *do kattijāo*, *do rohiṇāo*, *do migasirāo*, *do addāo* = *dve kārṭṭikyau dve rohiṇyau dve mṛgāsīrasī dve ārdre* (Thān. 73. 75. 76. 77. 79. 81); *do diśāo* = *dve diśau* (acc.; Thān. 55); as neuter.: M. *do vi dukkhāi* = *dve api dukkhe* (H. 24); AMg. *do do pa jāṇi* = *dve dve paḍe* (Thān. 27), *do sa jāṇi* = *dve sāte* (Samav. 157), *do khuddāim bhavaggahaṇāim sama jāṇāim* = *dve ksudre bhavaggrahane samayone* (Jiv. 1027. 1110), *do nāmadhējjā* = *dve nāmadheye* (Āyār. 2,15. 15). It appears also in the beginning of compounds: M. *doṇṇigulaa* = *dvaṇṇigulaka* (H. 622); AMg. JM. *domāsiya* = *dvimāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Sūyag. 758; Vivāhap. 166; T. 4,6); AMg. *dokiriya* = *dvikriyā* (Vivāhap. 52; Ovav. § 122); M. JM. *dojīha* = *dvijihva* (Prabandhac. 289,1; Erz. 82,17), *domuha* = *dvimukha* (Erz. 39,21), *dovajāṇa* = *dvivadana* (Hc. 1,94; Erz. 39,13). So also *dogaṭṭa* (elephant); Pāyāl. 9; Prākṛtamañjarī on Vr. 4,33; Erz. 35,28; Bālar. 50,1; 86,12), that is read as *dōggaṭṭa* in Mallikām. at 55,7 in Ś. and at 144,10 in Mg., as *dugghuṭṭa* in Deśin. 4,44 and as *dugghōṭṭa* in Triv. 2,1,30 from *ghaṭṭa*-, *ghuṭṭa*-, *ghōṭṭa*- (to drink)²; *dohada*, *dohaḷa* (§ 222. 244) = **dvihrd°*. Beside *do*, there occurs frequently in this case *du*, which has gone off the compounds, in which the accent did not fall on the first syllable. So M. *duṇṇa* = *dviguṇā* (R. 11,47); AMg. *duguṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 241; Vivāhap. 969); *duāi* = *dvijāiḥ* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79); AMg. JM. *dupaya* = *dvipada* (Āyār. 2,1,1,9; Uvās. § 49; Kk. 265,4. 5; III, 511,32); AMg. *duviha* = *dvividha* (Thān. 44; Āyār. 1,7,8,2; 1,8,1,15; Uvās.), *dukhura* = *dvikhura* (Uttar. 1075; see commentary; Jiv. 75), *dupakkha* = *dvipakṣa* (Sūyag. 456), *du-y-āheṇa* = *dvyahena* (Āyār. 2,5, 2,3. 4), *du-y-āham* = *dvyaham* (Jiv. 261. 286. 295), *duhattha* = *dvihasta* (Thān. 208); JM. *dugāyja* = *dvigavyūta*, *du-y-aṅgula* = *dvaṇṇigula* (Erz. s. v. *du*). Beside M. *dohāia*, *dohāijai* = *dvidhākṛta*, *dvidhākriyate* (R. s. v. *duhā*), AMg. *dodhāra* = *dvidhākāra* (Thān. 401) stands AMg. *duhā* = *dvidhā* (Sūyag. 351. 358); M. *duhāia* (R. 8,106); AMg. *duhākijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 137); AMg. *duhao* = **dvidhātah* (twice; twofold; in two parts; Āyār. 1,3,3,5;

1,7,8,4; Uttar. 234; Sūyag. 35,640; Thān. 186; Vivāhap. 181.282) etc. The regular successor of *dvi* are *bi* (§ 300) and *di*, which always occurs in certain words like *dīa*, JM. *dīyā* = *dvīja*, *diraa* = *dvirada* (§ 298), and always in Ś. Mg. except in the ordinals (§ 449). Ś. *dudhā* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 78,8) is false, in the same way *duṇṇia* (Mallikām. 224,5) for *diṇṇida*.—The neut. *dōṇṇi*, sometimes also *duṇṇi*, is formed according to *tiṇṇi*⁴. It is combined with the masculine and feminine too, as masc. M. *dōṇṇi vi bhinnasariū* = *dvāvapi bhinnasvarūpau* (G.450), *dōṇṇi vi bāhū* = *dvāv api bāhū* (Hc. 3.142); AMg. *dōṇṇi vi rājāṇo* = *dvāvapi rājāṇau*, *dōṇṇi vi rāṇam aṇīyā* = *dvāv api rājāṇam anikau* (Nirayāv. § 26. 27), *dōṇṇi purisajāe* = *dvau *purisajātau* (Sūyag. 575); JM. *duṇṇi munisihā* = *dvau munisimhau* (T. 4,4), *te dōṇṇi vi* (Erz. 78,35); Ś. *dōṇṇi khattiakumārā* = *dvau ksatriyakumārāu* (Pras. 47,7; cf. 48,4); femin. AMg. *dōṇṇi saṃgahanagāhāo* = *dve saṃgrahanagāthe* (Kappas. § 118); Ś. *dōṇṇi kumārio* = *dve kumāryau* (Pras. 48,5).—Of *do*, the ins. is *dohim*, *dohi* (in C. 1,7 p. 40), in the fem. too, as in M. *paṇṭihū dohim* = *paṇṭibhyām dvābhyām* (Karp. 101,1); AMg. *dohim ukkhāhim* = *dvābhyām ukkhābhyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); JM. *dohi vi bāhāhim* = *dvābhyām bāhābhyām* (Dvār. 507,33). — The abl. is, according to Hc. 3,119. 130, *dohinto*, *dosurinto*, according to C. 1,3 p. 39 *dohinto*, according to Mk. fol. 49 *dosurinto*.—In the gen. the numerals for 2-19 according to Vr. 6,59; Hc. 3,123, according to Hc. also *kati*, according to C. 1,6 the numerals generally, according and to Kī. 3,89 the numerals 2—4 have the endings *-ṇha*, *-ṇham*. So M. AMg. JM. *dōṇha*, *dōṇham* (also Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Thān. 47. 67. 68; Kī. 10), also in the fem. AMg. *tāsim dōṇham* (so rightly in the commentary; text *duṇhim*) = *tayor dvayoh* (Uttar. 661). In Ś. and apparently in Mg. too, on the contrary, the ending is *-ṇnam*, corresponding to the Lena-dialect and Pālī⁵: *dōṇnam* (Śak. 56,15; 74,7 [femin.]; 85,15 [fem.]; Venīs. 60,16 [so to be read with v. l. for *dohinam*]; 62,8; Mālav. v. l. to 77,20 [fem.], as also in M. is found more often as v. l. (H. s. v. *do*), and in Mk. fol. 49 the MSS. give. Whilst *dōṇnam* has followed the analogy of *tiṇnam* = *triṇam*, the ending *-ṇnam* seems to have originated from an intermixture of the nominal and the pronominal forms **doṇam* and **dosam* respectively, since it presupposes one **dvausṇam*.—The loc. is *dosum*, *dosu* (in C. 1,3 p. 39), also JŚ. (Kattig. 402,359), and in the femin., as M. *dosum dokandalisum* = *dvayor doḥkandalयोह* (Karp. 95, 12), A. *duhū* (Hc. 4,340,2).

1. These quotations hold good for all cases, although not noted. In the text of Kī. there stands *dōṇhi* (3,85), *dōṇi* (3,86); *be* is wanting.—2 PISCHEL on Hc. 4,10; also Kī. 4,46. — 3. LÜDERS, GN. 1898,2 ff. — 4. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,144. — 5. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,144 f.

§ 437. *duve* = *dve* is used as the nom. and the acc. for all the three genders in all the dialects: M. (H. 846; neut.); AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,4,6 (acc.); Sūyag. 293 (acc.). 620.853.972; Uttar. 200; Samav. 238; Kappas. Th. § 4; Uvās. s. v. *du*), as femin. *bhajjā duve* = *bhāryā dve* (Uttar. 660); JM. *due vi* (Āv. 8,49); *duve vi* (Erz. 21,6); *duve jaṇā* (Āv. 19,10); *duve corasē nāvaṇo* = *dvau corasenāpālī* (Erz. 13,4); A. *dui* (Piṅgala 1,31. 42). Whilst in comparison with *do*, it is not frequent in these dialects, particularly in M. and A., it is the only form in Ś. Mg. So Ś. masc. (Mṛcch. 24,15; Śak. 24,1; 41,1; Vikr. 21,19; Mālav. 17,8; 18,22; 30,1; Malatīm. 358,1; Viddhaś. 66,1; Mallikām. 223,5; 227,12; 250,1; Kāleyak. 25,20), femin. (Viddhaś. 44,7), neut. (Mṛcch. 61,10; Mālav. 54,7), masc. or neut. (Mṛcch. 153,18; Vikr. 10,3); Mg. (Mṛcch. 81,13; acc., neut.). From it builds Ś. also the ins. *duvehim* (Mṛcch. 44,1; 51,23; 327,3; Mudrār. 232, 7) = **dvebhiḥ*, the gen. *duvenam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 38,5; 45,23; 53,19 [the Kashmiri rec., however, has *dōṇham*, the Bengali recension has *dōṇnam*];

Mallikām. 102,6; Kāleyak. 21,1; 23,11), the loc. *duvesu* (Mallikām. 335, 10).—*be* is found in PG. 6.14. 20. 31. 39 seldom in M. (H. 752), in AMg. in the beginning of compounds as *beindīya*, *bēndīya* = *dvīndriya* (§ 162), *bedoṇīya* = *dvidroṇika* (Uvās. § 235); in JŚ. (Kattig. 399,310; acc.); in A. (Hc. 4,439; Piṅgala 1,9. 68); in A. shortened to *bi* (Piṅgala 1,153). From it, the neuter is *biṇṇi* (C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,120; A. Hc. 4,418,1; Piṅgala 1,95). According to C. 1,3 p. 39; 1,6 p.40; 1,7 p.40; Hc. 3,119 *be* is inflected as: ins. *behi*, abl. *behimto*, gen. *bēṇham*, loc. *besu*, *besum*. A. has ins. *bihi* (Hc. 4,367,5), gen. *bihū* (Hc. 4,383,1), loc. *behī* (Hc. 4,370,3). Corresponding to Skt. *dvā°* stands *bā°* before other numerals, e.g. in AMg. *bārasa* (12), *bāvīsam* (22), *bāyālīsam* (42), *bāvattarim* (72). Cf. § 443 ff.

§ 438. 3, in the nom. and the acc. masc. and femin. is *tao* = *trayaḥ*, neut. *tiṇṇi* = *triṇi*, with *ṇ* according to the gen. *tiṇṇam*. The forms are used in all the three genders without distinction; *tao* is not mentioned by the grammarians (Vr. 6, 56; Hc. 3, 121; Kī. 3, 85 [text *tiṇṇi*]; Mk. fol. 49) and is seen in AMg. only: AMg. masc. (Thāṇ. 110. 112. 118. 197; Kappas. s. v. *ti*; Sūyag. 293 [acc.] and often); metrically *taū* too in *taū āyāṇā* = *triṇy ādānāni* (Sūyag. 65); femin. *tao paṛisāo* = *tisrah paṛisadaḥ* (Thāṇ. 138; Jiv. 905. 912. 914. 917); *tao kammabhūmīo* = *tisrah kammabhūmayah* (Thāṇ. 165; cf. 176); *tao antaraṇaio* = *tisro 'ntaranadyah* (Thāṇ. 177); *tao uccāraḥṣavaṇabhūmīo* (Kappas. S. § 55; acc.); neut. *tao thāṇāni* = *triṇi sthānāni* (Thāṇ. 143), beside *tao thāṇām* (158) and *tao thāṇā* (163. 165); *tao pāṇagāim* = *triṇi pānakāni* (Thāṇ. 161. 162; Kappas. S. § 25); *tao vatthāim* = *triṇi vastrāni*, *tao pāyāim* = *triṇi pātrāni* (Thāṇ. 162). Likewise *tiṇṇi* is used in all the dialects: M. *tiṇṇi rehā* = *tisro rekhāḥ*, *tiṇṇi* [mahilāo] (H. 206. 587); neut. (R. 9,91); AMg. masc. *tiṇṇi purisajāe* = *trin *purisajātān* (Sūyag. 575); *jāmā tinni* = *yāmās trayah* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4); *tinni ālāvagā* = *traya ālāpakāḥ* (Sūyag. 814. 815 [°ṇṇ°]); *ime tinni nāmadhējjā* = *imāni triṇi nāmadheyāni* (Āyār. 2,15,15); *tiṇṇi vi uvasaggā* = *trayo 'py upasargāḥ* (Uvās. § 118); *tiṇṇi vaṇijā* = *trayo vaṇijah* (Uttar. 233); femin. *eyāo tinni paḍaḍio* = *etās tisrah prakṛtayah* (Uttar. 970); *tinni lēssāo* = *tisro leṣyāḥ* (Thāṇ. 26), *tinni sāgarovamakodākoḍio* = *tisrah sāgaropamakofākoṭiyah* (Thāṇ. 133); neut. (Āyār. 1,8,4,5; p. 125,26; Sūyag. 778; Samav. 157; Vivāhap. 90; Kappas. § 138. Th. § 1); JM. femin. *tinni dhūyāo* = *tisro duhitaraḥ* (Āv. 12,1); *tinni bherio* = *tisro bheryah*, *tinni vi gosīśacandaṇamaio devayāpāri-ggahiyāo* = *tisro 'pi gośīśacandanamayyo devatāparigṛhātāḥ* (Āv. 34,7,8); neut. *tāni tiṇṇi vi* = *tāni triṇy api* (Erz. 37,11); Ś. masc. *tiṇṇi purisā* = *trayaḥ puruṣāḥ*, *ede tiṇṇi vi* = *ete trayo 'pi*, *edē kkhū tiṇṇi alaṃkārasaṇjoā* = *ete khalu trayo 'laṃkārasaṇyogāḥ*, *tiṇṇi rādāno* = *trayo rājānaḥ* (Mudrār. 39,3; 72,1; 108,9; 204,4), *ime tiṇṇi miāṅā* = *ete trayo mīdaṅgāḥ*, *bālataruṇo tiṇṇi* = *bālataravas trayah* (Karp. 3,2; 62,3); femin. *tiṇṇi āidīo* = *tisra ākṛtayah* (Śak. 132,6); JŚ. neut. (Kattig. 402,363); A. *do tiṇṇi vi* = *doau trayo 'pi*, *tiṇṇi rehāim* = *tisro rekhāḥ* (Piṅgala 1,5. 52).—The ins. is *tihim* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1, 7 p. 40; Hc. 3,118; Kī. 3,84; Mk.fol. 49; G. 265; Kappas. § 227; Nāyādh. 1026; Uttar. 987), more often in AMg. JM. printed as *tihim* (Sūyag. 97; Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Thāṇ. 114. 116. 117; Samav. 232; Ovav. § 136; Erz. 49, 22), a form that probably is correct in verses only on account of prosodic requirement, as in A. (Hc. 4,347); cf., however, *caūhim* § 439. —Ablative *tihimto* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,118; Mk. fol. 49); according to Kī. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49 also *tisumto*.—For the genitive Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,118. 123 teach *tiṇṇam*, *tiṇṇa*, and so *tiṇṇam* in AMg. JM. (Thāṇ. 125; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Vivāhap. 53. 140; Kappas. § 114; Erz. 28,21); also as femin. AMg. *pasatthalesāṇa tiṇṇam pi* = *praśastalesyāṇām tistrṇām api* (Uttar. 986 f.); JM. *tiṇṇam paṛisāṇa* = *tistrṇām paṛisadām* (Kk. 275,31).

Mk. fol. 49 teaches, as it appears, *tiṇṇam* = *triṇḍm*, a form that is to be expected Ś. Mg. (§ 436).—Loc. M. *tisu* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3, 118; R. 8,58), also *tisum* (C. 1,3 p. 39), and metri causa *tisu* (Hc. 3,135).—At the beginning of compounds there appears in all the dialects *ti°*, in AMg. also *te°* = *traya-* in *teindiya*, *tēndiya* = *trindriya* (§ 162), and before other numerals, as *teraha* = *trayodaśa*, *tevīsaṃ* = *trayovimsati*, *tēttisa* = *trayastrimśat*, *teālīsā* = *trayaścatvāriṃśat* etc. (§ 153). AMg. has also *tāyattisā* (33; Kappas.; Thāṇ. 125) and *tāvattisā* (Vivāhap. 218), and the thirty three gods in AMg. JM. are called *tāyattisagā*, *tāvattisayā*, *tāvattisagā* = *trayastrimśakāḥ* (Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 215, 218, 223; Kk. 275, 34). See § 254.

§ 439. 4 has the nom. masc. *cattāro* = *catvārāḥ* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49; Ś. Uttarar. 12,7). The same form is valid for the acc. too according to the grammarians. Likewise the acc. *caūro* = *caturāḥ* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; AMg. Uttar. 768) in AMg. is used in verses also as the nom. (Hc. 3,122; Uttar. 1033; Vivāhap. 82). Hc. 3,17 mentions as nom. acc. also *caūo*, *caūo* from the stem *caū-*. In Ś. at Prab. 68,7 there is a nom. femin. *catasso* (all editions) edited, for which at least *cadasso*=*catasrah* is to be written. As in the case of 2 and 3 (§ 436, 438), in the case of 4 too, almost always the neutr. *cattāri* = *catvāri* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49) is used in connection with all the genders : masc. PG. *cattāri pattiḥhāgā* = *catvārāḥ pratibhāgāḥ* (6,18); *addhikā cattāri* = *ārdhikāś catvārāḥ* (6,39); M. *cattāri pakkalabaillā* (H. 812); AMg. *cattāri ālavagā* = *catvārāḥ ālāpakaḥ* (Āyār. 2,1, 1,11; Sūyag. 812); *cattāri thāṇā* = *catvāri sthānāni* (Sūyag. 688); *cattāri purisajāyā* = *catvārāḥ *purusa-jātāḥ* (Sūyag. 626); *ime cattāri therā* = *ime catvārāḥ sthavirāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5. 11), *cattāri hatthi* = *catvāro hastināḥ* (Thāṇ. 236); acc. *cattāri agaṇio* = *caturō 'gnin* (Sūyag. 274); *cattāri māse* = *caturō māsān* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *cattāri mahāsumiṇe* = *caturō mahāsavaṇṇān* (Kappas. § 77; Nāyādh. § 49); JM. *mahārāyāṇo cattāri* = *mahārājāś catvārāḥ* (Erz. 4,36); Mg. *cattāli ime* (Mṛcch. 158,4); femin.: AMg. *imāo cattāri sāhāo* = *imāś catasrah śākhāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5); *cattāri kiriyaō* = *catasrah kriyāḥ* (Vivāhap. 47); *cattāri aggamaḥiṣo* = *catasro' gramahīṣyaḥ* (Thāṇ. 228 ff.); acc. *cattāri saṃghāḍio* = *catasrah saṃghāḍiḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1); *cattāri bhāsāo* = *catasro bhāṣāḥ* (Thāṇ. 203); neutr. AMg. *cattāri samosaraṇāni* = *catvāri samavasaraṇāni* (Sūyag. 445); *cattāri sayāim* = *catvāri śatāni* (Samav. 158); JM. *cattāri aṅgulāni* (Erz. 37,2).—Ins. *caūhim* throughout in AMg. (Hc. 3,17; Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Vivāhap. 437; Thāṇ. 207; Samav. 14; Uvās. § 18. 21; Ovav. § 56; also femin. : *caūhim paḍimāhim* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,4; 2,8,2); *caūhim kiriyaḥim* = *catasrbhiḥ kriyābhiḥ* (Vivāhap. 120 ff.); *caūhim ukkhāhim* = *catasrbhir ukkhābhiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); *caūhim hirapaṇṇakoḍiḥim* ' *paūttāhim* = *catasrbhir hirapaṇṇakoḍiḥim* ' *prayuktābhiḥ* (Uvās. § 17). In prose *caūhim*, which Sr. fol. 18 quotes beside *caūhi*, *caūhi*, *caūhim*, would be expected. Hc. 3,17 too mentions *caūhi* beside *caūhi*. Cf. *tihim* § 438. — Abl. *caūhimto* (Mk. fol. 49), *caūsumto* (Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Sr. fol. 18), *caūsumto* (Sr. fol. 18).—Gen. PG. *catupham* (6,18), M. AMg. JM. *caūpham* (Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,123 [also ' *ṇha*]; Kī. 3,89; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Kappas. § 10. 14; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Erz. 9,18), also feminine *eyānam* (*eyāsim*) *caūpham paḍimānam* = *etāsām catasṛṇām pratimānām* (Āyār. 2,2,3,21; 2,5,1,9; 2,6,1,7; 2,8,6), *porisīnam caūpham* = *pauruṣīṇām catasṛṇām* (Uttar. 893). According to the analogy of *doṇnam*, *tiṇṇam*, expected is in Ś. Mg. *cadunnam*, as Mk. fol. 49 appears to teach. Examples are wanting.—Loc. AMg. JM. *caūsu* (Uttar. 769; Vivāhap. 82; Erz. 41,35); *caūsum* (Erz. 44,8), also as femin. *caūsu vidisāsu* = *catasṛṣu vidikṣu* (Thāṇ. 259; Jīv. 228; Vivāhap. 925. 927); *caūsu vi gāisu* = *catasṛṣu api gatiṣu*

(Uttar.996). The expected *caṭsu* is mentioned by Hc.3,17 beside *caṭsu* and by Sr. fol. 18 beside *caṭsum*, *caṭsum*, *caṭsu*.—In compounds, before vowels, there appears *caūr°*, as AMg. *caṭraṃsa* = *caturaśra* (Thān. 20. 493; Uvās. § 76), *caṭraṅguli* (Thān. 270), *caṭrindiya* (Thān. 25. 122. 275. 322; Samav. 40. 228; Vivāgas. 50 etc.); M. *caṭrāṇa* (G.); also before other numerals, as AMg. *caṭrāsīm* (84; Kappas.). Before consonants partly appears *caūra°* with regular assimilation, as M. *caṭddisam* = *caturdisam* (R.), AMg. JM. *caṭmmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *cadussālaa* = *catuḥsālaka* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 16,11 [°sāla]; 45,25), *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17), partly *caū°*, as M. *caṭjāma* = *caturjāma* (H. R.), *caṭmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (G.), AMg. *caṭpaya* = *catuspada* (Āyār. 2.1,11,9) beside *caṭppaya* (Uttar. 1074; Uvās.), A. *caṭmuḥa* (Hc. 4,331), *caṭppaa* (Piṅgala 1,118) D. *caṭsāra* (verse; Mṛcch. 101,12) = *catuḥsāgara*. Cf. § 340 ff. Both appear also before other numerals: AMg. *caṭddasa* = *caturdaśan* (Kappas. § 74), beside *caṭdasa* in the verse (Kappas. § 46^b) and with contraction, *cōddasa* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.), M. *cōddaha*, *cōddasī*, as also *cōgguṇa* beside *caṭgguṇa* = *caturguṇa*, *cōvāra* beside *caṭvāra* = *caturvāra* etc. (§ 166. 443 ff.). In A. *co* appears not only in the beginning of compounds, but also independently (Piṅgala 1,65; cf. § 166). The neuter is in A. *cāri* (Piṅgala 1, 68. 87. 102) from *catvāri*, **cātvāri* (§ 65), **cātāri* (§ 87), **cāāri* (§ 186), *cāri* (§ 165). It is employed as the first member of compounds: *cāripāa* = *catuspāda*, *cāridahā* = *caturdaśa* (Piṅgala 1,102. 105. 118). as also *caūro* in AMg. *caūropañcindiya* = *catuspañcendriya* (Uttar.1059), A stem *caūra-* occurs in AMg. *caūrāsīm*, *corāsīm* = *caturaśīti*, *caūrāsīma*, *caturaśīta* (Kappas.; Samav. 139—142). On *cāur°* see § 78.

§ 440. 5 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. Ś. *pañca* (Vivāhap. 138. 141; Thān. 361; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mudrār. 204,1); ins. AMg. *pañcahiṃ* (Uttar. 374; Vivāhap. 120 ff.; Thān. 353; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; etc.), A. *pañcahi* (Hc. 4,422,14); gen. AMg. *pañcaṇam* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,7, 2,12; Samav. 16), A. *pañcahā* (Hc. 4,422,14); loc. JM. *pañcasu* (Erz. p. xli), in verses also AMg. *pañce* (Uttar. 704). Rāmārkavāgīśa in LASSEN, Inst. p 319 note ** mentions also the abl. *pañcahiṃto*, *pañcasumto*, gen. *pañcaṇam*, loc. *pañcasum* and a loc. femin. *pañcāsūm*, Rishikesh p. 128 also femin. nom. *pañcā*, ins. *pañcāhiṃ*. In the beginning of compounds mostly appears *pañca°*, in AMg. JM. also *pañcā°* in *pañcāṇām* (95), Thān. 261; Samav. 150. 151; Kk. 263, 11. 16. 17; many times false °*pañyam*); likewise in *pañcāvāṇā* (55; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,245). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In combination with other words there appears *pañca* in AMg. JM. A. also as *pañṇa* (*pañna*), *pañṇa*, *pañṇu* (§ 273).

§ 441. 6 *ṣaṣ* becomes *cha* according to § 211. It is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *cha* (Kappas. § 122; Vivāhap. 54; Samav. 159. 163; Uvās.); ins. AMg. *chahiṃ* (Sūyag. 380. 844; Samav. 232; Thān. 194; Bhag. 1,425; Nāyādh. 833; Uttar. 768. 778); gen. AMg. JŚ. *chaṇam* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,15. 16; Vivāhap. 82. 89. 123; Uttar. 776. 979; Jiv. 271; Nāyādh. 832. 834. 844; Kattig. 399,309), also *chaṇha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *chasu* (Thān. 27; Uttar. 987). The old nom. *ṣaṭ* has been retained before enclitics: AMg. *chap pi* = *ṣaṭ api* (Āyār. 1,8,4,6; Nirayāv. 81; Vivāhap. 798; Dasav. 639,2; Nāyādh. 828. 830. 836. 845 ff.), *chac ceva* (Uttar. 1065), *chac ca* (Āṇuog. 399; Jiv. 914; Jiyak. 61; Vivāhap. 82. 1237; Kappas. Th. § 7). Rāmārkavāgīśa, according to LASSEN, Inst. p. 320, knows: nom. *chā*, femin. *chāo*; ins. *chaḥiṃ*; *chāhiṃ*; abl. *chāhiṃto* (so to be read); gen. *chaṇṇam* (read *chaṇṇam*); loc. *chasu* (*chāsu*), *chīsu*. As the first member of compounds seldom there appears *cha°*, as JM. *chakhaṇḍa* (Erz. 18,8;

probably a false reading for *chakkehaṇḍa*), mostly *ṣaṭ*°, before vowels as *chaḍ*°, as *chaḍakkhara* = *ṣaḍakṣara* (Skanda; Deśin. 3,26), AMg. also *ṣaḍ*° in *ṣaḍaṅgavi* = *ṣaḍaṅgavid* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas.; Ovav.), or *chaḷ*°, as *chaḷaṃsa* = *ṣaḍaṣṭra* (Thān. 493; see § 240), before consonants with regular assimilation (§ 270), as M. Ś. *chagguṇa*, *chagguṇaa* = *ṣaḍguṇa*, °*guṇaka* (Mudrār. 233,9; Anarghar. 67,11); AMg. *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 97 ff. 145); AMg. *chabbhāya* = *ṣaḍbhāga* (Uttar. 1036; Ovav. [°ga]); M. *chappaa*, JM. *chappaṃya* (C. 3,3; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; G. H. Kk.), AMg. *chattala* = *ṣattala* (Thān. 495); M. A. *chammuka* = *ṣaṇmukha* (Bh. 2,41; C. 3,3,14; Hc. 1, 25. 265; Karp. 1,10; Hc. 4,331); M. JM. *chammāsa* = *ṣaṇmāsa* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *chammāsija* = *ṣaṇmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M. Ś. *chammāsia* = *ṣaṇmāsika* (Karp. 47,10; 82,8); Ś. *chaccaraṇa* (Bālar. 66,7). Likewise before other numerals: AMg. *chalasi* (86; Samav. 143; Vivāhap. 199); AMg. JM. A. *chavīsam* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.; Piṅgala 1,68); AMg. *chattisam*, °*sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uttar. 1043), *chappanṇam* (56; § 273); AMg. *channāṇim* (Samav. 151), JM. *channavāi* (Kk. III, 514,24). Before 40,60,70 there enters in AMg. *chā*°, with *ā* according to § 70; *chājālisaṃ* (46; Kappas.), *chāvattim* (66; Samav. 123), *chāvattarim* (76; Samav. 133). A. has *chaha* = **ṣaṣa* (§ 263) in *chahavisa* (26; Piṅgala 1,95 [GOLDSCHMIDT *chavvīsa*]. 97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *caivvīsa*]) and *chaha* (6; Piṅgala 1,96). In agreement with Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* Pkt. has *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha* (§ 443).

§ 442. 7 is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. JM. *satta* (H. 3; R. 15,29; Āyār. 2,1,11,3,10; Thān. 445; Erz. 14,4); ins. AMg. *sattahim* (Thān. 446); gen. AMg. JM. JS. *sattanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,1,11,11; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 26. 222; Thān. 445; Kk. 275, 33; Kattig. 399,308), also *sattanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *sattasu* (Thān. 44; Uttar. 904). In compounds there appear *sattā*°, *sattā*°, Mg. *sattā*° (Mṛcch. 79,13; Prab. 51,8). On *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa* = *ṣattapaṇṇa* see § 103. - 8 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *aṭṭha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), also *aḍha* (Vivāhap. 82; verse; text *aṭha*; see § 67); A. also *aṭṭhā* (Piṅgala 1,9. 83) and *aṭṭhā* (1,116); ins. AMg. *aṭṭhahim* (Uvās. § 27; Vivāhap. 447; Uttar. 768; Thān. 475); gen. AMg. JM. *aṭṭhanham* (Hc. 3,123; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 416. 417; Erz. 12,21), also *aṭṭhanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. *aṭṭhasu* (Vivāhap. 416. 417). In compounds there appears *aṭṭha*°: AMg. *aṭṭhaviha* = *aṣṭavidha* (Uttar. 895); Ś. *aṭṭhapaoṭṭha* = *aṣṭaprakoṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 73,2) and *aṭṭhā*°: AMg. JM. *aṭṭhavaṇṇa* = *aṣṭāpada* (Ovav.; Erz.). Before other numerals *aṭṭha*° stands in AMg. *aṭṭhahattarim* (78; Samav. 134,135); JM. *aṭṭhatisam* (38), *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi* (68); Erz. p. xli), against this *aṭṭhā*° in *aṭṭhārasa*, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (18; § 443); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvīsam* (28), *aṭṭhāvannam* (58), *aṭṭhāṇāṇim* (98; Samav. 78. 79. 117. 152. 153; Erz. xli), and *aḍha*° in AMg. *aḍhājālisaṃ* (48; Samav. 111), AMg. also *aḍhajāla* (Samav. 210), *aḍhasaṭṭhim* (68; Samav. 126; text. mostly *aḍa*°). So also A. *aḍhāsa* (Piṅgala 1,127 [text, BOLLENSEN, Vikr. 549, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭhāsa*]. 144 [text *aṭhāsa*, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāsa* for *aṭhāsa pāa bho* of the text]), *aḍhāṇāṇisa* (text *aṭhāṇāṇisa*; 48; Piṅgala 1,95) beside *aṭṭhāsa* (28; Piṅgala 1,64. 86) and *aṭṭhāsaṭṭhā* (68; Piṅgala 1,106). See § 67. - 9 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *nava* (Kappas. § 128; Erz. 4, 14); inst. *navahim* (Uttar. 998); gen. AMg. *navanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2, 15,6; Ovav. § 104; Kappas.; Nāyādh.), also *navanha* (Hc. 3,123). In compounds *nava*° enters: *navanavāṇaṇa* (G. 426), likewise before other numerals: A. *navadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111); AMg. *navanāṇim* (99; Samav. 154). - 10 M. *dasa* or *daha*, AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa*, Mg. Dh. *daśa* (§ 262) is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. Ś. *dasa* (Karp. 12,7; Uvās.; Samav. 162. 165. 166; Pras. 19,5); false Mg. *daha* for *daśa* (Lalitav. 566,11); ins. AMg. JM. *dasahim* (Kappas. § 227; Erz. 32,12), M. also *dasahi* (R. 11,31; 15,81). Mg. *daśehim* (Mṛcch. 32,18); gen. AMg. JM. *dasanham* and *dasanha* (Hc.

3,123; Uvās. § 275; Erz. 28,22), Mg. *daśāṇam* (Mṛcch. 133,20). In AMg. *uvāsagadasāṇam* (Uvās. § 2. 91), the gen. in the femin. *daśā* = **daśā* occurs. Loc. M. AMg. *dasasu* (R. 4,58; Uvās. p. 168,7), CP. *tasasu* (Hc. 4,326). In compounds appears M. A. *daśa°* and *daha* AMg. JM. S. *dāsa°*, Mg. *daśa* (§ 262); A. *daha°* is found also in combination with other numerals: *ēkkadaha* (11; Piṅgala 1,114), *cāridahā* and *dahacāri* (14; Piṅgala 1,105. 110), *dahapañca* and *dahapañcā* (15; Piṅgala 1,49. 106. 113), *dahasatta* (17; Piṅgala 1,79. 123), *ṇavadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111).

§ 443. The numerals from 11 to 18 are: 11 AMg. *ēkkārasa*, *ikkārasa* (Vivāhap. 82. 165; Kappas.; Uvās.), M. A. *ēāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,66. 109–112) and *ēggāraha* (Piṅgala 1,77.78.106. 134), also *gārahāi* (2,111) and *ēkkādaha* (§ 442); CP. *ekātasa* (Hc. 4,326). —12 AMg. JM. JŚ. *bārasa* (Āyār. 2,15,23,25; Paṇṇav. 52; Vivāhap. 82; Uttar. 691; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,369; 403,371 [text *vā°*]), femin. JM. *bārasī* (T. 6,7), and AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244); M. A. *bāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,49. 69 etc.). —13 AMg. *terasa* (Sūyag. 669; Uvās.; Kappas.), femin. *terasī* (Āyār. 2,15,4; Kappas.), M. A. *teraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,9. 11. 58. 66). —14 *cōddaha* (Hc. 1,171), AMg. JM. *cōddasa* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.¹, and *cāuddasa* (Kappas.), metri causa also *cāuddasa* (Kappas. § 46^b), A. *cāuddaha* (Piṅgala 1,133.134), also *cāuddāhā* (2,65) and *cāridahā*, *dahacāri* (§ 442). —15 AMg. JM. *pañṇarasa* (§ 273), A. *pañṇaraha*, as Vr. Hc. generally teach (§ 273), A. also *dahapañca*, *dahapañcā* (§ 442). —16 AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, also AMg. *soḷasaja* (Jiv. 228), A. *soḷaha* (Piṅgala 1,103. 104. 105), also *soḷā* (2,67. 97). —17 AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *dahasatta* (§ 442). —18 AMg. JM. *aṭṭhārasa*, as also PG. 6,34, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (Piṅgala 1,79). On *ra* for *da* see § 245, on *la* for *da* § 244. Therefore, the flexion is that of *daśan* (§ 442), e. g. ins. A. *ēarahahī* (Piṅgala 1,66 [°hī], 109 ff.; BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 538 *eggārahahi*), AMg. *bārasahim* (Sūyag. 790; Uttar. 1034); A. *bārahahī* (Piṅgala 1,113); AMg. *cōddasahim* (Jiv. 228; Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 21); AMg. *pañṇarasahim* (Jiv. 228); gen. AMg. *duvālasaṇham* (Uvās.); AMg. *cāuddasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 952), *cōddasaṇham* (Kappas.); *pañṇarasasāṇham* (Hc. 3,123); AMg. JM. *soḷasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 222; Erz. 28,20), *aṭṭhārasaṇham* (Hc. 3,123) and °*ṇha* (Erz. 42,28); loc. *pañṇarasasu* (Āyār. p. 125,33); Vivāhap. 734).

1. These citations are valid also for the following numerals, when other works are not quoted. The numerals for 11–100 are frequently found mostly in Mg., particularly in compounds, in addition partly in JM.A. For the rest of the dialects examples are wanting.

§ 444. 19 is AMg. *egūṇavisam* = *ekonaviṃśati* (cf. § 445; Vivāhap. 1243; Nāyādh. § 12), A. *egūṇaviṃśā* (Piṅgala 2,238) and *ṇavadaha* (§ 442). Beside it AMg. JM. have also *aūṇavisā* and *aūṇavisam* (Uttar. 1091; Erz. XLI). The same forms occur in AMg. JM. in other tens too, beside one another. So: *egūṇapañnāsāima* (the 49th.; Samav. 153) and *aūṇāpaṇṇa* (49; Ovav. § 163; Vivāhap. 158); *egūṇasattāhim* (59; Samav. 118) and *aūṇattāhim* (Kappas. § 136; cf. v. l.); *egūṇasattarim* (69; Samav. 126) and *aūṇattarim* (Kappas. § 178). Further one says AMg. JM. *aūṇatisam*, *aūṇatisam* (29; Uttar. 1093; Erz. p. XLI) and AMg. *egūṇāstīm* (79; Samav. 136), *egūṇapaṇṇīm* (89; Samav. 146). *aūṇa°*, *aūṇā°* (§ 70) cannot be derived with E. MÜLLER¹ and LEUMANN² from *ekona*, but is = *aguṇa*, corresponding to *dviguṇa*, *triguṇa* etc., M. *duṇṇa*, AMg. *duguṇa* (§ 436), AMg. *aṇantaḡuṇa* (Vivāhap. 1039). Cf. old Hindī. *agunīs*, *gunīs* (19), Gujarātī *oganīs*³, which is = **apaguṇaviṃśati*.

1. Beiträge p. 17.—2. Aup. S. s. v. *aūṇāpanna*.—3. HOERNLE, Comp.-Gr. p. 257.

§ 445. The numerals for 19—58 form in AMg. JM. the nom. as the neut. in *-am* or as the fem. in *-ā*, in A. in *-a*, and those for 59—99 as the neuter in *-im* or the femin. in *-ī*. In the rest of the cases they are mostly inflected as the femin. sing., and have, as in Skt., the numbered object either in the gen. plur. or in the corresponding case of the plur. beside them.—20 forms also *visai=vimsati* (Kappas.; Uvās.), nom. *visai* and *visaim* (Erz. XLI¹) AMg. *aṇṇavisai* (19), *visai* (20), *ekkavisai* (21), *pañnavisai* (25), it *sattavisai* (27), Uttar. 1091-1093), A. *caūvisai* (24; Piṅgala 1,87). However, *visam* (Kappas.; Erz.) or *visā* (Hc. 1,28.92; Erz.), A. *visa* (Piṅgala 1,95; Hc. 4,423,4), have been mostly regulated according to the following tens and been formed, as reversely also *tisai=trimsat* in AMg. is found (Uttar. 1093), in correspondence with *visai=vimsatiḥ*. If other numbers enter before it one says: AMg. JM. *ekkavisam*, *egavisā*, *igavisam* (21; Uttar. 1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.); *bāvisam* (22; Uttar. 1070.1091.1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *bāisa* (Piṅgala 1,68); *tevisam* (23; Uttar. 1092; Samav. 66; Erz.), A. *teisa* (Piṅgala 1,150); *caūvisam* (24; Hc. 3,137; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 1092; Thāṇ. 22), *caūvvisam* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *caūvisaha* (Piṅgala 1,87 [so GOLDSCHMIDT]), *covisa* (2,291) and *covisa* (2,279); *pañnavisam*, *pañvīsam* and *pañvīsa* in *pañvīsaḥi* (25; § 273), A. *pañsa* (Piṅgala 1,120); *chavvisam* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.), A. *chavisa* and *chavvisa* (§ 441); AMg. *sattavisam* (27; Uttar. 1093), and *sattāvisam* (Vivāhap. 85 ff.); *sattāvisā* (Hc. 1,4); A. *sattāisa* (Piṅgala 1,51. 52. 58); *aṭṭhavisam*, *visā* (Vivāhap. 82), A. *aṭṭhāisa*, *adhāisa* (28; § 442); *aṇṇatisam*, *aṇṇattisam* (29; § 444).—30 is *tisam* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.) and *tisā* (Hc. 1,28. 92), A. *tisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.60), also in *tisakḥharā=trimsadaksarā* (1,52), *tisam* (1,61). The numerals, that enter before it, as in all the following tens, are the same as in the case of 20, with the alterations required by the phonetic law. So *battisam* (32; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.), *battisā* (Kappas.), A. *battisa* (Piṅgala 1,62.69), for which in M. also *dosolaha=doiṣoḍaśa* is said (Karp. 100,8); *tēttisam*, *tittisam* (33; Kappas.; Vivāhap. 18. 33. 391; Uttar. 909. 994. 1001. 1094; Erz.), AMg. also *tāyattisā*, AMg. *tāvattisaga*, JM. *°ya* (§ 438); *cōttisam* (34; Ovav.; Samav. 100); *pañattisam* (35; Vivāhap. 200); *chattisam*, *°sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.), *aṭṭhattisam* (Kappas.) and *aṭṭhattisam* (Erz.).—40 *cattālisam* (Kappas.; Vivāhap. 199; Erz.) and *cattālisā* (Vivāhap. 82), *cāyālisam* (Erz.) and contracted *cālisa* in JM. *cālisaśasā* = *catvārimśatsāhasrya* (Erz. 10,35) and independently in A. (Piṅgala 1,153. 155), a form, which in AMg. JM. A. appears almost always, when other numerals enter before it, as A. *iālisa* (41; Piṅgala 1,125), AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42; Vivāhap. 158; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Thāṇ. § 262; Erz.); *teālīsā* (43; Hc. 2,174); JM. *teyālisam* (Erz.); AMg. *caūyālisam* and *cojālisam*, *cojālisā* (44; Samav. 108. 109; Vivāhap. 218; Paṇṇav. 105 f.). A. *caūālisa* (Piṅgala 1,90 [GOLDSCHMIDT *pa[ñcatālīsā]* J. 97) and *coālisa* (2,238); AMg. *pañayālisā* (Paṇṇav. 55), *pañayālisam* (45; Vivāhap. 158; Samav. 109; Ovav.); for A. *pacatālisa* (Piṅgala 1,93. 95) we should read *pacāālisaḥi*; AMg. *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.); AMg. *siyālisam* (47; Vivāhap. 653)²; AMg. JM. *adhayālisam*, A. *adhāālisa* (48; § 442), but AMg. also *aṭṭhacattālisam* (Vivāhap. 372); AMg. *ekkūṇapaṇṇa* (49; Jiv. 62). There appears in verses in AMg. even the abridged form *cālī* (Uvās. § 277,6), an in AMg. JM. *cattā* (Uvās. § 277,6; Erz.), also in compounds with other numerals, as JM. *bicatta* (Erz.) and as *cāla* in AMg. *igayāla* (text *igu*³; Vivāhap. 199); JM. *bāyāla* (42; Erz.); A. *beāla* (Piṅgala 1,95); AMg. *pañayāla* (45; Samav. 109); *pañayālasaśasā* (4,500,000; Uttar. 1034); AMg. *adhayāla* (48; Samav. 210; Paṇṇav. 99 [*ada*°]; Vivāhap. 290 [*ada*°]).—50 *pañṇāsam*, *pañṇāsā*, *pañṇā* in the rest of fifties *°pañṇam*, *°vaṇṇam*

(§ 273). The shortened forms are derived probably from **pañcāśat*, **pañcāśat*, **pañcāśat*, **pañcat* (§ 81.148).

1. This citation is valid for the entire paragraph, as well as for the following ones. The assumptions of JACOBI are based partly on unprinted sources, and hence they cannot generally be checked by me.—2. Cf. *sayārī* § 446,

§ 446. 60 AMg. *saṭṭhiṃ* (Samav. 118. 119), in compound *saṭṭhiḥ*: *saṭṭhitanta* (Vivāhap. 149; Ovav.); JM. *saṭṭhiṃ*, *saṭṭhi* (Erz.); Ś. *chaṭṭhiṃ* (acc.; Mṛcch. 54,16), probably with the majority of MSS. and editions to be read as *saṭṭhiṃ*; A. *saṭṭhi* (Piṅgala 1,105; in composition 1,61). In compounds with other numerals in AMg. JM. °*saṭṭhiṃ* alternates with °*vaṭṭhiṃ* and °*aṭṭhiṃ* (§ 265): *egūṇasaṭṭhiṃ* and *aṭṭhaṭṭhiṃ* (59), *igasaṭṭhiṃ* and *egatṭhiṃ*; *bāsaṭṭhiṃ* and *bāvaṭṭhiṃ*; *tesaṭṭhiṃ* and *tevaṭṭhiṃ*; *caṭṭsaṭṭhiṃ* and *cosaṭṭhi* (Vivāhap. 82) and *caṭṭvaṭṭhiṃ*; *pañasaṭṭhiṃ* and *pañnaṭṭhiṃ* (Kappas.); *chāvaṭṭhiṃ*, *sattasaṭṭhiṃ*, *adhasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṃ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,426; Samav. 118—126; Erz.). — 70 AMg. JM. *sattariṃ* and *sattariṃ*, JM. also °*sayārī*°, *sayārī* (Samav. 127. 128; Prabandhac. 279,12; Erz.). On the *r* see § 245. In combination with other numerals °*sattariṃ* alternates with °*hattariṃ*, °*vattariṃ* with °*attariṃ*; AMg. *egūṇasattariṃ* with *aṭṭnasattariṃ* (69; § 444), °*ekkasattariṃ* (Samav.; text *eka*°); *bāvattariṃ*, JM. also *bisattariṃ*; *tevattariṃ*; *covattariṃ*, JM. *caṭṭhattariṃ*; AMg. *pañcāhattariṃ* (instr.; Kappas. § 2), *pañnasattariṃ* (so Samav. thrice; read °*riṃ*), JM. *pañnasayārī* (Prabandhac. 279,12); *chāvattariṃ*; *sattahattariṃ*; *aṭṭahattariṃ*, JM. *aṭṭhattariṃ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,426; 2,248; Samav. 126—135; Erz.). In A. is found *ehattari* (71; Piṅgala 1,95. 97. 100) and *chāhattari* (76; text *che*°; 2, 238). — 80 AMg. *asiṃ*, JM. *asiṃ*, *asiṃ* (Samav. 137; Vivāhap. 94. 95; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇāsiṃ* (79); JM. °*ekkāsiṃ*; AMg. *bāsiṃ*; AMg. *tesiṃ*, ins. also *tejāsī* (Samav.), JM. *tesiṃ*; AMg. *caūrāsiṃ*, *corāsiṃ*, *corāsiṃ*, JM. *caūrāsiṃ*, *culāsiṃ*; AMg. *pañcāsiṃ*, *chaṭṭāsiṃ*, *sattāsiṃ*, *aṭṭhāsiṃ* (Samav. 136—145; Kappas.; Erz.). In A. are found *asi* (80), *beṭsi* (82), *aṭṭhāsi* (88) (Piṅgala 1,81.98; 2,238). — 90 AMg. *naṭṭhiṃ*, JM. *naṭṭhiṃ* (Samav.147; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇanaṭṭhiṃ* (89); °*ekkānaṭṭhiṃ* (Samav.; text *eka*°), *bā*°, *te*°, *caṭṭ*°, *pañcā*°, *chaṭṭanaṭṭhiṃ* and *chaṭṭnaṭṭhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 82), *sattānaṭṭhiṃ*, *aṭṭhā*°; JM. *bānaṭṭhiṃ*, *te*°, *pañcā*° and *pañcā*°, *channaṭṭhiṃ* (Samav. 146—153; Erz.). In A. is found *channaṭṭhiṃ* (96; Piṅgala 1,95).

§ 447. The following examples show flexion and construction of numerals for 19—99: AMg.: nom. *tevisāṃ tiṭṭhakarā* = *trayaviṃśatis tirthakarāḥ* (Samav. 66); *bāyālīsāṃ sumiṇā tīsāṃ mahāsumiṇā bāvattariṃ savvasumiṇā* = *dvācatvāriṃśat svapnās trīṃśan mahāsvapnā dvāsaptaśiḥ sarvasvapnāḥ* (Vivāhap. 951 [where °*vi*°]; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *tāyattīsā logapālā* = *trayastrīṃśal lokapālāḥ* (Thāṇ. 125).—Acc. *viśāṃ vāsāṃ* = *viṃśatiṃ varjāṇi* (Uvās. § 89. 124. 266); *pañṇāsāṃ joṇaṇasahasāṃ* = *pañcāśataṃ pajanasahasāṇi* (Thāṇ. 266); *pañcāṇāsiṃ* (text °*jam*) *joṇaṇasahasāṃ* = *pañcāṇavatiṃ joṇasahasāṇi* (Thāṇ. 261).—Ins. *pañcāhattariṃ vāsehiṃ*...*ekka-vīsāe tiṭṭhayaṇehiṃ*...*tevisāe tiṭṭhayaṇehiṃ* = *pañcasaptatyā varjāṇi*...*ekaviṃśatyā tirthakaraiḥ*; *teṭtīsāe sattāvaṇnāe dantisahashehiṃ* = *trayastrīṃśatā, saptapañcāśatā dantisahasraiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 24. 26).—Gen. *eesiṃ tīsāe mahāsumiṇāṇaṃ* = *eteśāṃ trīṃśato mahāsvapnāṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 951; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *batṭīsāe* °*sayāsāhasiṇaṃ caūrāsiṃ* [so to be read] *sāmāṇi yasāhasiṇaṃ tāyattīsāe tāyattisagāṇaṃ caṭṭhaṇaṃ logapālāṇaṃ* = *dvātrīṃśatāḥ °śatasahasrīṇāṃ caturaśītyāḥ sāmānikasahasrīṇāṃ trayastrīṃśatas trayastrīṃśakāṇāṃ caturṇāṃ lokapālāṇaṃ* (Kappas. § 14; cf. Vivāhap. 211).—Loc. *tīsāe nirayāvāsasahasasasu* = *trīṃśati nirayāvāsasahasasasu* (Vivāhap. 83 ff.); *egavīsāe savalesu bāvisāe paṇisahe* (metrically for °*hesu*) = *ekaviṃśatyāṃ śabaleṣu dvāviṃśatyāṃ °pari-*

saheṣu (Uttar. 907).—JM. *pañcanaūi rāṇam* and *rājāṇo* (Kk. 263, 11. 17). Seldom are these numerals inflected in the plural. According to C. 1,6, as in the case of numerals for 2—19 (§ 436), the gen. is formed in *-ṇam*: *vīsaṇam*, *tīsaṇam*. AMg. *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāvādūyasajāim* = *trīṇi trayakṣaṣṭāni prāvādūkasatāni* (Sūyag. 778); *paṇuvīsāhi ya bhāvaṇāhiṇ* = *pañcaviṃśatyā ca bhāvaṇābhīḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 25); *pañcahiṇ chatṭisehiṇ anagārasaehiṇ* = *pañcabhiḥ ṣaṭtrimśair anagārasatāiḥ* (Kappas. § 182); JM. *tiṇham tevaṭṭhāṇam naṇarasajāṇam* = *trayāṇām trayakṣaṣṭānām nagarasaṭānām* (Erz. 28, 21)¹; M. *caṭṭissaṭṭhiṣu suttisū* = *catuṣṣaṣṭyām śukṭisū* (Karp. 72, 6). This flexion is usual in A.: *eāsehiḥ bāisehiḥ* (Piṅgala 1, 58. 69); *chahaviṣāi* (P. 1, 97); *sattāisār* (P. 1, 60); *paeāṭṭisahiḥ* (P. 1, 93. 95; see § 445); *chattariū* (acc.), *chattarihiṇ* (P. 1, 95. 100). Cf. also § 448.

1. The three examples *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāḥ* *pañcahiṇ chatṭisehiṇ* *apa tiṇham tevaṭṭhāṇam* might have formed a single paragraph. They correspond to the "wholly illogical construction" of the numerals in the Vedic language in WHITNEY¹ § 480, note; KIELHORN § 203. I owe the correct explanation to KIELHORN, who also is of the opinion, that at Erz. 28, 21 with the v.l. we should read **ṇhā* instead of **ṇhi*.

§ 448. 100 is M. *saa* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *sayā* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Erz.), S. *sada* (Mṛcch. 6, 6; 151, 22; Vikr. 11, 4), Mg. *śada* (Mṛcch. 12, 5; 116, 8; 122, 20; Venis. 33, 4). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. The rest of the hundreds are formed of which the units enter before the plural of 100: AMg. *do sajāim* (200), *tiṇṇi sajāim* (300), *cattāri sajāim* (400) (Samav. 157. 158); *pañca sayā* (500; Kappas. § 142), *cha sayāim* (600), also *cha sayā* (Samav. 159) and *chassayā* (Kappas. § 166); A. *caṭṭisaa* (400; Piṅgala 1, 81). Substantive neuter is *sattasaa* (H.).—1000 is M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sahassa* (G. H. R.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380, 12; Mṛcch. 72, 22; Prab. 4, 4. 5), Mg. *śahasā* (Lalitav. 566, 10; Venis. 33, 3; 34, 21; 35, 8). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. In AMg. one says also *dasa sajāim* (Samav. 162) or *dasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), as for 1100 *e'kkārasa sajāim* (Samav. 163) or *e'kkārasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1200 *bārasa sayā*, for 1400 *caṭṭdasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1721 *sattarasa ekkavise joyāṇasae* (1721 *yojanas*; acc.; Vivāhap. 198). The rest of thousands are formed like the corresponding hundreds: AMg. *do sahasāim* (Samav. 163), acc. *duve sahasse* (Sūyag. 940); *tiṇṇi, cattāri, cha, dasa sahasāim* (Samav. 163-165); *aṇṇaṭṭhiṇ sahasā* (59000; Kappas. § 136); JM. *puttāṇam saṭṭhi sahasā* (60000; Sagara 1, 13) and *saṭṭhiṇ pi tuha suya-sahasā* (7, 7; cf. 10, 4; 11, 5), gen. *saṭṭhiṇe puttasaahasāṇam* (8, 5); also with *sāhassi* = *sāhasrī*, as AMg. *coddasa samaṇasāhassio, chatṭisām ajjīyāsāhassio, tiṇṇi sa jasāhassio* etc. (Kappas. § 134—137; cf. § 161 ff.; Vivāhap. 287). In the combination of hundreds and thousands with units the units are placed first, and are combined in a compound: *aṭṭhasa yam* = 108 (Vivāhap. 831; Kappas.; Ovav.); *aṭṭhasahasam* = 1008 (Ovav.). The tens are expressed behind it in the following manner: *tisam ca sahasāim doṇṇi ya aṇṇapaṇṇe joyāṇasae* = 30249 *yojanas* (Vivāhap. 158); *sattarasa e'kkavise joyāṇasae* = 1721 y.; *cattāri tise joyāṇasae* = 430 y.; *dasa bāvise jo* = 1022 y.; *cattāri caṭṭvise jo* = 424 y., *satta tevise jo* = 723 y., *tiṇṇi igayāle jo* = 1341 y., *doṇṇi joyāṇasahasāim doṇṇi ya chalasie jo* = 2286 y. (Vivāhap. 198. 199), *siyāṭṭisam joyāṇasahasāim doṇṇi ya tevaṭṭhe joyāṇasae* = 47 263 y. (Vivāhap. 653), also with *uttara*, as *tiṇṇi joyāṇasahasāim doṇṇi ya battisuttare jo* = 3232 y° (Vivāhap. 198); *bāvaṇṇuttaram, adhayaṭṭisuttaram, cattāṭṭisuttaram, aṭṭhaṭṭisuttaram, chatṭisuttaram, aṭṭhāvīsuttaram joyāṇasayasahasam* = 100052, 100048, 100044, 100038, 100036, 100028 y. (Jiv. 243), and with *ca*, as *chakkoḍisae paṇavaṇṇam ca koḍio* = 655 *koṭi* (Vivāhap. 200). Here the acc. occurs throughout. 100,000 is PG. *satasahassa* (6, 11; 7, 42. 48), AMg. *egam sayasahasam* (Samav. 165) or *egā sayasāhassi* (Kappas. § 136); cf. Ś. *suvaṇṇasadasāhassio* = *suvaṇṇasatasāhasirikaḥ*

(Mṛcch. 58,4); AMg. JM. also *lakḥam* = *lakṣam* (Kappas. § 187; KI. 12; Erz.), Mg. *laṣkam* (Lalitav. 566,11).—1,000,000 = AMg. *dasasayasa-hassāim* (Samav. 166), Mg. *daha* (falsely for *daśa*) *laṣkāim* (Lalitav. 566, 11).—10,000,000 *koḍi* = *koṭiḥ* (Samav. 167; Erz.). In AMg. *koḍākoḍi*, *paliovamā*, *sāgarovamā*, *sāgarovamākoḍākoḍi* etc. designate still higher numbers (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.).

§ 449. The ordinals, of which the feminine ends in -ā, when not noted below, are: 1. *paḍhama*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma* (§ 104. 221). AMg. also *paḍhamilla* (Vivāhap. 108. 177. 380) and *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624), with the suffix-illa (§ 595), A. also *pahilla*, femin. *pahilī* (Ki. 5,99; Prabandhac. 62,5; 157,3 [text here *pāilī*]), as in the new Indian dialects (BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,142; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 118. 400. 401). The word can be derived from **prathara* neither with BEAMES, nor from AMg. *paḍhamilla*, **paḍhailla* with HOERNLE, but it presupposes one **prathila*.—2. M. *duia*, *biia*, *bia*, *biijja*; JM *duiya*, AMg. JM. *biija*, *biya*; A. *bia*; AMg. also *ducca*, *dōcca*; Ś. Mg. *dudia*, in verses also *dudīa* (§ 82. 91. 165. 300).—3. M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taīya*; Ś. *tadia*; AMg. also *tacca*; A. *tīa*, *taījī* (fem.) (§ 82. 91. 165. 300). KI. 2,36 knows also *tiijja*, which occurs in AMg. *addhāijja* (§ 450).—4. M. AMg. JM. A. *caūttha* (Hc. 1,171; 2,33; H. R.; Sūyag. 606; Āyār. p. 132 ff.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Piṅgala 1,105), according to Hc. 2,33 also *caūtṭha*; M. also *cōttha* (§ 166; Hc. 1,171; H.); Ś. Mg. *caduttha* (Mṛcch. 69,21. 22 [cf. v. 1.]; Mg. 169,7; text everywhere *caū*), D. *caūttha* (Mṛcch. 100,6), Ś. also *cadutṭha* (Śak. 44,5). The femin. is M. JM. *caūtthī*, *cōtthī* (Hc. 1,171; Erz. p. XLII), AMg. *caūtthā* (Āyār. p. 132 ff.). In *addhutṭha* (3¹/₂; § 450) there is one **tuṭṭha* = **turtha* (cf. *turya*, *turiya*).—5. *pañcama* occurs in all the dialects (H.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,5,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,7; A. Piṅgala 1,59). The feminine ends in -ī, in AMg. in -ā too (Āyār. p. 132 ff.).—6. in all the dialects *chaṭṭha*, femin. -ī (Vr. 2,41; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; Ki. 2,46; H.; Sūyag. 606,686; Vivāhap. 167; Kappas.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,22. 23; Śak. 40,9; D. Mṛcch. 100,7. 8; A. Piṅgala 1,50), in AMg. femin. also *chaṭṭhā* (Āyār 2,1,11,9) by form-association with the preceding numbers. For Mg. *saṭṭha* [sic!] Prab. 28,16, as also the ed. P.31,4 has, and for which at 73,1 in the ed. Bomb. stands *saṭṭha* and at 36,13 the ed. M. reads *saṭṭa*, is to be corrected as *chaṭṭha*. By *pañcabbhahia* = *pañcābhyadhika* the numeral is expressed in M. in Śak. 120,7.—7. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *sattama* (H.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,11. 12; Piṅgala 1,59).—8. AMg. JM. Ś. D. *aṭṭhama* (Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,6).—9. AMg. JM *navama* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), D. *ṇavama* (Mṛcch. 100,8).—10. M. AMg. JM. *dasama* (R.; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *dasamī* (Kappas.).—The ordinals 11.—19. are derived from the corresponding cardinals with the ending -ma, feminine -mī. Hitherto they have been found in the texts in AMg. JM. only. Thus: 11. AMg. *ekkārasama* (Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Kappas.).—12. AMg. JM. *bārasama* (Sūyag. 699; Vivāhap. 167; Erz.), AMg. also *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699. 758).—13. AMg. *terasama* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Vivāhap. 167; Sūyag. 695; Kappas.).—14. *caūdasama* (Sūyag. 758) and *cōddasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—15. *pañnarasama* (Vivāhap. 168).—16. *soḷasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—18. AMg. *aṭṭhārasama* (Vivāhap. 167; Nāyādh. 1450. 1451) and *adhārasama* (Vivāhap. 1429; Nāyādh. 1404).—19. *egūṇavisama* (Nāyādh. § 11), and *aeḡūṇavisāima* (Vivāhap. 1606). On *khoḍasama* (16.) see § 265.—20. *visaīma* or *visa*; 30. *tisaīma* or *tisa*; 40. *cattālisaīma*; 49. *aūṇāpanna*; 55. *pañnapannaīma* (Kappas.); 72. *bāvattara*, 80. *asiīma*; 97. *sattānaūya*. In the case of other numbers sometimes the long forms and sometimes the short forms

are used, as 23. JM. *tevīsāima* (T.4,2); 24. AMg. *caivīsāima* (Vivāhap.167) and *caivisa* (Thān. 31); 84. *cairāsīm*, 85. *pañcāsīma* (Kappas.). Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,426.—*kati* is inflected: AMg. JM. A. *kaī* (Vivāhap. 289.301.413 f. 416.855.878 ff.; Erz. 17,21; Hc. 4,376,1.420,3); ins. AMg. *kaihim* (Paṇṇav. 662; Vivāhap. 74.332); gen. *kaiṇham* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. JM. *kaisu* (Paṇṇav. 521. 530; Vivāhap. 736 f. 1536; Erz. 66,16).

§ 450. As the expression of $1\frac{1}{2}$ enters in AMg. *addha* or *addha* = *ardha*, as in Skt., before the next higher ordinal (§ 291): *addhāijja* from *addha* + **tijja*, **tijja*, **tijja* = *ardhatīya* (§ 449) ($2\frac{1}{2}$; Samav. 157; Jiv. 268 270. 660. 917. 982; Nāyādh. 347; Paṇṇav. 51. 55. 81. 611 f.; Vivāhap. 199. 202. 734. 1786; Nandis. 198. 200; Kappas.); *addhuttha* from *ardha* + **turtha* = *ardhacaturtha* ($3\frac{1}{2}$; Kappas.); *addhatthama* = *ardhāṣṭama* ($7\frac{1}{2}$; Āyār.2,15,6[so to be read]; Kappas.; Ovav.); *addhanavama* ($8\frac{1}{2}$; Kappas.); *addhachattihim bhikkhāsāhim* (550); *addhāijjāim* °*sayāim* (250), *addhutthāim* °*sayāim* (350), *addhapañcamāim* °*sayāim* (450) (Samav. 156—158); *addhachattihāim* °*yojanāim* ($5\frac{1}{2}$ yojanas; Jiv. 231). $1\frac{1}{2}$, on the contrary, is expressed by *divaddha* (Vivāhap. 137. 1123; Samav. 157; Jiv. 149; Paṇṇav. 685 f. 692. 698), which is neither = *adhyardha*¹, nor, as the position of the members of the compound shows, = *dvitīya* + *ardha*², but is = *dvikārdha* (§ 230). So also: *divaddham* °*sayam* (150; Samav. 157).

I. WEBER, Bhag. 1,398. 409. 411; ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 41.—2. CHILDERS S.V.; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,237 f.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.

§ 451. I × is in AMg. *sāim* = *sakrt* (§ 181), in JM. *ēkkavāram* = *ekavāram* (Kk. 266,25; 274,21) and *ēkkasim* (Sagara 4,4), which in Hc. 2, 162 is spelt as *ēkkasi* and *ēkkasiam* and is equated as = *ekadā*. For the purpose of numeration AMg. uses *khutto* = *kṛtvah* (§ 206); *dukkhutto*, *dukhutto* = *dvikṛtvah* (Thān. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6); *tikhutto*, *tikkhutto* = *trikṛtvah* (Thān. 5. 11. 17. 41. 60. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6; 2,15,20; Antag. 5. 11. 17. 41. 60; Vivāhap. 12. 156. 161 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.); *sattakkhutto*, °*kh*° (Nāyādh. 910. 925. 941; Jiv. 260. 621), *tisattakkhutto* = *trisaptakṛtvah* (Ovav. § 136; Vivāhap. 230 [°*khu*°]. 411); *anegasayasahasakkhutto* = *aneka-satasahasakṛtvah* (Vivāhap. 145. 1285); *anantakkhutto* (Jiv. 308; Vivāhap. 177. 414. 416. 418); *evaikkhutto* = °*evatikṛtvah* (Kappas.). In M. the word is spelt as *huttam*: *saahuttam*, *sahassahuttam* (Hc. 2,158; Dhvanyāloka 52,6). For 'for the second time' AMg. uses *dōccam*, *duccam* (Āyār. 2,15,21; Vivāhap. 166. 234. 235; Ovav. § 85; Uvās.; Kappas.), 'for the third time' is *taccam* (Vivāhap. 166. 234. 235; Uvās.). — As the expression of times Pkt., like Skt., uses °*viha* = °*vidha*, in the case of adjectives and °*hā* = °*dhā* in the case of adverbs: AMg. *duviha*, *tiviha*, *caiviviha*, *pañcaviha*, *chavviha*, *sattaviha*, *aṭṭhaviha*, *navaviha*, *dasaviha* (Uttar. 885—990), *duvālasaviha* (Jiv. 44; Vivāhap. 159), *soḷasaviha* (Uttar. 971; Thān. 593 [°*dhā*]), *aṭṭhāvī-saviha* (Uttar. 877), *battisāvīha* (Vivāhap. 234); JŚ. *tiviha* (Kattig. 402, 360) etc.; AMg. *duhā*, *pañcāhā*, *dasahā* (Uttar. 1046. 889. 704), *duhā*, *tihā*, *caihā*, *pañcāhā*, *chahā*, *sattahā*, *aṭṭhahā*, *navahā*, *dasahā*, *saṁkhējjahā*, *asaṁkhējjahā*, *anantahā* (Vivāhap. 997—1012). — AMg. JM. *egao* (Vivāhap. 277. 282. 950; Āv. 46,24) is = *ekataḥ*, the more frequent *egajao* (Vivāhap. 137—141. 187. 510. 513. 970. 983. 996 ff. 1430. 1434) = °*ekakataḥ*; *duhao* see § 436. — As in Skt., in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, one says *duga* (Thān. 568. 569; Erz.; Kattig. 403,371), *duja* (Uttar. 903) = *dvika*; AMg. JM. *tija* = *trika* (Uttar. 902; Erz.); *chakka* = *ṣaṭka* (Uttar. 904) etc.; likewise JM. *sahassaso* = *sahasraṣaḥ* (Sagar. 6,5); Ś. *aneaso*, AMg. °*negaso* = *anekaṣaḥ* (§ 435).

E. THE VERB.

§ 452. In Pkt. the verb has undergone far greater loss than the noun has. As in the case of nouns (§ 355), the *a*-stems prevail on phonetic grounds, so that the second conjugation, with comparatively a fewer exceptions, has followed the analogy of the first one. Thereby the character of the class has almost been effaced. The *ātmanepada* is frequent in all the dialects in the participles only; otherwise it is somewhat usable only in M. AMg. JM. JŚ., but it is restricted completely to the sing. and the third person plural of the present indicative in Ś., in Mg. almost exclusively to the first person sing. ind. present. The cases found in Ś. mostly are formular expressions (§ 457). Many verbs, that in Sanskrit are conjugated in the *ātmanepada* only, have in Pkt. the endings of the *parasmaip.*, as mostly in the passive too. Further *āsi*, *āsi*=*āsit*, that are used as the sing. of the first, second and third persons and the plur. of the third person of the imperfect, have been retained in M. AMg. JM. Ś., in addition to *abhavi* in AMg. (§ 515). Remnant of the strong and *s*-aorists, including stray *ātmanepada* forms in frequent use (§ 517), are found in AMg. and in grammarians (§ 516), from the perfect in AMg. only (§ 518); the conditional has completely disappeared. All these tenses are expressed by means of participles with the auxiliary verb *as* or *bhū* or only with the past passive participle. The pluperfect too is formed in the same manner (519). Besides we find the simple future in the *parasmaip.*, *ātmanep.* and passive, from the verbal nouns, the infinitive, in the passive too (§ 580), the absolutive, the present participle of the *parasmaipada*, the *ātmanepada* and passive, the past passive participle and the particip. *necessitatis*, of the moods, the indicative, the optative, (the precative too) and the imperative. Of the secondary verbal forms, like Skt., Pkt. has the causative, the desiderative of the intensive and the numerous denominatives. The dual is completely lost. Except those in A., the endings generally correspond to those of Skt. Deviations are shown in the following paragraphs. Characteristic is the extension of the present stem, from which all the tenses, the verbal nouns and the passive can be formed. It serves also for nominal derivation.

a) PRESENT.

1. INDICATIVE OF THE PARASMAIPADAM.

453. The flexion shows the paradigma of the first conjugation *vaṭṭa-* = *varta-*, in Skt. in *ātmanepada* only.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭāmi</i>	<i>vaṭṭāmo</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i>	<i>vaṭṭaha</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭadha</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭatha</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭai</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭadi</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭati</i>	<i>vaṭṭanti</i>

In A. the common flexion is :—

1. <i>vaṭṭāñ</i>	<i>vaṭṭahū</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭahi</i>	<i>vaṭṭahu</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭai</i>	<i>vaṭṭahi</i>

§ 454. The grammarians (Vr. 7,30; Hc. 3,154; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) mention also *-āmi*, beside *-āmi*, that is the common ending in all the

dialects, excluding A.: *jāpami* = *jānāmi*; *lihami* = *likhāmi*; *sahami* = *sahe*; *hasami* = *hasāmi*. It is attested in A. too: *kaddhami* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4,385); *pāvami* = **prāpāmi* = *prāpnomi*; *bhāmami* = *bhramāmi* (Vikr. 71, 7, 8); *bhaṇami* = *bhaṇāmi* (Piṅgala 1, 153). The vowel has been regulated according to that of the second and third persons. In some cases, as in the first person plur. (§ 455), *i* has entered for *a*: M. *jānīmi* = *jānāmi* (H. 902), *anunijjīmi* = *anunīye* (H. 930); A. *pucchīmi* = *pricchāmi*, *karīmi* = **karāmi* = *karomi* (Vikr. 65,3; 71,9). Forms in *-mhi* and *-mmi*, sometimes found in the MSS. and editions¹, are false², as *nivedēmmhi* for *nivedemi* (Nāg. 20,3; cf. 20,10), *pasādēmmhi* for *pasādemi* (Nāg. 44,8), *gacchammhi*, *gacchammhi* for *gacchāmi* (Mālav. 5,5; Vṛṣabh. 20,17).—In A. the usual ending is *-āy*: *kaddhāy* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4,385), *kijjāy* = *kriye* in the sense of *karisyāmi* (Hc. 4,385; 445,3); *jāṇāy* = *jānāmi* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *joiijjāy* = *vikolke*, *dekkhāy* = *drakṣyāmi*, *jhiijjāy* = *kṣīye* (Hc. 4,356. 357,4. 425); *pāvāy* = *prāpnomi*, *pakāvāy* = **pakavāpayāmi* = *pacāmi*, *jivāy* = *jivāmi*, *cajāy* (text *tajāy*) = *tyājāmi* (Piṅgala 1,104^a; 2,64); *piāvāy* (text *piyāvāy*) = **piḍāpayāmi* = *pāyayāmi* (Prabandhac. 70,11. 13). According to the phonetic laws of A., *jāṇāy* has to be traced to **jānakam* only (§ 352). The verbal forms with infixed *ak*, such as *pacatāki*, *jalpataki*, *svapitaki*, *paṭhataki*, *addhaki*, *ehaki*, mentioned by the grammarians, in addition to the first pers. sing. *yāmaki* = *yāmi*, discovered by AUFRECHT in Kauṣītakiabrāhmaṇa 27,1³, are to be compared with **jānakam*. It is to be admitted that, as in the future (§ 520), the ending of the subsidiary tenses has taken the place that of the principal tenses⁴.

1. BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. p. 123; WEBER on Hāla 417.—2. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 47. AMg. *apūsāsāmi* for **apūsāsāmi* = *anusāmi* Uttar. 790 is hardly correct.—3. ZDMG. 34, 175f.—4. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 seeks in it the ending of the imperative.

§ 455. In the 2. sing. indic. A. has beside the ending *-si* also *-hi* (§ 264): *marahi* = **marasi* = *mriyase*, *ruahi* = Vedic *ruvasi* = *rodiṣi*, *lahahi* = *labhase*, *viśurahi* = *khidyase*, *nīsarahi* = *nīśarasi* (Hc. 4,368. 383,1. 422, 2. 439,4). In Mg. the ending is naturally *-ṣi*: *yāṣi*, *dhāvāṣi*, *palāṣi*, *malhiṣi*, *gaṣāṣi* (Mṛcch. 9,23.24;10,3).—In the 3. sing. indic. in verses AMg. and A. do not rarely contract the ending *-ai* to *-e* (§ 166); in Ś. Mg. Dh. the ending is *-di*, in P. CP. *-ti*: M. AMg. JM. *vattāi*, but JŚ. Ś. *vattādi* (§ 289); M. *vaddhāi* = *vaddhate*, but Ś. *vaddhadi* (§ 291); Mg. *cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); Dh. *vajjādi* = *vrajati* (Mṛcch. 30,10); P. *lapati*, *gacchati* (Hc. 4,319).—The 1. plur. indic., in all the dialects, excluding A., ends in *-mo*, in verses in *-mu* and *-ma* too, the ending of the subsidiary tense (Vr. 7,4; Hc. 3,144. 167; Kī. 4,7; Mk. fol. 51); *hasāmo*, *hasāmu*, *hasāma*. Except in PG. *vitārāma* (5,7), M. future *dacchāma* = *drakṣyāmaḥ* (R. 3,50) and in *-mha* = *smāḥ* (§ 498), *-ma* has, up to this time, been seen merely as v. l.¹ and for prose it is not correct. M. *tajjāmo*, *vaccāmo*, *ramāmo* (H. 267. 590. 888), *kāmemo* = *kāmayāmaḥ* (H. 417), in the passive *musijjāmo* = *musiyāmahe* (H. 335); AMg. *vaddhāmo* = *vaddhāmahe* (Kappas. § 91. 106), *jivāmo* (Nāyādb. § 137), *āciṭṭhāmo* = *ātiṣṭhāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *uvāpemo* = *upanayāmaḥ*, *āhāremo* = *āhārayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *icchāmu* (Uttar. 376), *accemu* beside *accimo* = *aracayāmaḥ*, *arcāmaḥ* (Uttar. 368. 369), in the future *dāhāmu* = *dāsyāmaḥ* (Uttar. 355. 358), also in the aor. *vucchāmu* = *avātsma* (Uttar. 410); JM. *tālemo* = *tādayāmaḥ* (Dvār. 497,1), *peccāmo* = *prekṣāmahe* (Av. 33,15), *vaccāmo* = *vrajāmaḥ* (Kk. 263,16; 272,18), *pajjosavemo* (Kk. 271,7); Ś. *pavisāmo* = *praviśāmaḥ* (Śak. 92,1), *jāṇāmo* = *jānāmaḥ* (§ 510), *sumarāmo* = *smarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 113,9), *uvacarāmo* = *upacarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 232,2; text *tuvarāma*; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. 1866 p. 91,17),

vaḍḍhāmo = *vardhāmahe* (Mallikām. 153,10; Mahāv. 17,11; [so to be read; cf. ed. Bomb. 38,3]), *cintemo* = *cintayāmaḥ* (Mahāv. 134,11), *vandāmo* = *vandāmahe*, *uvaharāmo* = *upaharāmaḥ* (Pārvatīp. 27,11; 29,13); D. *bōllāmo* (Mṛcch. 105,16). The forms in *-mha*, which are sometimes found in the text, as *ciṭṭhamha* (Ratn. 315,1), *viṇṇavēṃha*, *saṃpādeṃha*, *pāreṃha*, *karēṃha* (Śak. 27,7; 53,5; 76,60; 80,5), are false. They belong to the imperative (§ 470). In M. JM. and in verses in AMg. the post tonic syllable *ā* often becomes *i*, so that the ending, then, is *-imo* (§ 108); M. *jaṃpimo* = *jālpāmaḥ* (H. 651); M. JM. *ṇamimo* = *nāmāmaḥ* (G. 35. 969; Kk. 277,30); M. JM. *bhaṇimo* = *bhaṇāmaḥ* (Hc. 3,155; H.; Prabandhac. 100,8; Kk. 266,14) beside *bhaṇāmo* (H.); M. AMg. *vandimo* = *vāndāmahe* (H. 659; Nandis. 81); *pacimo* = *pācāmaḥ* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *savimo* = *sāpāmaḥ* (G. 240); M. *sahimo* = *sāhāmahe* in *visahimo* (H. 376); *hasimo* = *hāsāmaḥ* (Bh. 7,31). Likewise M. *gamimo* = **gāmāmaḥ* (H. 892), *jāṇimo*, *ṇa āṇimo* = **jānāmaḥ*, *na *jānāmaḥ* (H.), *bharimo* = **bhārāmaḥ* and *saṃbharimo* (we remember; H. s. v. *smar*; G. 219), *ālakkhimo* = *ālaksāmahe* (G. 188), and on its analogy: *pucchimo* = *pṛcchāmaḥ* (H. 453), *lihimō* = *likhāmaḥ* (H. 244), *suṇimo* = **sruṇāmaḥ* (H. 518, falsely also in Ś. Bālar. 101,5). The grammarians (Vr. 7,4. 31; Hc. 3,155; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) know also the forms in *-āmu*, *-āma*, *-imu*, *-ima*; *paḍhamu*, *paḍhama*, *pacimu*, *bhaṇamu*, *bhaṇama*, *bhaṇimu*, *bhaṇima*, *sahamu*, *sahama*, *sahimu*, *hasamu*, *hasama*, *hasimu*, *hasima*.—In A. the usual ending is *-hū*: *lahahū* = *labhāmahe*, *cadāhū* = *āroḥāmaḥ*, *marāhū* = *mriyāmahe* (Hc. 4,386. 439,1). The abl. plur. of the *a*-stems has the same ending, where it would be derived from *-bhyām* (§ 369). Here the origin is completely obscure². Beside this there is found *lahimu* too (Hc. 4,386).

1. Particularly in Ś., as *vaṣṭāma* Prab. 68,8, for which the ed. P. p. 69^a reads *vasaṣṭma*, the ed. M. p. 84,15, *vasaṣṭma*, the ed. Bomb. 137,7, *ahivaṣṭakmo*. One emends *vaṣṭāmo* or *vaṣāmo*; *viraema* = *viracayāmaḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 49,17; *tvarāma* (Mālatīm. 232,2 etc.).—2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 335.

§ 456. The ending of the 2. plur. in M. JM. AMg. is *-ha*, in Ś. Mg. *Ā. -dha*, in A. *-hu* or *-ha*: *ramaha*, *paḍhaha*, *hasaha* (Vr. 7,4); *hasaha*, *vevaha*, (Hc. 3,143); *pacaha*, *saṅkaha* (Ki. 4,6); *hoha* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *ṇa āṇaha* = *na jānītha*, *dēcchiha* = *drakṣyatha* (R. 3,13. 23), *taraha* (you know; H. 897); JM. *jāṇaha* (Kk. 273,44); *kuppaha* = *kupyatha*, *payacchaha* (Erz. 10, 20; 15,36); AMg. *āikkhaha*, *bhāraha*, *pannaveha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4); *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194); *vajaha* = *vadatha* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *ādhāha*, *parijāṇaha*, *agghājaha*, *uvaṇimanteha* (Nāyādh. § 83); Ś. *pēkkhadha* = *prekṣadhve* (Mṛcch. 40,25; Śak. 14,8), *nedha* = *nayatha* (Mṛcch. 161,9)¹; Mg. *pēskadha* (Mṛcch. 157,13; 158,2; 162,6), *pattīādha* = *pratyayadhve* (Mṛcch. 165,9); Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *pucchaha* and *pucchahu* (Hc. 4,364. 422,9), *icchahu* and *icchaha* (Hc. 4,384), *paempaha* = *prajalpatha* (Hc. 4,422,9). Probably **hu* should be read throughout. On the ending *-itthā* see § 517.—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-nti*. M. *muanti* = **mucanti*, *ruanti* = *rudanti*, *hōnti* = *bhavanti*, *dēnti* = *dayante* (Erz. 3,14. 15); AMg. *cayanti* = *tyajanti*, *thananti* = *stananti*, *labhanti* = *labhante* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); Ś. *gacchanti*, *pasīdanti*, *saṃcaranti* (Mṛcch. 8,4; 9,1. 11); Mg. *anpeṣanti* = *anveṣanti*, *pianti* = *pibanti* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 113,21); CP. *ucchallanti*, *nīpatanti* (Hc. 4,326); A. *vihasanti* = *vikasanti*, *karanti* = *kurvanti* (Hc. 4,365; 445,4). In A., however, the common ending is *-hī*, of which the origin is obscure²: *maullīahī* = *mukulayanti*, *anuharahī* = *anuharanti*, *lahahī* = *labhante*, *ṇavahī* = *namanti*, *gajjahī* = *garjante*, *dharahī* = *dharanti*, *karahī* = *kurvanti*, *sahahī* = *sobhante* etc. (Hc. 4,365,1. 367,4. 5. 382). In the

passive *ghēppahi* = *gṛhyante* (Erz. 158,14). The same ending is found in AMg. *acchahim* = *tiṣṭhanti* (Uttar. 667)³ in the verse, and in *ādhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 223. 500. 510) in prose.

1. According to Hc. 4,268. 302 *-ha* too would be permissible in Ś. Mg. Cf. also FISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff. — 2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 337.—3. So to be read with JACOBI, SBE. 45,114, note 2. The edition has in the text and commentary *atthihim*; the commentary explains *atthahi* (sic?) *iti tiṣṭhanti*. Cf. *assāsi* § 461.

2. INDICATIVE OF THE ĀTMANEPADAM.

§ 457. The flexion is :

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭe</i>	is wanting
2. <i>vaṭṭase</i>	is wanting
3. <i>vaṭṭae</i> , JŚ. <i>vaṭṭade</i>	<i>vaṭṭante</i>

Cf. Vr. 7,1. 2. 5; Hc. 3,139. 140. 145; 4,274. 302. 319; Ki. 4,2. 3; Mk. fol. 50. Vr. and Hc. restrict the use of the endings *-se*, *-e* explicitly to the *a*-stems, as is mentioned by Mk. too. According to Hc. 4,274, in Ś. and according to 4,302, in Mg. too, the ending *-de* = *-te* would be permissible with the *a*-stems. The best texts do not attest these. All the MSS., in the example quoted by Hc. from Mg., from Venis. 35,17; 36,3, read *ṣuṇīade* = *ṣṛūyate* and the text has *ṣuṇīadi*. Without doubt by Ś. here, as in other cases (§ 21), is meant JŚ. Vr. 12,17 and Mk. fol. 70 forbid the ātmanepada for Ś. Mg. completely. It is found in isolated forms in verses and in prevalently standing expressions. Examples from the different dialects are: 1. M. *jāṇe* (H. 902), *na āṇe* (R. 3,44; Śak. 55,15); frequently in Ś.: *jāṇe* (Śak. 131,9; Mālav. 66,8; Lalitav. 564,4; Anarghar. 66,5; Uttarak. 22,13; 64,7; Viddhaś. 67,1; 96,1) and *na āṇe*, as we should read throughout with the v. l., in places where sometimes even now there stands in the text *na jāṇe* (Śak. 70,11; 123,14; Vikr. 35,5; Mālav. 36,8; 34,9; Venis. 59,5); in AMg. too (Uttar. 512); M. *maṇṇe* = *manye* (G. H. [delete 546]; R.), in Ś. too (Mṛcch. 22,13; Mallikām. 56,1; 60,7; 74,22; 80,15; 83,5; Anarghar. 61,3; 66,10; Viddhaś. 20,6), and *aṇumaṇṇe* (Śak. 59,11), and in AMg. *manne* (Uttar. 571), in M. also according to the l. class *maṇe* (H. R.; Hc. 2,207), and so is probably also the adverbially used *vaṇe* (Hc. 2,206), originally a l. sing. ātmanep., if it be = *maṇe* (§ 251) or = *vaṇe* (cf. Dhātupāṭha in B.-R. s. v. *van*). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has reconstructed the word in R. 14,43 (ZDMG. 32,103) according to Hc. In Vr. 9,12 *vale* stands. AMg. *rame* (Uttar. 445); Ś. *lahe* = *labhe* (Vikr. 42,7), *icche* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 25,10); Mg. *vāe* = *vāmi* and *vādayāmi*, *gāe* = *gāyāmi* (Mṛcch. 79, 12. 13).—2. M. *maggase*, *jāṇase*, *vijjhase*, *lajjase*, *jaṃpase* (H. 6.181.441.634. 943), *sohase* (G. 316); AMg. *pabbhāsase* = *prabhāsase*, *avabujjhase* = *avabudhyase* (Uttar. 358. 503); AMg. *iścaṣe* = *icchase* (Mṛcch. 123,5; P. *payacchase* = *prayacchase* (Hc. 4,323).—3. M. *taṇuāae*, *padicchae*, *vaccae*, *peccchae*, *dāvae*, *niacchae*, *palambae*, *andolae*, *laggae*, *parisakkae*, *vikupphae* (H. 59.701; 140.169.397.489.507.582.855.951.967), in the passive *tīrae* = *tīryate* (H. 195.801.932), *jujjae* = *yujyate*, *jhijjae* = *ksiyate*, *niṇvārijjae* = *nirvriyate*, *khijjae* = *ksiyate* (H. 12. 141. 204. 362); JM. *bhuñjae* = *bhūñkte*, *nirikkhāe* = *nirikṣate* (Erz. 25,30; 70,7); *cintae* (Āv. 36,25; Erz. 70,35; 74,17); *ciṭṭhāe* = *tiṣṭhate*, *viuvvāe* = **vikurute* = *vikurute* (Āv. 36,26. 27); passive *muccae* = *mucyate* (Erz. 71,7); *tīrae* = *tīryate*, *dajjjhāe* = *dahyate* (Dvār. 498,21. 22); AMg. *lahae*, *kīḷae*, *bhañjāe* (Uttar. 438. 570. 789); *titikkhāe* = *titikṣate*, *sampavevāe* = *sampravedate* (Āyār. 2,16,3); JŚ. *maṇṇade* = *manye*, *bandhade* = *bandhante*,

jāyade = *jāyate*, *bhāsade* = *bhāṣate*, *bhuñjade* = *bhunkte*, *kuvvade* = **kurvate* = *kurute* (Kattig. 399,314; 400,327. 332. 333; 403,382. 384; 404,309); passive *āḍijade* (Pav. 384,60); *thuvvade* = *stūyate*, *jujjade* = *yuṣyate*, *sakkade* = *śakyate* (Kattig. 401,351; 403,380; 404,387); D. *jāae* = *jāyate*, *vaṭṭae* = *vaṭṭate* (Mrcch. 100,3. 6). For Ś. Hc. 4,274 mentions *acchade*, *gacchade*, *ramade*, for P. 4,319 *lapate*, *acchate*, *gacchate*, *ramate*, for the passive Ś. *kijjade* = *kriyate* (4,274), P. *giyyate*, *tiyyate* (so to be read), *ramiyyate*, *paḍhiyyate* (4,315); at 4,316 stands *kirate* = *kriyate*.—In the 1. plur. sometimes the forms, such as *kāmanhe* = *kāmayāmahe*, which, however, are not attested by good manuscripts, are also found (WEBER on H. 417).—3. plur. M. *gajjante* = *garjante* (Hc. 1,187 [see the translation]; 3,142), *bihante* = **bhīṣante*, *uppaṭtante* = *utpadyante* (Hc. 3,142), *ucchāhante* = *utsāhayante* (H. 638); AMg. *uvalabhante* (Sūṣag. 755), *rīyante* (Āyār. 1,8,2,16; Dasav. 613, 12), *ciṭṭhante* = *tiṣṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4. 10). The examples from AMg., on the whole, and from JM. in the largest measure are from verses.

§ 458. Beside the ending *-nte*, Pkt. has also the ending *-ire*, corresponding to Vedic Skt. and Pāli: *pahuppīre* = **prabhutvire* (§ 286) in *dōṇṇi vi na pahuppīre bāhū* = *dvāv aṇi na prabhavato bāhū*; *vicchuhire* = **viksubhīre* (Hc. 3, 142); *haseire*, *hasaīre*, *hasire* = *hasante*; *saheire*, *sahaīre*, *sahire* = *sahante*; *hueire*, *huāīre*, *huire*, *hoeire*, *hoāīre*, *hoire* = *bhavante* (Sr. fol. 46. 47). Sr. fol. 49 teaches this ending for the optative too : *huṭṭāire*, *huṭṭāire*, *huēṭṭāire*, *huēṭṭāire* = *bhaveran* and fol. 51 for the future: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire* = *hasisyante*. According to Hc. 3,142 *-ire* is used in the 3. sing. too: *sūsaīre gāmacikkhallo* = *śuṣyati grāmacikkhallah*. Triv. 2,2,4, who gives as examples *sūsaīre tāṇa tāriso kaṇṭho* = *śuṣyati tāsām tāḍṣaṇ kaṇṭhaḥ*, teaches the same.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 94; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 97; WENDISCH, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Arischen Italischen und Celtischen. Leipzig, 1887 (AKSGW. X, No. vi), where further literature is also provided. Cf. particularly p. 32 f. of the ŚA. 478 f.

3. OPTATIVE

§ 459. The optative is extraordinarily frequent in AMg. and JM., more seldom in M. and only isolated in the other dialects. Its manner of formation is a two-fold one. In M. AMg. JM. the flexion is usual, that P. too has, but in Mg. A. it is sporadic.

Sing.

1. *vaṭṭeṭṭjā*, *vaṭṭeṭṭja*, *vaṭṭeṭṭjāmi*
2. *vaṭṭeṭṭjāsi*, *vaṭṭeṭṭjasi*, *vaṭṭeṭṭjāhi*, *vaṭṭeṭṭjahi*,
vaṭṭeṭṭjāsu, *vaṭṭeṭṭjasu*, *vaṭṭeṭṭjā*.
3. *vaṭṭeṭṭjā*, *vaṭṭeṭṭja*, [*vaṭṭeṭṭjāi*]

Plur.

- vaṭṭeṭṭjāma*
vaṭṭeṭṭjāha, *vaṭṭeṭṭjaha*
vaṭṭeṭṭjā, *vaṭṭeṭṭja*

These dialects, AMg. JM. especially in verses, JŚ. almost always, Ś. exclusively, Mg. A. sporadically, have beside these the flexion:

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Ś. <i>vaṭṭeam</i> , <i>vaṭṭe</i> | is wanting |
| 2. AMg. A. <i>vaṭṭe</i> , A. <i>vaṭṭi</i> | is wanting |
| 3. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. <i>vaṭṭe</i> | AMg. Ś. <i>vaṭṭe</i> |

That the two kinds of formation go back to the optative of the first conjugation in *-yam*, as assumed by JACOBI¹, is phonetically impossible. It follows clearly that the 1. sing. in *-e* has followed the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing., a form, that is used as 3. plur. too. The forms in *-eṭṭjā* and *-eṭṭja* become hence closely fitting. The lengthening of the final vowel is the original. The

shortening is found in prose only before enclitics, as: *āgacchejja vā citṭhejja vā nisejja vā tujattejja vāullaṅghejja vā palaṅghejja vā = āgacched vā tiṣṭhed vā niṣided vā sayita vā ullaṅghed vā pralaṅghed vā* (Ovav. § 150; cf. Vivāhap. 116; Āyār. 1,7,2,1; other examples in Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,3,2,7 etc.), beside with the lengthening, as *avaharejja vā vikkhirejja vā bhindhejja vā acchindejja vā pariṭṭhayejja vā = apahared vā viṣkired vā bhindyād vā acchindyād vā pariṭṭhāpayed vā* (Uvās. § 200), elsewhere in verses only, as always in M. One compares AMg. *kujjā = kuryāt* (§ 464), *dejjā = deyāt*, *hojjā = bhūyāt* (§ 466), thus it is clear that even *kuvvejja* presupposes one **kuryāt*, *karējjā* one **karyāt* and *havejjā* one **bhavyāt*, that is to say the optative in *-ējjā* goes back to the optative formed with *-yā-* of the second conjugation². For *e*, very often the MSS. give *i*, which is not possible to be explained according to § 84, since the development has resulted from the 1. sing., hence *-eya-* was by no means originally existent in the form. Rather *e*, according to § 119, has originated from *i*, that is a separation-vowel: AMg. *bhuñjējjā = *bhuñjīyāt*, *bhuñjīyāt*, *karējjā = *kariyāt = *karyāt*, likewise *jāñijjā jāñējjā = jāñīyāt*. The first conjugation might have exercised its influence in the prevalent *e*-colouring. It is only in this manner that *ā* and the reduplication of *j* are explained³. On remnant of the old flexion of the second conjugation and the precativē see § 464. 465. 466.

1. KZ. 36,577.—2. Whether one will derive *karyāt* from the present stem *kar* with JACOBI or take it as=precativē *kriyāt* with PISCHEL, KZ. 35,143, it is equally valid for the explanation. That I exactly meant, as JACOBI, is shown by the affix of the passive **karyāte* KZ. 35,141, what JACOBI has overlooked. The question is only about the equation *karijjai: kriyāte = karējjā: kriyāt* (KZ. 35,143).—3. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,142 ff.

§ 460. Singular: 1. AMg. *āosējjā vā hañējjā vā bandhējjā vā mahējjā vā tajejjā vā tālējjā vā nicchoḍējjā vā nibbhacchejjā vā...varovejjā = ākroṣeyam vā hanyām vā badhniyām vā (mathniyām vā) tarjayeṣam vā tāḍayeṣam vā niśchoṭayeṣam vā nirbhartsayeṣam vā...vyaparopeyam* (Uvās. § 200), *pāssijjā = paṣeyam* (Nirayāv. § 3), *muccejjā = mucyeya* (passive; Uttar. 624), *aiḍājjā, aiḍājjā = atipāṭayeṣam, samanujāñējjā = samanujāñiyām* (Hc. 3,177); JM. *laṅghejjā* (Āv. 8,18); M. *kuppejjā = kupyeyam* (H. 17); Ś. *bhaveam* (Vikr. 40,21; Pārvatīp. 29,9) and *bhave* (Śak. 65,10; Mālav. 67,10) = *bhaveyam, pahave = prabhaveyam* (Śak. 25,1), *laheam* (Śak. 13,9; 30,9; Pārvatīp. 27,16; 29,8) and *lahe* (Mudrār. 38,2; cf. Vikr. 42,7?) = *labheya, jiveam = jiveyam* (Mālav. 55,11), *kuppe = kupyeyam* (Mālav. 67,10)¹. Seldom *-mi* is the ending of the primary tense: M. *ñējjāmi = nayeṣam* (R. 3,55); AMg. *karējjāmi = kuryām* (Vivāhap. 1281).—2. In the 2. sing. the form ends in *-ijjā*, seldom in *-ējjā*: AMg. *udāharijjā = udāhareḥ* (Sūyag. 932); *uvadamsejjā = upadarsayeḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,5,4); *viṇaējjā = vinayeḥ* (Dasav. 613,27). In AMg. the ending *-si* comes in generally: *payāējjāsi = prajāyethāḥ* (Nāyādh. 420); *nivedijjāsi = nivedayeḥ* (Ovav. § 21); *samanuvāsejjāsi = samanuvāsayeḥ, walmipijjāsi = upalimpeḥ, parakkamejjāsi = parākramēḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2 etc.); *vattējjāsi = vartethāḥ* (Uvās. § 200).—Beside that stands the form in *-e*: *dāve = dāpayeḥ, paḍigāhe = pratigrāhayeḥ* (Kappas. S. § 14–16), almost always in verses only: *gacche = gaccheḥ* (Sūyag. 178); *paṁāyae = pramādayeḥ, āie = *āriyeḥ = āriyethāḥ, sambhare = samsmareḥ* (cf. § 267.313), *care = careḥ* (Uttar. 310 ff. 322. 440. 504). Sometimes the form in *-ējjāsi* is used in place of that in *-e* or in *-ējjā* at the end of verses corresponding to the paragraph in prose against the metre². Thus *āmo'kkhāe, parivvāējjāsi* metrically false for *parivvāe* (Sūyag. 99. 200. 216); *ārambhāṁ ca susamvūde carejjāsi*, metrically false for *care* (Sūyag. 117); *no pāñiṇaṁ pāṇe samārabhejjāsi*, metrically false for *samarābhejjā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3). Cf. besides in prose: Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2; 1,3,1,4; 1,4,1, 3; 3,3; 1,5,2,5; 4,5,6,1 etc. The

2. sing. in *-ējjāsi* occurs in JM. too: *vilaggējjāsi* = **vilagyeh* (Erz. 29,12), *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1), *vaṭṭējjāsi* (Āv. 11,11), *pe'cchejjāsi* (Āv. 23,18).

1. FISCHER, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 22 f.; BOLLENSON on Mālav. p. 228. — 2. JACOBI, who has not recognized the forms in *-ējjāsi* in his edition of Āyār., thinks that *si* is to be separated and may stand for *se* = *asau* (SBE. 22,17, note 1). The scholiasts give the correct direction.

§ 461. Besides *-ējjāsi* there occurs in AMg. also *-ējjasi*: *-āosējjasi* = *ākrośeh*, *haṇējjasi* = *hanyāh*, *vavarovējjasi* = *vyaparopoyeh* (Uvās. § 200). Moreover, the 2. sing. has the endings of the imperative *-hi* and in M.JM. A. especially *-su* (§ 467), before which the vowel is either short or long: M. *hasejjahi* = *haseh* (Hc. 3,175; Sr. fol. 50); AMg. *vandējjahi* = *vandethāh*, *pajjuvāsējjahi* = *paryupāsithāh*, *uṇimantejjahi* = *uṇanimantrayeh* (Uvās. 187); JM. *vaccējjasu* = *vrajeh* (Āv. 25,20), *bhaṇējjasu* = *bhaṇeh* (Āv. 25,31. 43); M. JM. *karējjāsu* (H. 154. 181. 634; Erz. 81,10), JM. *karējjasu* (Sagara 7,5), M. *kuṇijjāsu* (Śukasaptati 48,4) = *kuryāh*, A. *karijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144 etc.); JM. *sāhijjasu* = *sādhaya* in the sense of *kathaya* (Kk. 272,19); M. *galijjāsu* = *galeh*, *pamhasijjāsu* = *prasmareh*, *pariharijjāsu* = *parihareh* (H. 103. 348. 521); A. *salahijjāsu* = *ślāghasva*, *bhaṇijjāsu* = *bhaṇa*, *ṭhavijjāsu* = *sthāpaya* (Piṅgala 1,95. 109. 144). Since in A. the passive is used in the sense of the active too, many of these forms may be taken also as the imperative of the passive, as *munijjāsu* beside *muṇiāsu* (§ 467), *dijjāsu* (§ 466) on account of *i* by the side of *dējjahi*. A critical edition of the Piṅgala may some day make the disclosure whether *i* or *ē* is to be read. The forms in *-ē*, *-i* in A., indicated by Hc. 4,387 as of the imperative, likewise are of the optative: *karē* = *kare* = **kareh* = *kuryāh* (Hc. 4,387) and thence *kari* (Prabandhac. 63,7; Śukasaptati 49,4) according to § 85. So: A. *viāri* = *vicārayeh*, *ṭhavi* = *sthāpayeh*, *dhari* = *dhārayeh*, properly = **vicāreh*, **sthāpeh*, **dhāreh*, (Piṅgala 1,68. 71. 72); *joi* = **dyoteh* = *paśya* (Hc. 4,364. 368), *runujhūni*, *roi* = **rodeh* = *rudyāh*, *cari* = *careh*, *mēlli* in the sense of *tyajeh*, *kari* = **kareh* = *kuryāh*, *kahi* = **katheh* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,368. 387, 1. 3. 422,14). The same formation is found in AMg. in the verse in *assāsi* (text *asāsi*, correctly in the commentary): *evam assāsi appānam* (Uttar. 113), explained by the commentator with *evam ātmānam āśvāsaya*. Cf. also *acchahim*, *ādhāhim*, *parijānāhim* (§ 456). So is explained also *puṇḍe* = *vraja* (Deśin. 6,52) as optative. Cf. also *puḍa utsarge* Dhātupāṭha 28,90. *hassejje* = *haseh*, that is taught by Hc. 3,175 and Sr. fol. 50 as the imperative, is a double formation with the optative character of both the conjugations. Sr. teaches also *hasejjahi*, *hasejjasu*, *hasejje*.

§ 462. 3. sing. PG. *karēyya*, *kāravējjā* (6,40); M. *jivējjā* = *jivet* (H. 588), *paavējjā* = *pratapet*, *dharejjā* = *dhriyeta*, *viharejjā* = *viharet*, *namējjā* = *namet* (R. 4,28; 5,4; 8,4); JM. *vivajjējjā* = *vipadyeta*, *nirakkhijjā* = *nirikseta*, *sakkējjā* = *śakyet* (Erz. 43,22; 49,35; 79,1), *aikkamijjā* = *atikrāmet* (Kk. 271,7); AMg. *kuppejjā* = *kupyet*, *pariharejjā* = *pariharet* (Āyār. 1,2. 4,4; 5,3), *karējjā* = **karyāt* = *kuryāt* (Āyār. 2,5,2. 4. 5; Paṇṇav. 573; Vivāhap. 57. 1524. 1549 ff.), *karējjā* (Āyār. 2,2,2,1), *labhejjā* = *labheta* (Kappas. S. § 18), passive: *gheḥpejjā* = *grhyeta* (Paṇḥāv. 400); in verses often with a short final vowel: *rakkhejjā* = *rakset*, *vināhejjā* = *vinayet*, *sevejjā* = *seveta*, passive: *muccejjā* = *mucyeta* (Uttar. 198. 199. 247); P. *huvēyya* = *bhavet* (Hc. 4,320.323); A. *caejjā* = *tyajet*, *bhamējjā* = *bhramet* (Hc. 4,418,6). Sr. fol. 51 gives also *hasejjāi*. Beside those in *-ējjā*, *-ējjā* AMg. JM. often have the forms in *-e* = *-et*: *gijjhe* = *grdhyet*, *harise* = *harset*, *kujjhe* = *krudhyet*

(Āyār 1,2,3,1.2), *kiṇe*, *kiṇāvae* = **krīṇet*, **krīṇāpayet* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), especially in verses: *care* = *caret* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4; Uttar. 190.567), *ciṭṭhe* = *tiṣṭhet*, *uvaciṭṭhe* = *upatiṣṭhet* (Uttar. 29.30) beside *uvaciṭṭhejjā*, *ciṭṭhejjā* (Uttar. 34.35), *labhe* = *labheta* (Uttar. 180); sometimes both the forms occur in the same verse: *acchīm pi no pamajjiyā no vi jā kaṇḍūyae munī gājam* = *akṣy api no pramārijayen no api ca kaṇḍūyayen munir gātram* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19); JM. *parikkhae* = *parikseta*, *ḍahe* = *dahet*, *vināsae* = *vināsayet* (Erz. 31,21; 38,18). In Ś. Mg. is found only -e: Ś. very frequently *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mṛcch. 2,23; 51,23; 52,13; Śak. 20,3,4; 50,3; 53,4; Vikr. 9,3; 23,5.16 etc.), *pūrae* = *pūrayet* (Mālav. 73,18), *uddhare* = *uddharet* (Vikr. 6,16)¹; Mg. *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mṛcch. 164,6; 170,18.19), *mūse* = *mūset*, *khayye* = **khādyet* = *khādet* (Mṛcch. 119,16.17)². With the exception of *hojjā* (§ 466) JM. too hitherto has the only opt. in -e: *have* = *bhavet* (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302.309.312.315; 400,336; 401,338.343.345 ff. etc.), *nāsae* = *nāsayet* (Kattig. 401,341).

1. So we should read for *uddharedi* with the v.l., ed. Calc. 1830, LENZ, Sh.P. PANPIT (6,7 *san uddhare*), since *avi nāma* is joined with the optative only (Śak. 13,9; Vikr. 13,18; 40,21; Mālav. 44,1; Mahāv. 17,9; Mālatim. 56,2; 289,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,18) or future (Mālatim. 74,3; 100,1; 284,9) when a wish will have to be expressed. The indicative (Venis. 58,7) and imperative (Mg.; Mṛcch. 114,16) denote an interrogation.—
2. Cf. Mṛcch. 121,3, where for *khajje* we should read *khayyedi* beside *mūsedī*.

§ 463. The 1. plur. occurs only in PG. *karēyyāma* (7,41). For JM. JACOBI (Erz. XLVII) suggests (*pucchējjāmo*) and (*kahejjāmo*). Forms such as *rakkhemo* (Erz. 52,15) are not optative (JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *rakkhañ*), but indicative (§ 472). In the 2. plur. as in the 2. sing. the ending of the imp. enters: AMg. *bhavejjāha* = *bhaveta* (Nāyādh. 912.915.918.920), *viharejjāha* = *vihareta* (915.918), *gacchejjāha* = *gaccheta* (916.918), *ciṭṭhejjāha* = *tiṣṭheta*, *uvāgacchejjāha* = *upāgaccheta* (921); JM. *pāejjāha* = *pāyayeta* (Erz. 38,1), and with *a*: *khamējjāha* = *kṣamedhvam*, *ḍhoējjāha* = *ḍhaukedhvam*, *duhejjāha* = *duhyāta* (Erz. 25,26; 26,16; 37,37), *kahejjāha* = *kathayeta* (Āv. 47,23), *bharijjāha* = **bhareta* (may you fill; Kk. 265,10); D. *karējjāha* (Mṛcch. 99,24); A. *rakkhejjāhu* (Hc. 4,350,2).—3. plur. AMg. *āgacchejjā* (Tṭhān. 125: *loganti yadevā...ā*); Ś. *bhave* = *bhaveyaḥ* (Vikr. 26,2; *akkharā...visajjidā bhava*; Raṅganātha: *bhave ity atra bahuvacana ekavacanam ca*); AMg. *manne* = *manyera* (Sūyag. 575.576.578; *jahā nam ee purisā* [text *purise*] *manne*; uncertain, since beforehand 575 *jahā nam esa purise manne*), *samabhiloe* = *samabhihlokayeyuḥ* (Vivāhap. 929; *te pe'cchāgā tam naṭṭijam...samabhihloe tti hanta bhante samabhihloe*).

§ 464. The old formation of the optative of the 2. conjugation has been retained in a few verbs in AMg. JM. So particularly the very frequent AMg. *siyā* = *syāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 6,3; Vivāhap. 39.40.146f. etc.; Kappas.), also *asiyā* = *na syāt* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2); AMg. *kujjā* = *kuryāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,6,1; Uttar. 28.29.198; Dasav. 613,15; Kappas. etc.), also in *pāukujjā* = *prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474); AMg. *būyā* = *brūyāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 1,5,5,3), especially frequent in the combination *kevali būyā* (Āyār. p. 72.77 f. 132 ff.); besides AMg. *hañijā* = *hanyāt* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), found sporadically in verses, beside *hañijā* (Jiv. 295; Uttar. 198), *hañējjā* (Paṇhāv. 396.397), JM. *āhañējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1) and AMg. *hañe* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,3,2,3). A 2. sing. with the ending -hi of the imperative is AMg. *ejjāhi* = *ejāḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Erz. 29,5).

§ 465. An old optative is the hitherto obscure Pāli, AMg. JM. *sakkā*. CHILDERS¹ wished to take it as past passive participle = *sakta*,

which became an indeclinable, FISCHER² considered it as a shortened dative sing., and FRANK³, with whom JOHANSSON agrees, thought it to be the nom. sing. fem., which became the nom. plur. neut. It is strictly = Vedic *śakyāi* and is appropriately used as the opt. in the earliest writings. So: AMg. *na sakkā na soum saddā sojavisayam āgajā* "the sounds, that have come within the reach of hearing cannot be not heard" (Āyār. p. 136,14); *na sakkā rūvam adatthum cakkhuvisayam āgajam* "one cannot not see a form that has come within the range of eye-sight" (Āyār. p. 136, 22; cf. p. 136,31; 137,7. 18); *egassa dōṇha tiṇha va samkhējjāna va pāsum sakkā disanti sarirāim űojajivān' anantānam* "one can see one, two or three or numerable (ñojya- being), they see bodies of unending number of many ñojya- being"; *kim sakkā kām je jam nēcchaha osaham muhā pām* "what can one do when you do not like to drink medicine in vain" (Paṇhāv. 329; cf. Dasav. N. 644,28). Cf. also Nāyādh. § 87. JM. *kim sakkā kām* "what can one do" (Āv. 30,10); *na sakkā eena uvāenam* "it cannot be done in this manner" (Āv. 35,11); *na jā sakkā pām so vā anne vā* "and neither he nor others can drink" (Āv. 42,8; cf. 42,28 *na vi appaṇo pivaṇ na vi annam sakkei jūham pām*). In consequence of the phonetic resemblance with *sakkai*=*śakyate* the infinitive is later used in the passive sense. So: *no khalu se sakkā keṇai subāhūeṇa vi uram ureṇam ginhittae* "he could not be caught breast to breast even by a very strong person" (Vivāgas. 127); *no khalu se sakkā keṇai ... nigganthāo pāvayaṇḍo cālittae vā khobhittae vā vipariṇāmittae vā* "he could not by anybody be staggered or made waver from or made disloyal to his faith in Jainism (Uvās. § 113), and the same change with the first pers. sing., as in the other opt. in -ā, in *no khalu aham sakkā...cālittae...* (Nāyādh. 765. 770). Cf. still Uvās. § 119. 174; Dasav. 636,25. Manifestly an exactly similar development takes place in the case of AMg. *cakkiyā*, about whose optative character there cannot be any doubt. So: *eyamsi nam bhante dhammatthikājamsi...cakkiyā kei āsittae vā ciṭhittae vā...* "can, O Lord, anybody sit or stand in this religious organisation?" (Vivāhap. 513; cf. 1119.1120.1346.1389); *erāvaṇ kuṇālāe jattha cakkiyā sīyā egam pāyam jale kiccā egam pāyam thale kiccā evam cakkiā* "when there (is a stream) like the Airāvati in Kuṇālā, where he (can go across), he should go across it with one foot in the water and one foot on the dry land" (Kappas. S. § 12; cf. § 13). *cakkiyā* standing for **cakkiyā*=**cakyāt* according to § 195 belongs to M. *caāi* (can; is capable; Vr. 8,70 [so to read for *vai*]; Hc. 4,86; Ki. 4,60; R.)=**cakati*, to which Aśoka *caghati* for **cakhati* with aspiration belongs according to § 206⁵. I derive *caāi*=**takati* from *taki sahana* (Dhātupāṭha 5,2; cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini 3,1,97, ed. KIELHORN 2,82) with palatal for dental according to § 216.—Accordingly Pāli AMg. *labbhā* =**labhyāt*, like AMg. *savve pāṇā...na bhajjadukkhān ca kimeṇi labbhā pāveum*, "may no creature experience the least fear and grief" (Paṇhāv. 363; Abhayadeva: *labhyā yogyo* [sic; read *yogyāḥ*]); *na tāim samaṇeṇa labbhā datthum na kareum na vi ja sumareum* "a mendicant should not see it, should not talk about it and should not even think about it" (Paṇhāv. 466; Abhayadeva; *labbha tti labhyāni ucitāni*); *dugamchāvattiyā vi labbhā uppāveum* (ed. *uppāteu*; Paṇhāv. 526; Abhayadeva: *labhyā ucitā yoggye urthah*), for which at 537 f. stands: *na dugamchāvattiyavvam labbhā uppāveum* "he should not excite the feeling of abhorrence".

1. Dictionary s. v. *sakko* p. 420.—2. Ved. Stud. 1,328.—3. BB. 17,256.—4. BB. 20,91.—5. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1891—3, p. 28 ff., who at p. 30 wrongly maintains that I had wrongly equated, under Hc. 4,86, *caāi*=*tyajati*, where I have merely translated Hc. and have expressly separated *caāi* from its other synonyms.

Cf. also KERN, Jaartelling p. 96. Wrong GRIERSON, Academy 1890, No. 964, p. 369. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. xx, note 9 compares Greek $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$.

§ 466. Of the precative too, which is used in the sense of the optative, only scanty remnants have been retained, prevalently in AMg. and JM. So PG. *hoja* (748); M. *hōjja* (R. 3,32; 11,27. 28. 120); AMg. JM. *hōjjā*, *hōjja* = *bhūyāt* (Thān. 98; Vivāhap. 729 ff.; Dasav. 620,27. 28; 621,36; Erz. 35,18; 37,37; 70,14). The form is in JM. also 1. sing.: *cakkavaṭṭi hōjjāham* (Erz. 4,28) and in AMg. JM. 3. plur.: *savve vi tāva hōjjā kohovāṭṭā, lobhovaṭṭā* = *sarve 'pi tāvad bhūyāsuh krodhopayuktāh, lobhopayuktāh* (Vivāhap. 84 [where text *hōjja*; cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,430]. 92. 109); *kevaṭṭā hōjjā* = *kiyanto bhūyāsuh* (Vivāhap. 734. 738; cf. 753 ff.); JM. *kiha dhūyāo suhiyāo hōjja* = *katham duhitarah sukhita bhūyāsuh* (Āv. 10,23; cf. 12,2). AMg. JM., however, form the 1. sing. also *hōjjāmi* (Dasav. 621,43; Erz. 29,19), JM. the 2. sing *hōjjāsi* (Erz. 29,14; 37,9), *hōjjāhi* (Āv. 10,42) and *hōjjasu* (Erz. 23,4), as in the optative of the present. AMg. has also *hōjjāi* (Vivāhap. 1042) and a participle *hōjjamāṇa* in the sense of the present (Vivāhap. 733 ff.; 1736 ff.; Paṇṇav. 521). JŚ. *hōjjā* (Pav. 385,69; text *hōjjam*). In places where *hōjja* is found in Ś. (Mallikām. 84,1; 87,5; 109,4; 114,14; 156,20) it is against the dialect. AMg. *dejjā* = *deyāt* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 11,5), in addition to which JM. has the 2. sing. *dejja* (Āv. 12,6), *dejjāsi* (Erz. 37,9), A. has *dejjahi* (Hc. 4,383,3), *dijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,36. 121; 2,119; cf. § 461), JM. has the 2. plur. *dejjaha* (Erz. 61,27). AMg. *saṁdhejjā* = *saṁdheyāt* (Sūyag. 223), *ahitthejjā* = *adhiṭtheyāt* (Thān. 368), *pahejjā* = *praheyāt* (Uttar. 199). Perhaps also A. *kijjasu* = *kriyāh*, in case it is not considered rather as the imperative of the passive (§ 461. 467. 547. 550). The grammarians (Vr. 7,21; Hc. 3,165. 178; Ki 4,29. 30; Sr. fol. 48) teach, besides *hōjjā* and *hōjja*, also the forms *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāu*, *hōjjāu*, *hōjjasi*, *hōjjāsi*, Ki. 4,29 also *hōjjāia*, *hōjjāia*, Sr. also *hoējja*, *hoējjā*, *huejja*, *huejjā*, *hujja*, *hujjā*, *hujjaire*, *hujjāire*, *huejjaire*, *huejjāire* (§ 458), the forms that are found partly, in the text only, and according to Hc. 3,177; Sr. fol. 49 there stand *hōjjā* and *hōjja* in the sense of the ind., opt., imp. and imperf. pres., of the aor., perf. prec., future I and II, and of the conditionalis. Cf. with this KEILHORN, IA. xvii, p. 135; Inscriptions Sanskrites du Combodge, Index, p. [625] 445, column 2. I owe this reference to KEILHORN. Thus in fact there stands AMg. *dejjā* in the sense of *adāt* (Uttar. 621), and *būyā* in the combination *kevali būyā* (§ 464) in the sense of *bravīti* or *abravīt*, and through this it is apparent, so inexplicable it seems, that even AMg. *care* (Uttar. 532. 549. 552), *paḥaṇe* (Uttar. 561), *udāhare* (Uttar. 674) and *pucche* (Vivāhap. 149. 150; Rāmacandra = *prṣṭavān*, the forms that undoubtedly stand in the preterite, in addition to *acchā*, *geṇhā*, *daliddā*, *marā*, *hasā*, *huvā*, *dehā* mentioned by the grammarians in the sense of the imperf., aorist and perfect (Vr. 7,23; Hc. 3,163; Ki. 4,22. 23. 25; Mk. fol. 52) are optative of the present, *kāhā*, *thāhā*, *hohā* (Vr. 7,24; Hc. 3,162; Ki. 4,23. 24; Mk. fol. 51) are optative of the aorist. What is right has already been substantially noticed by LASSEN (Instit. p. 353 ff.), who liked to explain the forms in *-ā* as in the precative. AMg. *acche*, *abbhe* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which stand in the sense of the optative = *ācchindyāt*, *ābhindyāt*, reversely may be old aorist, which are regulated by Vedic *chedma* and *abhet*. The explanation as the 3. sing. imperf. or aorist¹ leaves the form as obscure as the explanation as the optative the meaning².

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,430, and according to him E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 60; JACOBI, Āyār. p. xii, both of whom, according to WEBER, give *kare*, although, according to Bhag. 2,301, it is clearly an error for *kareṇti* (MS. *kareti*); the edition reads at p. 173 *kareti*.—2. In the sense of preterite stands *prabrūyāt* (Hastyāyurveda 2,60,2); at the parallel places stands *provāca* or *abravīt*.

4. IMPERATIVE.

§ 467. The paradigm is:

Sing.	Plur.
1. [vaṭṭāmu, vaṭṭamu]	AMg. JM. <i>vaṭṭāmo</i> ; M. Ś. Mg. Dh., also JM. <i>vaṭṭamha</i> , <i>vaṭṭē'mha</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭa</i> , <i>vaṭṭasu</i> , <i>vaṭṭesu</i> , <i>vaṭṭehi</i> , AMg. also <i>vaṭṭāhi</i> , A. <i>vaṭṭu</i> , <i>vaṭṭahi</i>	<i>vaṭṭaha</i> ; Ś. Mg. [Dh] <i>vaṭṭadha</i> , <i>vaṭṭedha</i> ; A. <i>vaṭṭahu</i> , <i>vaṭṭehu</i> ; CP. <i>vaṭṭatha</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭāu</i> , Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭadu</i>	<i>vaṭṭantu</i> , A. also <i>vaṭṭahī</i>

The 1. sing. is traceable only in the grammarians, who mention *hasāmu*, *pe'cchāmu* (Hc. 3,173), *hasamu* (Bh. 7,18; Ki. 4,26; Sr. fol. 51) as examples. As regards the correctness of this form there is so little to be doubted, as the 2. sing. in *-su* is used all the dialects, especially in M., as also in the optative (§ 461). This form has hitherto been considered to be in the ātmanepada and the ending *-su*, we have been equating as = Skt. *-sva*, hence *rakkhasu* = *rakṣasva*¹. The circumstance, that this ending is found also with the verbs, that are never conjugated in the ātmanepada in Skt. and further that it frequently occurs in Ś. Mg., that otherwise use ātmanepadam, shows little that this is wrong. The endings *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* correspond to the endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-i* of the indicative. M. *viramasu* = *virama*, *rajjasu* = *rajyasva* (H. 149), *rakkhasu* = *rakṣa* (H. 297), *parirakkhasu* = *parirakṣa* (R. 6,15), *osarasu* = *apasara* (H. 451); M. JM. Ś. *karesu* = *kuru* (H. 48; Sagara 3,12; Kk. 273,41; Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9 etc.); M. *aṇunesu* = *anunaya* (H. 152. 946); Ś. *ānesu* = *ānaya* (Śak. 125,8²; Kārṇas. 51,17), *avaṇesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhuñjasu* = *bhuñgdhi* (H. 316; Uttar. 369; Āv. 12,14; Mṛcch. 70,12); AMg. *jāsu* = *yāhi* (Sūyag. 177); AMg. *kahasu* (Uttar. 700. 703), Ś. *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16; Kārṇas. 37,7. 12) = *kathaya*, AMg. *saddhasu* = *śraddhehi* (Sūyag. 151); JM. *khamasu* = *kṣamasva* (Sagara 3,12; Dvār. 497,13), *varasu* = *vr̥ṇśva* (Sagara 1,15), *sarasu* = *smara* (Āv. 7,34); M. JM. *kūpasu* = *kuru* (H. 607. 771; Sagara 6, 2. 11. 12; Kk. 266, 16; 274, 27); Mg. *lahkaśu* = *rakṣa* (Caṇḍak. 69,1), *āgaśceśu* (Mṛcch. 116,5) = *āgaccha*, *deśu* (Prab. 58,8; B. *dessu*, P. M. Bb. *dehi*), *dikkaśu* (Prab. 58,18; B. *dikkhasu*, P. *dikkhassa*, M. *dikkhehi*, Bb. *dikkhaya*) = *dikṣaya*, *dhāleśu* (Prab. 60,10; B. *dhālēssu*, P. Bb. *dhālesu*, M. *dāvaa*) = *dhāraya*; A. *kijjasu* = *kuru* (passive in the sense of the active § 550; Piṅgala 1,39; 2,119. 120), *muñiasu*, metrically for *muñiasu*, passive of *muñ* (§ 489) in the sense of the active (Piṅgala 1,111,112) beside *muñijjasu* (2,119), *bujjhasu* = *budhyasva* (Piṅgala 2,120). In Ś. in the texts we find, more than once, ātmanepada forms in *-ssa*, as *uvālahassa* (Śak. 11,4), *avalambassa* (Śak. 119,13; 133,8), *pe'kkhassa* (Prab. 56,14), *paḍivajjassa* (Venis. 72,19), also *pariramabhasu* (Viddhaś. 128, 6), and many others in Indian editions. We should see in them examples of Sanskritisms, that are to be removed from the texts. The v.l. has mostly the correct reading. In AMg. the imp. in *-su* is traceable only in verses.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 179. 338; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 61; JACOBI, Erz. § 54; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43.—2. So to be read with R; cf. BLOCH l. c. p. 43.

§ 468. If the stem ends in a short vowel, as a rule, as in Skt., it is used as the 2. sing. imp.; if it ends in a long vowel, the ending *-hi* enters in. In AMg. mostly and in M. JM. Mg. sometimes, the *a*-stems take the ending *-hi*, before which *a* is lengthened. A. too has this formation frequently; here,

however, *ā* is again shortened. In Ś. Mg. the ending *-āhi* appears beside *-a* in the case of the roots of the ninth conjugation and those formed on their analogy, in connection with the 3. sing. in *-ādu*. In Dh. and A. final *a* becomes *u* (§ 106): M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *bhaṇa*, A. *bhaṇu* (H. 163, 400; Nāyādh. 260; Āv. 15,3; Śak. 50,9; 114,5; Piṅgala 1,62; Hc. 4,401,4), but D. Ś. Mg. also *bhaṇāhi* (D. Mr̥ch. 100,4; on Ś. Mg. see § 514), A. *bhaṇahi* (Vikr. 63,4); Ā. *ciṭṭha* = *tiṣṭha*, *ehi*, *vāhehi* (Mr̥cch. 99,18, 20; 100,18); AMg. Ś. *gaccha* (Uvās. § 58, 259; Lalitav. 561,15; Śak. 18,2; Mr̥cch. 38,22; 58,2), Mg. *gaśca* (Mr̥cch. 38,22; 79,14), but AMg. also *gacchāhi* (Uvās. § 204); M. JM. *peṇcha* (H. 725; Āv. 18,12); Ś. D. *peṅkha* (Śak. 58,7; Mr̥cch. 17,20; 42,2; D. 100,14), Mg. *peśka* (Mr̥cch. 12,16; 13,6; 21,15), A. *peṅkku* (Hc. 4,419,6) and *peṅkkuhi* (Piṅgala 1,61); M. Ś. *hasa* (H. 818; Nāgān. 33,5), Mg. *haśa* (Mr̥cch. 21,4); Mg. *piva* = *piba* (Prab. 60,9) and *pivāhi* (Venis. 34,2, 15), *palittāhi* = *paritrāyasa* (Mr̥cch. 175,22; 176,5, 10); M. *rua* (H. 895) beside *ruhi* (784) and *ruasu* (143, 885, 909), Ś. *roda* (Mr̥cch. 95,15; Nāgān. 24,8, 12) = *rudihi*; AMg. *vigiṇca* = **vikṇiya* = *vikṇia* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 170), *jāṇāhi* = *jāṇhi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *bujjhāhi* = *budhyasva*, *vasāhi* = *vasa*, *harāhi* = *hara*, *vandāhi* = *vandasva*, *akkamāhi* = *ākrāma* (Kappas. § 111, 114; Ovav. § 53; Uvās. § 58, 204; Nīrayāv. § 22); JM. *viharāhi* = *vihara* (Āv. 11,6); M. JM. AMg. Ś. *karehi* (H. 225, 900; Āv. 11,4; Kk. s. v. *kar*; Ovav. § 40; Mr̥cch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10; Śak. 78,14; 153,13), Mg. *kalehi* (Mr̥cch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5); A. *karāhi*, *karahi* (Piṅgala 1,149; Hc. 4,385) and *karu* (Hc. 4,330, 2); D. *oṇāmehi* = *avanāmaya* (Mr̥cch. 102,2); AMg. *padikkapehi* = *pratikālpaya*, *saṁnāhehi* = *saṁnāhaya*, *upaṭṭhāvehi* = *upasthāpaya*, *kāravehi* = *kāraya* (Ovav. § 40), *roehi* = *rocaya* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *pucchehi* = *pr̥ccha* (Kk. 272,31), *maggehi* = *mārgaya*, *viyāṇehi* = *viyāṇhi* (Erz. 59,6; 71,12); Ś. *mantehi* = *mantraya*, *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Lalitav. 554,8; 565,15), *siḍhilehi* = *siṭhilaya* (Śak. 11,1; Venis. 76,4), *jālehi* = *jvālaya* (Mr̥cch. 25,18); Mg. *mālehi* = *māraya* (Mr̥cch. 123,15; 165,24), *ghoṣehi* = *ghoṣaya* (Mr̥cch. 162,9); Dh. *pasalu* = *prasara* (text *ru*; Mr̥cch. 32,16), whilst elsewhere the MSS. falsely give *-a* in the final syllable: *geṇha* (29,16; 30,2), *paaccha* (31,4, 7, 9; 32,3, 8, 12, 14; 34,24; 35,7), *āaccha* (39,17); *dehi* (32,23; 36,15); A. *suṇehi* = *śṛṇu* (Piṅgala 1,62); M. JM. Ś. *hohi* = **bhodhi* = Vedic *bodhi* = *bhava* (H. 259, 372; Erz. 11,31; 39,24; Mr̥cch. 54,12; Śak. 67,2; 70,9; Vikr. 8,8; 12,12; 23,6 etc.). On the assumptive imp. in *-e*, *-i* in A. see § 461.

§ 469. The 3. sing. ends in *-u*, Ś. Mg. D. Dh. *-du* = *-tu*; M. *marau* = *mriyatām* (H. s. v. *mar*), *paatṭau* = *pravartatām* (R. 3,58), *deu* = **dayatu* (G. 58); AMg. *pāsau* = *paśyatu* (Kappas. § 16), *āpucchau* = *āpr̥cchatu* (Uvās. § 68), *viṇeu* = *vinayatu* (Nāyādh. § 97, 98); JM. *kīrau* = *kriyatām*, *suṇau* = *śrūyatām* (Erz. 15,9; 17,14); *deu* = **dayatu* (Kk. II, 508,29), *suṇau* = *svapitu* (Dvār. 503,3); Ś. *pasidadu* = *prasidatu* (Lalitav. 561,9; Śak. 120,11), *āruhadu* = *ārohatu* (Uttarar. 32,6,7), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Śak. 121,10), *suṇādu* = *śṛnotu* (Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; Venis. 12,5; 59,23 etc.); D. *gacchadu* (Mr̥cch. 101,1); Mg. *muñcadu* = *muñcatu*, *suṇādu* = *śṛnotu*, *niśidadu* = *niśidatu* (Mr̥cch. 31,18, 21; 37,3; 38,9); A. *ṇandau* = *nandatu* (Hc. 4,422,14), *dijjau* = *dīyatām*, *kijjau* = *kriyatām* (Piṅgala 1, 81^a); M. JM. AMg. A. *hou*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodu* = *bhavatu* (M. H. R.; Hc. s. v. *bhū*; JM. Erz. 18,12; Kk. s. v. *ho*; AMg. Kappas. Nāyādh. s. v. *ho*; Ś. Mr̥cch. 4,23; Śak. 24,13; Vikr. 6,17; Mg. Mr̥cch. 38,8; 79,18; 80,4; Dh. Mr̥cch. 30,14, 18; 31,19, 22; 34,20).

§ 470. As 1. plur. imp. in AMg. and partly in JM. is used the

1. plur. indicative: AMg. *gacchāmo...vandāmo namasāmo sakkkāremo saṁmāṇemo...pajjувāsāmo = gacchāma...vandāmahai namasyāma satkārayāma saṁmāṇayāma...paryupāsāmahai* (Vivāhap. 187. 263; Ovav. § 38), *giṇhāmo = grhṇāma, sājjjāmo = *svādyāmahai = svādāmahai* (Ovav. § 86), *jujjhāmo = yudhyāmahai* (Nirayāv. § 25); JM. *harāmo = harāma* (Erz. 37,11), *gacchāmo = gacchāma, pavisāmo = praviśāma* (Sagara 5,1. 6). Vr. 7. 19 and Hc. 3,176 know only the ending *-āmo*: *hasāmo, tuvarāmo*, Sr. fol. 51 also *hasimo, hasemo, hasamo*, as in the indicative. Thus we find AMg. *bhuñjimo = bhuñjāma* (verse; Uttar. 675); JM. *nijjhāmemo = niḥkṣāmayāma* (Dvār. 505, 9), *kāremo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35), *pūremo = pūrayāma* (Sagara 3,17); AMg. *homo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,34). The special ending of the imp. is *-mha*, which has not been found in AMg., in M. JM. it is found very seldom, therefore, it has not been mentioned by Vr. Hc. Sr.¹, on the other hand, the only form occurring in Ś. Mg. Dh. is prescribed by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś. A rich collection from Mṛcch., Śāk., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn. has been given by BLOCH². M. *abbhatthē'mha = abhyarthayāma* (R. 4,48); JM. *ciṭṭhamha = tiṣṭhāma, gacchamha = gacchāma* (Erz. 14,33; 60,21)³; Ś. *gacchamha* (Mṛcch. 75,3; Śāk. 67,10; 79,8; 115,3; Vikr. 6,14; 18,13; Mālav. 30,12; 32,13; Ratn. 294,8; 295,11; 303,20; 312,24 etc.), *uvavisamha = upaviśāma* (Śāk. 18,9), *wasappamha = upasarpāma* (Śāk. 79,11; Vikr. 24, 3; 41,14; Nāgān. 13,8; Bālar. 216,1), *pe'kkhamha = prekṣāmahai* (Mṛcch. 42,14; Vikr. 31,14; 32,5; Ratn. 303,25 etc.), *karē'mha = karavāma* (Śāk. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Ratn. 303,21; Prab. 63,11; Venis. 9,23 etc.), *ṇivedē'mha = nivedayāma* (Śāk. 160,7 [so to be read]; Mālav. 45,15; 293,29; 309,26), *ativāhē'mha = ativāhayāma* (Ratn. 299,32), *ho'mha = bhavāma* (Śāk. 26,14; Vikr. 36,12); Mg. *aṇṇesamha⁴ = anveṣayāma* (Mṛcch. 171,18), *pivamha = pibāma* (Venis. 35,22), *palāamha = palāyāmahai* (Caṇḍak. 72,2), *kalē'mha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Caṇḍak. 68,15; Venis. 36, 6); Dh. *aṇusale'mha = anusarāma* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,19), Dh. Mg. Ś. *kile'mha = kṛidāma* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 94,15; 131,18), Dh. Mg. *ṇivedē'mha* (Mṛcch. 36,22; 171,11). Forms in *-mo* and *-ma* that are found in manuscripts and editions sporadically, as *pe'kkhāmo* (Mālav. 15,17), Mg. *pe'skāmo* (Mṛcch. 119,1), *pavisāmo* (Mālav. 39,19; v.l. *pavissamha*; Sh. P. PANDIT 75,2 correctly *pavisamha*; cf. Ratn. 294,17; 302,29; Nāgān. 27,7; Mahāv. 35, 17), *avakkamāma* (Mālav. 48,18; correctly *avakkamamha* Mṛcch. 22,2), *ṇivārema* (Mālav. 62,13; v.l. *ṇivārehmi*), Mg. *ṇaccāmo* (Prab. 61,7; ed. M. 75,22 correctly *ṇaccamha*)⁵ are likewise false for the imp., as the forms in *-mha* for the ind. (§ 455). If, therefore, *-mha* is merely related to the imperative, its derivation from *smah* (we are)⁶ is false. *-mha* is = *-sma* of the aorist and one *ṇēmha = *neṣma* (§ 474) is regulated exactly in the same manner as Vedic *jeṣma, geṣma, deṣma*, used only imperatively and according to the 2. sing. *neṣa, parṣa* (WHITNEY § 894c. 896: cf. also NEISSER, BB. 20,70 ff.). A. uses the 1. plur. of the ind.: *jāhū = yāma* (Hc. 4,386).

1. Ś. Mg., in which the imp. in *-mha* is throughout frequent, are treated by these grammarians very briefly. It is, therefore, not astonishing that this form is not mentioned by them, what BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43 has severely criticised—2. l.c. p. 44, unfortunately with many false quotations and without distinguishing between the three dialects. The examples given above have been selected with discretion, here upon.—3. Overlooked by JACOBI, Erz. p. XLVII.—4. For Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *aṇṇesasma, pivasma, kalē'sma* etc. would be expected. Cf., however, § 314.—5. More in BLOCH, l. c. p. 45.—6. BOPP, Vgl. Grammatik I⁴, 120; BURNOUR et LASSEN, Essai sur le Pali (Paris 1826) p. 180 f.; HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto § 187 nota III; LASSEN, Inst. § 117,2; BRUGMANN, Grundriss II¹, 1354, note 1; BLOCH, l. c. p. 46 f.

§ 471. As 2. plur. of the ind. (§ 456) is used M. *ṇamaha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 1,7), A. *namahu* (Hc. 4,446), CP. *namattha* (Hc. 4,326);

M. *rañjeha* = *rañjayata*, *raeha* = *racayata*, *deha* = **dayata* (H. 780); M. *uaha* = **upata*¹ = *paśyata* (Bh. 1,14; Deśin. 1,98; Triv. 2,1,75; G. H.; Śak 2,14); also *uvaha* (Sr. fol. 45; Karp. 67,8; Pratāp. 205,9; 212,10; v. 1. to H.); AMg. *hañaha khañaha chañaha dahaha, pajaha ālumpaha vilumpaha sahasakkāreha viparāmusaha* = *hata khanata kṣaṇuta dahata pacata ālumpata vilumpata sahasātkārayata viparāṃśata* (Sūyag. 596; cf. Āyār. 1,7,2,4), *khamāha* = *kṣamadhvam* (Uttar. 366. 367), *tāleha* = *tādayata* (Nāyādh. 1305); JM. *acchaha* = *rcchata* (Āv. 14,30), *kaṇḍūyaha* (Erz. 36,21), *ciñhaha, āisaha, giñhaha* = *tiñhata, ādisata, grhñita* (Kk. 264,11. 12), *ṭhaveha, damseha* = *sthāpayata, darsayata* (Kk. 265,7; 274,21); Ś. *parittāadha* = *paritrāyadhvam* (Śak. 16, 10; 17, 6; Vikr. 3, 17; 5, 2; Mālatīm. 130,3), Mg. *palittāadha* (Mṛcch. 32,25); AMg. JM. *kareha* (Kappas.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kk. 270, 45), AMg. also *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), A. *karehu* (Piṅgala 1,122), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107), *kuñehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118), *kuṇahu* (text °ha; Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79), Mg. *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23); Ś. *paattadha* = *prayatadhvam* (Śak 52,15), *samassasadha* = *samāśvasita* (Vikr. 7,1), *avanedha* = *apanayata, hodha* = *bhavata, māredha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 97,23; 161,16); Mg. *ofaladha* = *apasaratata* (Mṛcch. 96,21. 23; 97,1; 134,24. 25; 157,4. 12 etc.; Mudrār. 153,5; 256,4 [so to be read]; Candak. 64,5), *suñādha* = *śṛṇuta* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; Prab. 46,14. 16), *māledha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 165,123; 166,1)². Dh. *ramaha* (Mṛcch. 39,17) is to be emended as *ramamha* with Bloch³; A. *piahu* = *pibata* (Hc. 4,422, 20), *ṭhavahu* = *sthāpayata, kahehu* = *kathayata* (Piṅgala 1,119. 122). D. has *āacchadha* = *āgacchata* beside *jatteha* = *yata-dhvam, karējjāha* = *kuruta, johaha* (Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3). — The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ntu : M. *dēntu* = **dayantu* (G. 44), *ṇandantu, vilihantu* (Karp. 1,1. 4); AMg. *bhavantu* (Vivāhap. 508), *ṇijjantu* = *niryāntu, phusantu* = *spṛśantu* (Ovav. § 47. 87), *suṇantu* = *śṛṇvantu* (Nāyādh. 1134); Ś. *pasidantu* = *prasidantu* (Mudrār. 253,4), *pekkhantu* = *prekṣantām* (Mṛcch. 4,3), *hōntu* = *bhavantu* (Vikr. 87,21); Mg. *paśidantu* = *prasidantu* (Śak. 113,5); A. *piḍantu* (Hc. 4,385), and the ind. *lehī* (Hc. 4,387,3)⁴.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,211. Wrong WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29, note 4 and on Hāla² 4.—

2. On Ś. cf. FISCHER, K.B. 8,134 ff.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.—4. In case one reads *jam* for *je* here we have a case of the indicative.

§ 472. As remarked in § 452, the *a*-stems have become prevalent through coalescence of the 1. and 2. conjugations. Beside them, except in A., the *e*-stems have undergone wide extension. Vr. 7,34 and Kī. 4,37—39 permit *e* in all the tenses and moods, Hc 3,158, with whom Mk. fol. 51 seems to be in agreement, limits its entry into the indic. imp. and the parasmaipada pres. participle. Bh. gives as examples *hasei, hasai, padhei, padhai, hoseṇti, hasanti, haseu, hasai;* Hc. has *hasei, hasai, hasema, hasemu, hasemo; haseu, hasai;* *suṇeu, suṇai, haseṇto, hasanto*, Kī. *hasai, hasei, caai, caei*, Mk. *bhañai, bhanei, bhaṇasi, bhaṇesi*. These forms in -e are found in a large number in all c'sses, beside those in -a, and it can be determined with certainty, in spite of the great fluctuation of the MSS. Its entire mode of formation forbids it directly to be put in a series with the causatives and denominatives¹. From *ky* one forms *karai* and *karei*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *karedi*, the causative, however, *kārei*, Ś. Mg. *kāredi*, JŚ *kārayadi* (Kattig. 403,385). One says *hasai* and *hasei*, but in the caus. *hāsei*, Ś. *muñcadi, muñcedi*, but in the caus. *moāvedi* etc. Hence it is more correct to say that the character -e from -aya of the derived verbs can plainly enter into Pkt.² too. I do not consider it correct to say that the forms such as Ś. *gaccheṃha* (Mṛcch. 43, 20; 44,18), Dh. *geñhēṃha* (Mṛcch. 36,24), *aṇusaleṃha* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,

19), Dh. Ś. Mg. *kiḷē mha* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 94,15; 131,18), Ś. *suve mha* (Mṛcch. 46,9) are to be explained as false with BLOCH³.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 53, II, where *nemi*, *demi* are to be deleted completely (§ 474).—2. LASSEN, Inst. § 120,3.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.

§ 473. The verbs of the first conjugation, of which the roots end in *-i*, *-u* are conjugated mostly as in Skt.: *ji* forms *jaai* (Hc. 4,241; G. H. s. v. *ji*; Karp. 2,6), AMg. JM. *jayai* (Nandis. 1,22; Erz.), Ś. *jaadi* (Vikr. 44,4; Mudrār. 224,4. 5. 6), imperative Ś. *jaadu* (Śak. 41,1; 44,3; 138,6; 162,1; Vikr. 27,8; 28,14; 44,3; 47,20; 82,8. 9; Ratn. 296,1; 305,15; 320,16; 321,28 etc.). The form *jedu*, which is often found beside *jaadu*, pro ex. Venis. 59,13 beside *jaadu* 29,11, further in Prab. 32,12 Mg. *yedu* beside Ś. *jaadu* 40,8 and occurring only in the Devanāgarī recension of Śak. (ed. BÖHTLINGK 27,12; 29,17; 89,15; 90,9; 107,8) is badly accredited¹. In M. JM. AMg. Dh. A. *ji* is conjugated also according to the 9. conjugation, in M. JM. AMg. A. it crosses over to the 1. conjugation at the same time: Dh. *jinādi* (Mṛcch. 34,22); AMg. *jināmi* (Uttar. 704); M. *jinai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), AMg. *parāinai* (Vivāhap. 123,124); A. *jinai* (Piṅgala 1,123^a); M. *jinanti* (R. 3,40); AMg. *jiñējja* (Uttar. 291), *jināhi* (Jiv. 602; Kappas. § 114; Ovav. § 53), *jinantiassa* = *jayatah* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *jinum* (absol.; Äv. 36,42); A. *jinia* (Piṅgala 1,102^a). On the passive *jinijjai*, *jiuvai* see § 536. For Ś. Mk.fol. 71 appears to prescribe or to forbid *jinadi*. From the absolutive Ś. *samassaia* (Śak. 2,8) follows a present **samassai* = *samāśrayati*. In AMg. *śri* too is conjugated according to the 9. conjugation, like *ji*: *samussiñāmi*, *samussiñāsi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 2).—Of *ci* and *mi* are found also the contracted forms (§ 502). For the roots in *-u*, *-ū* Hc. 4,233 teaches, without distinguishing between their class, a similar conjugation: *niṇhavai*, *niṇhavai* = *niṇhute*, *cavai* = *cyavate*, *ravai* = *rauti*, *kavai* = *kavate*, *savai* = *sūte*, *pasavai* = *prasūte*. So AMg. *pasavai* (Uttar. 641), *niṇaavejja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *niṇhave* (Dasav. 631,31), *anṇihavamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 83); whilst the passive M. *niṇhuvijjanti* (H. 657), Ś. *niṇhuvīadi* (Ratn. 303,9) and the past participle Ś. *niṇhuvīdo* (Śak. 137,6) = **niṇhuvai* presuppose the flexion according to the 6. conjugation; M. *pañhaai* = *prasnavati* (H. 409,462 v. 1. *pañhuai*); AMg. A. *ravai* (Thāp. 450; Piṅgala 2,146). Beside *ravai*, *ru* is conjugated according to the 6. conjugation too: *ruvai* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ruvai*, *ruvanti*, *ruvasu* (H. s. v. *rud*), *paḍiruvanti* (R.), passive *ruvavai* and *ruvijjai* (Hc. 4,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the middle sense (H. 10). Thence is deduced a root *ruv*, which, like *dhau*, *svap* (§ 482,497), secondarily is conjugated according to the first class: *rovai* (Hc. 4, 238); M. *rovanti* (H. 494); JM. *rovāmi* (Dvār. 503,17), inf. *roviuṃ* (Dvār. 503,15; 504,6), past passive participle *roviya* (Dvār. 504,7). The grammarians derive the forms from *rud* (Vr. 8,42; Hc. 4,226) occasioned through similarity in flexion (§ 495) and similarity in meaning. Cf. Gypsy *ruvāva*, *rovāva* “to weep” and English *to cry* “to weep” and “to howl”².—AMg. *luējjā* = **luējjā* = *lumiyāt* (Vivāhap. 1186), *puvanti* = *plavante* (Vivāhap. 1232) according to the 6. conjugation. Cf. also § 494. 503. 511.

1. CAPELLER on Ratn. p. 369; almost everywhere is found in the text the v. l. *jaadu*, beside *jedu*, in the best MSS.; cf. pro ex. Mudrār. 38,4; 46,4; 54,6; 84,7 etc.—2. WEBER on Hāla 141; PRACHEL on Hc. 4,226.

§ 474. The roots of the 1. conjugation in *-i* tend to change *-aya* into *-e* through samprasāraṇa: M. *nesi*, *nei* = *nayasi*, *nayati* (H. 553. 939. 647), *ānei* (R. 8,43); AMg. JM. *ninei* = *nirṇayati* (Uttar. 578; Erz. 29,6); JM. *nei* (Erz. 11,11), M. *parinei* (Karp. 7,4), Ś. *parinēdi* (Viddhaś. 50,1), *ānēdi* (Karp. 109,8). According to these also the 1. sing. JM. *nemi* (Sagara 9,6), M. *ānemi* (Karp. 26,1), Ś. *avanemi* = *apanayāmi*, *aṇuṇemi*, *parāṇemi*

(Mṛcch. 6,7; 18,23; 166,16); 3. plur. M. *ñēnti* (R. 3,14; 5,2; 6,92). Imp. JM. *Ś. nehi* (Erz. 43,24; Vikr. 41,2), AMg. *Ś. uvañehi* = *upanaya* (Vivāgas. 121. 122; Mṛcch. 61,10; 64,20. 25; 96,14; Vikr. 45,9), *Ś. ānehi* (Vikr. 41, 1) and *ānesu* (Śak. 125,8 [so to be read]; Karpas. 51,17); *avañesu*=*apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10), *Ś. ñedu* (Mṛcch. 65,19; 67,7); *Ś. Mg. ñemha* (Mudrār. 233,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l. and the Calcutta editions, that have *ñemha*]; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,12), JM. *ñineha* (Dvār. 496,5); Mg. *Ś. nedha* (Mṛcch. 32, 15; 161,9). In verses are found JM. *ānasu* (Erz. 78,9) and A. *ānahi* (Hc. 4,343,2). They are to be explained from **ānaasu*, **ānāsu*, **ānaahi*, **ānāhi*. The flexion of Skt. occurs in M. *ṇaāi* (Viddhaś. 7,2), *ṇaanti* (G. 803), *Ś. pariṇaadu* (Śak. 39,3), *ṇaia*=**ṇayiya*=**niṭvā* (Mṛcch. 155,4) and in the parasmaipada pres. participle Mg. *ṇaante*=*nayan* (Mṛcch. 169,12).—*ḍi* with *ud* forms *uddei*, 3. plur. *uddēnti* (Hc. 4,237; H. 218; G. 232 [to be read *uddinti* with J]. 770; Mg. Mṛcch. 120,12), particip. parasmaip. *uddēnta* (G. 543; so to be read with P).—*lei*=*layati* from *li* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ahilei* (G.R.), *ahilēnti* (H.), *parilēnta* (R.), whilst M. *alliaī* (G.H.R.), JM. *alliṇai* (Āv. 47,16), AMg. *uwalliṇai* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), M. *samalliaī* (R.), JM. *samalliṇai* (Āv. 47,17) presuppose a flexion **liydte*, the participia M. *āliamāṇa* (G.), *Ś. nīliamāṇa* (Vikr. 80,20) the flexion of Skt. (§ 196). Likewise is inflected *daya-* (to give; Hc. s. v. *dā*; Kī. 4,34): M. JM. *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehi*, *desu*, *deu*, *deha*, particip. *dēnta-* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *dei* (Nirayāv. § 21. 22), *demo* (Vivāhap. 819); JŚ. *dedi* (Kattig. 399,319. 320; 402,360. 365. 366); *Ś. demi* (Ratn. 312,30; Mṛcch. 105,9), *desi* (Mālav. 5,8), *dedi* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 147,17; Vikr. 43,14; Viddhaś. 29,7), *dehi* (as in Skt.) very frequently (pro ex. Mṛcch. 38,4. 23,44,24; 94,17; Śak. 95,11; 111,6 etc.), *dedu* (Karp. 38,1); D. *deu* (Mṛcch. 105,21); particip. *Ś. dēnta-* (Mṛcch. 44,19); Mg. *demi* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 45,2; 79,18; 127,12; 131,9. 10. 13), *dehi* (Mṛcch. 45, 12; 97,2; 132,4), *desu* (Prab. 58,8), *dedha* (Mṛcch. 160,11; 164,14. 16; 170,6); Dh. *dehi* (Mṛcch. 32,23; 36,15); P. *teti* (Hc. 4,318), *tiyyate* (to be read so; Hc. 4,315); A. *desi*, *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehu*, *dēntahō* = *dadatah*, *dēntihim* = *dadatiḥ* (Hc. s. v. *dā*), absol. *dēppīṇu* (Hc. 4,440) and *devam* (Hc. 4,441). The flexion **daai* = **dayati* presupposes the future *Ś. dāissam* = *dayiṣye* (Mṛcch. 80,20), false *dāissam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Karp. 112,5), *dāissāmo* (Viddhaś. 121,3; s. v. l.); cf. Vr. 12,14; Mg. *dāissam* (Mṛcch. 31, 6. 8. 15; 32,9. 24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19; 81,5; 97,3; 123,21; 124,5. 9), and the absol. *Ś. Mg. dāia* = **dayiya* = *dayitvā* (Mṛcch. 32,19 [a°]; 37,12; 51,12; 168,2). The root *dā* has retained only in M. JM. *dāūṇa*, *dāum*, *dijjai* (G. H. R.; Erz.), AMg. inf. *dāum* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *Ś. diadi* (Mṛcch. 55, 16; 71,6; so to be read also at Mṛcch. 49,7 for *dijjadi*), *diadu* (Karp. 103,7), *dādauva* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 150,14; Karp. 103,6; Jivān. 43,12. 15); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); in the fut. M. JM. AMg. *dāham*, *dāsam* (§ 530), past participle *dīṇṇa*, *datta* (§ 566). AMg. mostly uses *dalaṇai* (§ 490), for which we often find *dalaī* as v. l. (HOERNLE, Uvās.; Translation, note 287).

§ 475. Hc. 4,60 teaches the forms *hoi*, *huvaī*, *havaī*, *bhavaī*, in compounds *pabhavaī*, *paribhavaī*, *sambhavaī* and *ubbhavaī*, which presupposes a simplex **bhuvaī* from *bhū*. This occurs in *bhuvadi*, that is taught by Hc. 4, 269 beside *huvaī*, *bhavaī*, *havaī*, *bhodi*, *hodi* as Ś.; further in the aorist AMg. *bhuvi* (§ 516) and in P. *phuvaī* (Kī. 5,115). Vr. 8,1; Kī. 4,56; Mk. fol. 53 teach *hoi*, *huvaī* and Vr. 8,3; Mk. fol. 53 in compounds *bhavaī*, as *pabhavaī*, *ubbhavaī*, *sambhavaī*, *paribhavaī*, Kī. 4,58, *havaī* as *pahavaī*. Vr.'s rule 12,12 is not clear on Ś., for which Kī. 5,81 and Mk. fol. 71 prescribe *bhodi*, while Śākalya, according to Mk., accredits *hodi* too and Sr. fol. 71 teaches *bhodi*, *hodi*, *bhuvadi*, *huvaī* etc. (*ityādi*). *bhavaī*, the form that exactly corresponds

to Skt. *bhavati* is frequent in AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,1,1 ff; Thāṇ. 156; Vivāhap. 116. 137. 917. 926. 935 ff; Nandis. 501 f.; Paṇṇav. 666. 667; Kappas. § 14—16), *bhavasi* (Vivāhap. 1245. 1406), *bhavanti* (Vivāhap. 926. 1309; Ovav. § 70 ff; Kappas.), *bhavañ* (Kappas.); also in JM. it is not seldom: *bhavañ* (Āv. 10,20; 13. 37; 20,11 ff.), *bhavanti* (Erz. 3,14), *bhavasū* (Erz. 11,10). Beside them AMg. JM. have also the forms with initial *ha*: JM. *havāmi* (Erz. 35,15), AMg. JM. *havai* (Paṇṇav. 32. 115; Nandis. 329. 361 ff.; Uttar. 342. 344. 754 (beside *hoi*); Āv. 36,44); AMg. *havanti* (Sūyag. 253. 255; Vivāhap. 138; Paṇṇav. 40. 42. 91. 94. 102. 106. 115 etc; Nandis. 461; Jiv. 219; Ovav. § 130); likewise in the optative beside *bhavējā* (Ovav. § 182), 2. plur. *bhavējjāha* (Nāyādh. 912. 915. 918. 920) in verses also *bhavējja* (Sūyag. 341; Vivāhap. 426; Ovav. § 171), *bhavējjā* (Uttar. 459), JM. *havijja* (Erz. 74,18). In prose in Āv. 29,19 we should read *hojjā*, with the v. l. for *bhavējjā*. AMg. JM. have also the opt. *bhave* (Vivāhap. 459; Uttar. 678; Nandis. 117; Erz.). In Ś. Mg. 1. sing. is *bhaveam*, 1. 2. 3. sing. 3. plur. are *bhave*, the only form that can be used (§ 460—402). In compound is found also Ś. *pahave* (Śak. 25,1); false is Ś. *have* (Mālav. 44,1. 3)¹. In JŚ. the form that is very usual is *havadi* (Pav. 380,9; 381. 16; 382,24; 384,54. 58; 385,65; 386,70. 4; 387,18. 19; 388,5; Kattig. 398, 303; 400, 334), also *havedi* (Kattig. 401,341; MS. *havei*), beside *hodi* (Pav. 381,18; 385,64; 386,6; Kattig. 399,308; 400,326. 328. 329. 330; 402, 368; 403,372. 376. 381; 404,391), *homi* (Pav. 385. 65), *hunti* (Kattig. 401, 352), *honti* (Kattig. 402,363. 364; 404,387), inf. *hodum* (Kattig. 402,357); MS. *houm*). The opt. is *have* (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302; 399,309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 345 etc.). Therefore, Hc. should have Ś. *havadi*, *hodi* (§ 21. 22). Of the stem *bhava-*, the forms, excluding the mentioned ones, are only sporadic: Mg. *bhavāmi* (Mṛcch. 117,6); Ś. *bhavidavvañ* (Śak. 32, 6; Karp. 61, 11), which is supported by JŚ. *bhavidavvañ* (Kattig. 404,388; MS. *viya*^a) and Ś. *bhavidavvadā* (Śak. 126,10; Vikr. 52, 13); inf. *bhavim* (Hc. 4,60), Ś. Mg. *bhavidum* (Śak. 73,8; 116,1 [so to be read]; in Mālav. 47,7 false reading¹). Very frequent is the absolute *bhavia* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 27,12; 45,8; 64,19; 78,10; Śak. 30,9; 119,3. 13; 160, 1; Vikr. 24,5; 25,15 etc.) and Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; 124,23; 134,23; 170,11), JŚ. *bhaviya* (Pav. 380,12; 387,12), AMg. *bhavittā* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *pāubbhavittāṇam* (Uvās.). On the future see § 521. The passive Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) stands in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). M. *aggabhavantio* in G. 588 is a false reading for *aggabharantiu* (see v. l. p. 376). Except in the forms mentioned in AMg. JM. JŚ. the stem *hava-* is found also in M. *havanti* (G. 901.936.976). The stem *bhava-* is prevalent in the formation with prefixes. I have only to add Bloch's examples from Ś. Mg.: Ś. *anubhavanto* = *anubhavan* (Vikr. 41,9), *anubhaviḍa* (Karp. 33,6). The stem *hava-* is usual only after the prefix *pra-*, further in the substantive *vihava*²; otherwise it occurs just sporadic after *anu-* in M. *anuhavai* (H. 211), Ś. *anuhavanti* (Mālav. 51,22; Prab. 44,13); yet Mālav. has the v. l. *anuho'nti*, in Prab. *anubhavanti*, as it should be read; similarly in Śak. 74,6 we should, with the v. l., read *vibhāvedī* for *vihāvedī*. Vr. is substantially correct when he requires *bhava-* for the composita.

1. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 41, who has compiled a plentiful collection for Ś. Mg. from Mṛcch. Śak. Vikr. Mālav. Ratn. on *bhū*, should be supplemented for completing the list.—2. l. c. p. 39. 40.—3. BLOCH, l. c. p. 40.

§ 476. *huva-*, that is to say the flexion according to the sixth conjugation is found in M. *huvanti* (G.988; H.285), in the opt. *huvā* (§ 466) and P. *huvēyya* (Hc.4,320.323), ind. pass. Mg. *huvīadi* (Venis.33,6.7; 35,8; in the sense

of the fut. parasmaip.; cf. *bhaviādi* § 475) and especially in the future in Ś. and Mg. (§ 521). Transgressing against the dialect, a false form is Ś. fem. parasmaip. pres. part. *huvanti* and probably also Mg. particip. *necessitatis huvidavvaṃ* (Lalitav. 555,5; 565,13).—In M. JM. A. in the simplex the dominant stem is *ho-* from *hava-*, which AMg. too has more seldom and JŚ. has frequently: *homi*, *hosi*, *hoi*, *hoṇti* and *hunti*; imp. *hohi*, *hosu*, *hou*, *homo*, *hoṇtu*; indic. pres. pass. *hoiāi*, *hoijjāi*; parasmaip. pres. particip. *hoṇto*, *hunto*, ātmanep. *homāno*; inf. *houm*, JŚ. *hodum*; absol. *hoūṇa*; particip. nec. AMg. JM. *hojavva*¹. On *hojjā*, *hojja* see § 466. Besides this, the precativ in AMg. are *hoi*, *hou* only, especially in the combination *hoū nam*, and the preterite *hoṭthā* in frequent use. In Ś. one says *homi*, *hosi*, *hoṇti*, imp. *hohi*, *hoṃha*, *hodha*, *hoṇtu*, Mg. imp. *hodha*², but Ś. Mg. Dh. only *bhodi*, *bhodu*³. False forms in the texts are *bhomi*, *hodi*, *bhohi*, *hodu*, *bhoṇtu*⁴. P. has *photi* (Ki. 5,115). The particip. nec. is Ś. Mg. *hodavva*⁵; on Ś. JŚ. *bhavidavva* see § 475, on Mg. *huvidavva* see above. The particip. pret. is M. *hūa* (Hc. 4,64; Ki. 4,57; Mk. fol. 53) in *maṇḍaṇihūaṃ* (H. 8), *aṇuhūa* (Hc. 4,64; H. 29), *parihūa* (H. 134; so to be read with v. l. and ed. Bomb.), *paḥūa* (Hc. 4,64), A. *hūā* (Hc. 4,384) and *huā* (Hc. 4,351), Ś. Dh. D. *bhūda* (Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; Śak. 43,9; 80,2; Vikr. 23,14; 52,21; 53,12 [read °bhūdo]; Dh. Mṛcch. 36,21; 39,16; D. Mṛcch. 101,13), Mg. *kiappahūda* = *kiyatprabhūta* (Venṣ. 34,16).—Sr. fol. 47 knows also the flexion *hoāi*, *hoei*, *huāi*, *huei*, exactly according to the type of the *a*-stem.

1. References in § 469 under the instances quoted on *hou* and in the relevant paragraphs, on JŚ. in § 475. Cf. also WEBER, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1882, 811 f.; IS. 16,393. — 2. References in BLOCH, l. c. p. 41.— 3. FISCHER, KB. 8,141 and above § 469; Mg. *bhodi* e. g. Mṛcch. 121,6; 168,3. 4. 5, false *hodi* 168,6.— 4. BLOCH, l. c. p. 41; collection also in BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae p. 20 f.— 5. BLOCH, l. c. p. 42. On the flexion of *bhū* cf. also DELIUS, Radices Prācriticae s. v.

§ 477. The roots in *-r* and *-ṛ* form the stem in *-ara*: *dharai*, *varai*, *sarai*, *harai*, *jarai*, *tarai* (Vr. 8,12; Hc. 4,234; Ki. 4,32). In OIA. this flexion has been carried over to a few roots found in the Vedas, or merely mentioned by the grammarians, such as in the case of *jṛ*, *dhṛ*, *mṛ*, *vṛ*, *stṛ*, in Pkt. this is the rule. Beside it the flexion with the *e*-stem is frequent. So: M. JM. *dharai* and *dharemi*, *dharei*, *dhareṇti*, particip. pres. *dharanta* and *dharēnta* (G. H. R.; Erz.); Ś. *dharāmi* = *dhriye* (Uttarar. 83,9); A. *dharai* (Hc. 4,334; 438,3) and *dharei* (Hc. 4,336), *dharahī* (Hc. 4,382), imp. *dharahi* (Hc. 4,421; Piṅgala 1,149).—M. *osarai* = *apasarati*, *osaranta* = *apasarati*, *osaria* = *apasṛta* (G. H. R.), imp. *osara*, *osarasu* (H.); JM. *osarai* (Erz. 37,30); Mg. *osaladi* (Mṛcch. 115,23), *osalia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129,8); imp. JM. Ś. *osara* = *apasara* (Erz. 71,31; Vikr. 10,12), Mg. *osala* (Prab. 58,2; so rightly ed. M. 73,6), Ś. *osaramha* (Uttarar. 66,7), JM. *osaraha* = *apasarata* (Kk. 265,6; 11, 507,1), Mg. *osaladha* (§ 471); M. *samosarai*, *samosaranta*- etc. (G. H. R.), AMg. imp. *samosaraha* (Nāyādh. 1233. 1235); Ś. *ṇisaradi* (Dhūrtas. 8,6); M. AMg. *pasarai* (R.; Vivāhap. 908), Ś. *pasaradi* (Śak. 31,10), Mg. *paśalaśi* (Mṛcch. 10,15), Dh. imp. *pasalu* (Mṛcch. 32,16), also Dh. *aṇusalēṃha* (§ 472) beside Ś. *aṇusaramha* Viddhaś. 105,5). Cf. § 235.—M. JM. *marāmi* = *mriye*, *marai*, *maranti*, imp. *mara*, *marasu*, *marai*, particip. pres. *maranta*- (H.; Erz.); AMg. *mara* (Śūyag. 635; Uttar. 214; Vivāhap. 363 f.), *maranti* (Uttar. 1099 ff.; Vivāhap. 1434), *maramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1385); Ś. *maradi* (Mṛcch. 72,22; so to be read); Mg. *malāmi* (Mṛcch. 118,13), but also *maledu*, *malēnti* (Mṛcch. 114,21; 118,12); A. *marahi*, *marai* (Hc. 4,368. 420,5). M. *marijjau* = *mriyatām* (H. 950) stands in the sense of the passive, AMg. inf. *marijjium*

(Dasav. 624, 40; cf. § 580) in the sense of the active. AMg. *mijjai*, *mijjanti* (Sūyag. 275. 328. 333. 540. 944) are correctly equated by the scholiasts as = *mīyate*, *mīyante*. — JM. *varasu* = *vr̥ṣva* (Sagara 1,15), — M. JM. *harai* (G. H. R.; Erz.), JŚ. *haradi* (Kattig. 400,336), M. also *haremi* (H. 705), AMg. opt. *harejjāha* (Nāyādh. 915. 918), Mg. *halāmi*, *haladi* (Mṛcch. 11,8; 30,21. 24); very frequently in compounds in all the dialects, as M. *ahiharai*, *paharai* (G.), JM. *pariharāmi* (Kk. 272,16), AMg. *sāharanti* = *saṃharanti* (Thāp. 155), *paḍisāharai* = *pratisaṃharati* (Vivāhap. 239), *viharai* (Kappas.; Uvās. etc.), Ś. *uvahara*, *uvaharantu* (Śak. 18,3; 40,9); *avaharadi* = *apaharati* (Mṛcch. 45,24), Mg. *palihālāmi* = *pariharāmi* (Mṛcch. 125,10), *śamudāhalāmi* (Mṛcch. 129,2), also *vihaledi* = *viharati* (Mṛcch. 40,9), A. *aṇuharai*, *aṇuharai* (Hc. 4,367,4; 418,8). — M. *tarai* (G. H.); AMg. *taranti* (Uttar. 567), *uttarai* (Nāyādh. 1060), *paccuttarai* (Vivāhap. 909); Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 44,19; 108,21; Mālatim. 265,6), imp. *odaramha* = *avatarāma* (Mālatim. 100,3; Priyad. 12,4); Mg. imp. *odala* = *avatara* (Mṛcch. 122,14. 15. 16), absol. *odalā* (Mṛcch. 122, 11) = Ś. *odaria* (Vikr. 23,17); A. *uttarai* (Hc. 4,339). — *kṛ* forms, corresponding to Skt. *kirāti*, M. *ukkirai* (H. 119), *kiranta-* (G. R.).

§ 478. According to Hc. 4,74 *smṛ* may form *sarai*, so stands JM. *sarāmi* (Āv. 41,20), AMg. *sarai* (Uttar. 277) in the verse, JM. *sarai* (Āv. 47, 27), *sarasu* (Āv. 7,34) in prose. The common form in all the dialects, which Vr. 12,17; Mk. fol. 72 particularly prescribe for Ś. in addition, is *sumara-* for *smara-* with a separation-vowel (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Ki. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53). Beside it the prose very frequently has the *e*-stem *sumare-*. So M. *sumarāmi* (R. 4,20 [so to be read]. 22); JM. absol. *sumariūṇa* and *sumariya*, past passive particip. *sumariya* (Erz.); AMg. imp. *sumaraha* (Vivāhap. 234); Ś. *sumarāmi* (Mṛcch. 134,15; Uttarar. 118,1), *sumarasi* (Uttarar. 126,6), better accredited *sumaresi* (Mṛcch. 66,15. 18; 103,20; 104,10; 105,15; Vikr. 23,9), as *sumaredi* (Śak. 70,7; 167,8; Mālatim. 184, 4; Viddhaś. 125,11) and in the imp. *sumarehi* (Ratn. 137,17), *sumaresu* (Vikr. 13,4), *sumaredha* (Śak. 52,16), yet *sumara* (Mālatim. 251,2; all texts) and A. *suvarahi* (Hc. 4,387), opt. *sumari* = *smareḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1); Ś. *sumarāmo* (Mālatim. 113,9); Mg. *śumālāmi*, *śumaleṣi*, *śumaledi* (Mṛcch. 115,23; 127,25; 134,13), imp. *śumala* and *śumalehi* (Mṛcch. 128,20; 168,11; 170,8); particip. praet. pass. Ś. *sumarida* (Mālatim. 249,6; Prab. 41,7), Mg. *śumalida* (Mṛcch. 136,19); particip. nec. Ś. *sumaridavva* (Vikr. 48,14; Mālatim. 184,3), Mg. *śumalidavva* (Mṛcch. 170,9). In conjunction with *vi* Hc. 4,75 teaches *vimharai* and *visarai*, whence M. *visaria* = *vismṛta* (H. 361; Śak. 96,2), JM. *vissariya* (Āv. 7,34); JŚ. *visarida* (Kattig. 400,335; text °ja). Mk. fol. 54 teaches *visarai*, *visurai* and *visarai*, which occurs in M. *visaria* (R. 11,58) and in the modern Indian dialects¹. In Ś. and Mg. the stem is strictly the same as in the simplex; pro ex. Ś. *visumarāmi* (Śak. 126,8), *visumaresi* (Vikr. 49,1); Mg. *viśumaledi* (Mṛcch. 37,12). Ś. *vimharida mhi* of Vikr. 83,20 has been wrongly equated in the text against all the MSS. by BOLLENSSEN; the ed. Bomb. p. 133,9 correctly has *visumarida mhi*², as *visumarida* stands also at Śak. 14,2; Vṛṣabh. 14,6. On *bharai* see § 313.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,75. — 2. Wrongly BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 59,10, where we should at least read *vimharai* with the ed. Bomb. 1883, p. 64,11.

§ 479. The roots in *-ai* are conjugated as a rule as in Skt. (Vr. 8,21. 25. 26), Hc. 4,6; Ki. 4,65. 75); M. *gānti* (Kāleyak. 3,8; Bālar. 181, 6), *uggānti* = *udgāyanti* (Dhūrtas. 4,14), *gānta-* (Karp. 23,4); JM. *gāyai* (Āv. 8,29), *gāyanti* (Dvār. 496,36), *gāyantehim*, *gāyūm* (Erz. 1,29; 2,10); AMg. *gāyanti* (Jiv. 593; Rāyap. 96. 181), *gāyantiā* (Ovav. § 49 V),

gāyamāṇe (Vivāhap. 1253); *Ś. gāmi* (Mudrār. 35,1), *gādi* (Nāgān. 9,6), *gādhā* (Viddhaś. 12,4), imp. also of the *e*-stem *gāedha* (Viddhaś. 122,10; 128,4), *gāntena*, *gānto* (Mṛcch. 44,2. 4); Mg. *gāe*, *gādam* (Mṛcch. 79,14; 117,4).—*Ś. parittādi* = *paritrāyate* (Mṛcch. 128,7), *parittāsu* (Mahāv. 30,19; Bālar. 173,10; Viddhaś. 85,5), *parittāhi* (Uttarar. 63,13), *parittādu* (Ratn. 325,9. 32), *parittāadha* (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17; 5,2; Mālatim. 130,3); Mg. *palittāadha*, *palittāadu* (Mṛcch. 32,25; 128,6).—JM. *jhāyasi* = *dhyāyasi* (Erz. 85,23), *jhāyamāṇi* (Erz. 11,19); AMg. *jhīyāyāmi*, *jhīyāyasi*, *jhīyāyaḥ*, *jhīyāyaha*, *jhīyāyamāṇa* (Nāyādh.); M. *ñijhāḥi* = *niridhyāyati* (H. 73. 413); *Ś. ñijhādi* (Mṛcch. 59,24; 89,4; Mālatim. 258,4), *ñijhānti* (Mṛcch. 69,2), *ñijhādo* (Mṛcch. 93,15), *ñijhāidā* (Vikr. 52,11), *sañjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12).—*Ś. niddādi* = *nidrāyati* (Mṛcch. 46,5; 69,2; Mālav. 65, 8).—*Ś. parimilādi* = *parimlāyati* (Mālatim. 120,2; so to be read with ed. Bomb. 92,2 and ed. Madras 105,3).—Since in Pkt. the roots ending in *-ā* may be inflected according to the fourth conjugation (§487), so reversely the roots in *-ai* follow sometimes in M. JM. AMg. the analogy of the roots in *ā*: M. *gāi* (Vr.8,26; Hc.4,6; H.128.691), *gāu* (Bh.8,26), *ganta-* (H. 547); JM. *uggāi* (Āv. 8,28); M. *jhāi* = Epic *dhyāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; R. 6,61), JŚ. *jhādi* (Pav. 385,68) beside *jhāyati* (Pav. 385,65; 403, 372); *jhāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ñijhāi* (Hc. 4,6); AMg. *jhīyāi* (Vivāgas. 219; Uvās. § 280; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *jhīyāmi* (Vivāgas. 114. 220; Nāyādh.), *jhīyāsi* (Vivāgas. 114), *jhāijja* (verse; Uttar. 14). Likewise AMg. *jhīyāi* = *ksāyati* beside *jhīyāyanti* (§ 326); AMg. *gilāi* = Epic *glāti* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1. 2), beside *vigilā-ējjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28); M. *niddāi*, *mlāi* (Hc. 4,12,18), in addition to which Epic *mlānti*. — In Ś. is found several times *parittāhi* (Śak. 145,8; Prab. 11, 13); Uttarar. 60,4,5; Mālatim. 357,11), in Mg. *palittāhi* (Mṛcch. 175,19). The v. l. almost everywhere has in Ś. the correct *parittāhi*. On *palāya*- see § 567.

§ 480. The verbs *iṣ*, *gam*, *yam*, of the old *-ska*-class are conjugated in all the dialects as in Skt. : *icchaḥ*, *gacchaḥ*, *jacchaḥ*. Isolated is Mg. *śāmyammadha* (§ 488) and AMg. *uggamamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 41). Hc. 4,215, besides derives *acchaḥ* from *ās*, K1.4,10 from *as* (to be), the scholiasts mostly equate it with *tiṣṭhati*. ASCOLI will like to trace it back to the corresponding Pāli *acchati*, from a hypothetical future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate*¹ of *ās*, CHILDERS² and FISCHER³ to **āssakadi* from *ās*, as Hc., E. MÜLLER to *gam* with dropping out of *g*⁴, later with TRENCKNER and TORP to an aorist **ātsit* from *ās*⁵; E. KUHN considers it to be an inchoative formation from *as*⁶, JOHANSSON thinks it to be a future **assyati*, **atsyati* from **as*⁷. However, it strictly corresponds to the fourth verb in Skt., built according to *rcchati* from *ṛ* “to come into”, “to knock at”, of the *-ska*- conjugation, and which the Indian grammarians post as *rch* and B.-R. as *arch*. The meaning “to remain”, “to stand” is proved from the statement, that it is used in the sense of *indriyapralaya* as well as of *mūrtibhāva*, given in the Dhātupāṭha at 28,15. One compares also the use of *rcchati*, *archati* in the Brāhmaṇa⁸. Examples are: M. *acchasi*, *acchanti*, *acchaḥ*, *acchijjāḥi* (G. H.); JM. *acchāi*, *acchae*, *acchāmo*, *acchasu*, *acchaha*, *acchantassa*, *acchiuṃ*, *acchiya*, *acchiyavvaṃ* (Erz.; Dvār. 498,12; 500,9; 501,9; Āv. 14,25. 30; 24,17; 26,28; 29,22); AMg. *acchāi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4; Uttar. 902 ff.), *acchāhi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Vivāhap. 807. 817), *acchējja* (Hc. 3,160; Vivāhap. 116; Ovav. § 185), Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16)⁹; P. *acchati*, *acchate* (Hc. 4,319); A. *acchaḥ* (Hc. 4,406,3). On *acchā* see § 466.

1. Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft p. 265, note 49.—2. Dictionary s. v. *acchati*. — 3. GGA. 1875, 627 f.; BB. 3,155 f.; on Hc. 4,215. — 4. Beiträge p. 36. — 5. Simplified Grammar. p. 100.—6. In E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 66.—7. Shāhbazgarhi II, 23; KZ. 32,460, note 2.—8. B.-R. s. v. *arch*; FISCHER, GGA. 1890, 532. JOHANSSON

l. c. note 3 wrongly rejects this derivation, since he thinks of *ἐρπονται*.—g. On Vr. 12,19 see FISCHEL, KB. 8,143 f.

§ 481. Deviating from Classical Skt. *kram* retains, as not seldom in the Epic in Skt., the short vowel in the parasmaip. : M. *kamanta-*, *akkamasi*, *akkamanta-*, *nikkamai*, *nikkhamai*, *vinikkamai*, *vinikkhamai*, *samkamai* (G. H.); JM. *kamāi* (Rśabh. 38), *akkamāmo* (Erz. 35,36), *aikkamai*, *aikkamejja* (Āv. 47,23; Kk. 271,2.7); AMg. *kamāi* (Vivāhap. 1249), *aikkamai* (Vivāhap. 136.137), *aikkamanti* (Kappas. S. § 63), *avakkamai*, *anti* (Vivāhap. 845.1252), *avakkamejja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *nikkhamai*, *nikkhamanti* (Vivāhap. 146; Nirayāv. § 23; Kappas. § 19), *nikkhamējja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7; 2,1,9,2), *nikkhamamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2), *paṇḍinikkhamai*, *anti* (Vivāhap. 187,916; Nāyādh. § 34; p. 1427; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pakkamai* (Vivāhap. 1249), *vakkamai*, *anti* (Vivāhap. 111.465; Paṇṇav. 28.29.41.43; Kappas. § 19.46^b), *viukkamanti* (Vivāhap. 465), metrically also *kammāi* = *krāmyati* (Uttar. 209); Ś. *adikkamasi* (Ratn. 297,29); Ś. D. *avakkamadi* (Mṛcch. 97,24; 103,15); *nikkamāmi* (Śak. 115,6), *nikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 51,4; Vikr. 16,1), *nikkama* (Mṛcch. 16,10; Śak. 36,12), *nikkamamha* (Priyad. 17,16; Nāgān. 18,3; Ratn. 306,30; Karp. 85,7). In Mālatīm. 188,2 *parikkāmadi* is a false reading for *paribbhamadi* or *paribbhamanti*, as the ed. Bomb. 1892 and the ed. Madras (both ° *mandi*) have, at 285,2 stands *parikkamedha*; Mg. *adikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 43,10), *avakkamamha*, *niskamadi*, *niskama* (Mṛcch. 22,2; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22). Cf. § 302.

§ 482. Several verbs, that in Sanskrit are of the first conjugation, presuppose in Pkt., as the vowel points, to be of the sixth conjugation. M. *jai* = **jvati* for *jī'vati*, *jianti*, *jiaū*, *jianta-*, but also *jiasi*, *iivējja*, *jianta* (Hc. 1,101; G. H. R.), Ś. Mg. have only a long vowel. So Ś. *jīāmi* (Uttarar. 132, 7; so to be read with ed. Calc. 1831, p. 89,10), *jīvadi* (Mṛcch. 172,6; 325,18), *jīāmo* (Mudrār. 34,10), *jīveam* (Mālav. 55,11), *jīva* (Mṛcch. 145,11; Śak. 33,7; 67,7), *jīadu* (Mṛcch. 154,15); Mg. *jīadi*, *jīvaṣi*, *jīva*, *jīanta-* (Mṛcch. 12,20; 38,7; 161,19; 170,5; 171,8.9), also *jīveṣi* (Mṛcch. 119,21).—*ghisai* = **ghasati* for *ghāsati* = *ghasti* (Vr. 8,28 [so to be read]; Hc. 4,204; Kī. 4,46 [text *gha*]; Mk. fol. 55).—*jimāi* beside *jemāi*, *jimmāi* (§ 488).—AMg. *bhisanti-* (Ovav.), *bhisamāṇa* (Nāyādh.), *bhisamāṇa* (Rāyap. 47.105), intensive *bhibbhisamāṇa*, ° *māṇa* (§ 556) from *bhisai* = **bhāsati* for *bhāsati* (§ 109; Hc. 4,203).—*uvivai* = **udvipāte* for *udvépate* (§ 236).—The doubling of *l* in M. *alliai*, *uwalliai*, *samalliai* = *ālīyate*, *upā*, *samā* (§ 196.474), AMg. causative *allijāvei* (§ 551) too may point to the same flexion. Cf. § 194. *ruh* tends to be inflected according to the 6th conjugation, when it is combined with a prefix: M. JM. *āruhai*, *samāruhai*, *samāruhasu* (G. H. R. ; Erz.); AMg. *duruhai* = *udrohati* (§ 118; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often), in Vivāhap. throughout (pro ex. 124,504. 506.824 f. 980.1128.1231.1301.1311.1317.1325 ff.) and elsewhere often as v. l. *durūhai*, hardly correct, *duruhejja* (Āyār. 2,3, 1,13.14), JM. *duruhe'ttā* (Erz.); AMg. *paccoruhai*, *paccoruhanti* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. also 870.1354.1456); Vivāhap. 173.948), *viruhanti* (Uttar. 356), *āruhai* (Vivāhap. 1273); Ś. *āruhadha*, *āruha* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 66,14.17), *āruhadi* (Pras. 35,8), *āruhadu* (Uttarar. 32,6.7); Mg. *āluha* Nāgān. 68,3), *āluhadu*, *ahiluha*, *ahiluhāmi*, *ahiluhadu* (Mṛcch. 99,8; 119,3.6,9.11.13). The simplex is inflected: M. JM. *rohanti* (G. 727; Dvār. 503,7) and so also *ārohadu* (Śak. 39,12; 97,18; Vikr. 39,2).—*dhuu* (to wash) may, according to Hc. 4,238, form *dhāvai* = Skt. *dhāvati*. In M. however, it behaves as of the 6. conjugation: *dhuvasi* (Hc. 2,216=H. 369), *dhuvasi* (H.), *dhuvai* (Hc. 4,238), *dhuai* (H.), *dhuvanta-* (R.). Thence a root *dhuu* is deduced, which secondarily is inflected according to the 1. conjugation, as *ru*, *svap* (§ 473.497): AMg. *dhovasi*, *dhovai* (Nirayāv. 77;

Sūyag. 344); also according to the *e*-conjugation *dhovei* (Nirajāv. 76. 77; Nāyādh. 1219. 1220. 1501), *padhoveṇti* (Āyār. 2,2,3,10); JM. *dhovanti* (Āv. 25,22); Ś. *dhoadi* (Mṛcch. 70,10), inf. *dhoidum* (Mṛcch. 45,5); Mg. *dhovehi*, fut. *dhoiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 45,7. 20). So Pāli *dhovati*. — *hivai*, which Hc. 4,238 mentions beside *havaī*, is derived from *bhu* by Sr.fol.47.—Beside the usual *śīai*, JM. AMg. *śīyāi*, Ś. *śīdadi*, Mg. *śīdadi* = *śīdati*, according to Hc. 4,219, *śīdai* too is in use (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,219). On *ṣasia* see § 80, on *bhaṇ* § 514.

§ 483. *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* build the present stem, as in Skt. by reduplication: *āigghai* = *ājighrati* (Hc. 4,13), *jigghia* = *ghrāta* (Deśin. 3,46).—M. *piāi*, *pīanti*, *piāū*, *piantu* (G. H. R.), *pivai* (Nāgān. 41,5), *piāmo* (Karp. 24,9=Kāleṃyāk. 16,17, where *piāmo*); JM. *pivai* (Āv. 30,36; 42,12. 18. 20. 28. 37), *piyaha* = *piyata* (Dvār. 496,35), also *piāi* (Erz. 69,1); AMg. *pivai* (Vivāhap. 1256), *piva* (Nāyādh. 1332), *pie* (Dasav. 638,26), *piejja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2), *piyamāne* (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. *pivadi* (Viddhaś. 124,4), *pīanti* (Mṛcch. 71,10), *pivadu* (Śak. 105,13), *āpivanti* (Mṛcch. 59,24); Mg. *pivāmi*, *pivāhi*, *pivamha* (Venīs. 33,4; 34,2. 15; 35,22), *pīanti* (Mṛcch. 113, 21), *piva* (Prab. 60,9); A. *piāi*, *pīanti*, *piāhu* (Hc. 4,419,1. 6; 422,20). On *pijjaī* see § 539. — *sthā* forms M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,16; H.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5. 6; 1,5,5,1; Sūyag. 310.613; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *ciṭṭhas* (Āv. 36,26; Kk.); AMg. *ciṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 274. 282,291. 612 f.; Kappas.), *ciṭṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10), *ciṭṭhejja* (Āyār. 2,1,4,3 [text false *cē*°]), 2,1,5,6. 6,2; 2,3,2,6; Vivāhap. 116. 925), *ciṭṭhe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,16), *ciṭṭham*, *aciṭṭham* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *ciṭṭhai* (H.); JM. *ciṭṭhaha* (Kk.); AMg. inf. *ciṭṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513. 1119) beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1. 2), particip. nec. *ciṭṭhiyava* (Vivāhap. 163); AMg. *āciṭṭhāmo* (Sūyag. 734), *pariviciṭṭhai* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), also in the noun *saṃciṭṭhaṇa* = *avasthāna* (Vivāhap. 55ff.). Whilst *ciṭṭhai* is seldom in M., so that Vr. Ki. Mk. do not at all mention it for M., *ciṭṭhadi* is the exceptional form in Ś. (Vr. 12,16; Ki. 5,81 [text *thiṭṭhadi*]; Mk. fol. 71; Mṛcch. 27,4; 45,23; 54,4. 10; 57,3; 59,23; 72,10 etc.; Śak. 34,3; 79,11; 155,10; Vikr. 15,12.14; 24,6; 41,9 and exceedingly often), *ciṭṭhāmi* (Mṛcch. 6,8; Vikr. 33,4), *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 12,4; Vikr. 32,5), *ciṭṭhamha* (Priyad. 17,4; Mālatim. 255,5), *ciṭṭhadha* (Mālatim. 247,4) and very often, also in compounds, as *anuciṭṭhadi* (Mṛcch. 151,16; 155,5; Vikr. 41,6), *anuciṭṭhāmi* (Prab. 69,3), *anuciṭṭha* (Vikr. 83,1), *anuciṭṭhida* (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15), *anuciṭṭhiadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Prab. 3,5) etc. so also Ā. *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 99,18); D. *ciṭṭhai* (Mṛcch. 104,2), *anuciṭṭhidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. *ciṭṭhadi* (Hc. 4,360). Mg., has *ciṭṭhadi*, which is pointed to by the manuscripts (§ 303), according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298; Ki. 5,95 [text *ciṭṭah*]; Mk. fol. 75 [MS. *ciṭṭitrā*]. According to Ki. 5,96 P. too has the same form as Mg. Cf. also § 216. 217. Like all roots in -ā (§ 487), *ghrā* and *sthā* too behave according to the 2. and 4. conjugations: M. AMg. *agghai* = Epic *āghrāti* (H. 641; Nāyādh. § 82; Paṇṇav. 429. 430); M. *agghānta* = *ājighrat* (H. 566; R. 13. 82); AMg. *agghāyāi* (Āyār. p. 136,27. 33); opt. *agghāijja* (Nandis. 363); AMg. *agghāyaha*, *agghāyamāna* (Nāyādh. § 83.104); M. JM. *thāi* = **sthāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,16; Ki. 4,76; H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 41,8), M. *niṭṭhāi* (H.), *saṃniṭṭhāi* (H.); JM. *thāha* (Āv. 27,27); A. *thanti* (Hc. 4,395,5); AMg. *thāējja* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *abbhūṭṭhanti* = *abhyutiṣṭhanti* (Sūyag. 734); JM. *thāyanti* (Rṣabhap. 27) corresponding to *thāanti*, *thāai*, *thāau* in Vr. 8,25,26; Ki. 4, 75.76 (§ 487). After *ud*, the vowel, according to the analogy of the *a*-declension, is shortened: *uṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,17); so JM. *uṭṭhaha* (Erz. 59,30); A. *uṭṭhai* (Piṅgala 1,137°). Usually the flexion with the *e*-stem is selected: AMg. *uṭṭhei*

(Vivāhap. 161. 1246; Uvās. § 193), *abbhutthai* (Kappas.); JM. *utthemā* (Āv. 41,19), *utthei* (Dvār. 503,32), *utthehi* (Erz. 42,3), *samutthehi* (Dvār. 503,27. 31); Ś. *utthehi* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 18,22; 51,5. 11; Nāgān. 86,10; 95,10; Priyad. 26,6; 37,9; 46,24; 53,6. 9), *utthehi* (Vikr. 33,15), *utthedu* (Mṛcch. 93,5; Śāk. 162,12), *utthedha* (Mṛcch. 24,17); Mg. *utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthedi*, also *utthanta*- (Mṛcch. 20,21; 134,19; 169,5). Cf. § 309.

§ 484. *daś* forms, according to Hc. 1,218, *daśai* (§ 222) corresponding to Skt. *daśati*. So JM. *daśai* (Āv. 42,13); AMg. *dasamāne*, *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4). Ś. forms, with retention of the nasal *daśasadi* (Śāk. 160,1), past passive participle from the present stem: *daśasido* (Mālav. 54,6).—*labh* shows nasal in the stem in AMg. *lambhāmi* (Uttar. 103) and in the fut. and passive in Ś. Mg. (§ 525. 541). On *khāi* = *khādati* (also Ki. 4,77) and *dhāi* = *dhāvati* see § 165.

§ 485. Of the verbs of the 6th class, those which insert a nasal in the present stem, *līp*, *lup*, *vid* and *sic* are treated as in Skt. From *līp* is found *allivai* = *ālīmpati* (§ 196; Hc. 4,39). Beside the *a*-stem the *e*-stem too may be used, as Ś. *siñcedi* (Śāk. 74,9) beside *siñcamha*, *siñcadi* (Śāk. 10,3; 15,3). *sic* forms also *seai* = **secati* (Hc. 4,96). — *muc* does not usually insert a nasal in M. JM. AMg. (Hc. 4,91): M. *muasi*, *muai*, *muanti*, *mua*, *muasu*, *muanta*- (G. H. R.; Śāk. 85,3), *āmuai* (G.); JM. *mujai* (Āv. 17,4; Erz. 52,8), *mujasu* (Kk. 262,19), *mujanto* (Erz. 23,34; so to be read); AMg. *mujai* (Vivāhap. 104. 508), *omujai* (Āyār. 2,15. 22; Vivāhap. 796. 835. 1208. 1317; Kappas.), *mujantesum* = *muñcatsu* (Nāyādh. § 62. 63), *viñimmujamāna*, *mujamāna* (Vivāhap. 254), *viñimmujamāni* = *vinirmuñcamānā* (Vivāhap. 822). So also JS. *mujadi* (Kattig. 403,383). The nasalized stem too is not seldom in M. JM: M. *muñcai* (H. 614; R. 3,30; 4,9; 7,49; 12,14), *muñcanti* (G. 258), *muñcaha* (R. 15,8; Karp. 12,6), *muñcanto* (Karp. 67,6; 86,10); JM. *muñca*, *muñcasu*, *muñcaha* (Erz.), *muñca*, *muñcanti* (Kk. 261,12; 272,7); in Ś. Mg. it alone can be used: Ś. *muñcadi* (Mudrār. 149,6), *muñca* (Mṛcch. 175,21; Śāk. 60,14; Ratn. 316,4; Nāgān. 36,4; 38,8), *muñcadu* (Vikr. 30,2), *muñcodha* (Mṛcch. 154,16; 161,18); Mg. *muñcadu*, *muñcanti* (Mṛcch. 31,18,21; 168,19), *muñca* (Prab. 50,6). Not seldom is also the *e*-stem: M. *muñcesi* (H. 928); Ś. *muñcedi*, *muñcesi* (Śāk. 51,6; 154,12), *muñcedha* (Mṛcch. 161,25; Śāk. 116,7), *muñcehi* (Mṛcch. 326,10; Vṛṣabh. 20,15; 59,12).—*kṛt* (to chop) forms AMg. *kantai* (Sūyag. 360), dialectically *oandai* = *apakṛntati* (Hc. 4,125 = *acchinatti*; cf. § 275). In AMg. the root in conjunction with *vi* under retention of the nasalization goes over to the 4. conjugation: *vigiñcai* = **vikṛntyati*, *vigiñcamāne* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,6,2,4); *vigiñca* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Uttar. 170), *vigiñcēja* (Āyār. 2,3,2,6); absol. *vigiñca* (Sūyag. 500. 506). Cf. *kicci* § 271 and *nirujjai* § 507.

§ 486. *spṛs* forms in AMg. regularly *phusai* = *spṛsati*, *phusanti* = *spṛsanti*, *phusantu* = *spṛsantu*, *phusamāne* = *spṛsamānaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3. 3,2. 5,1; 1,7,7. 1; Vivāhap. 97. 98. 354. 355. 1288; Ovav.). Identical with it are *phusai* *pusai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105; G. H. R.) and *phusai* (roams about; Hc. 4,161)¹. Hc. 4,182 mentions also *phāsai*, *phaṁsai*, *pharisai*, which presuppose one **sparsati*. *phāsai* occurs in AMg. *samphāse* = **saṁsparśet* = *saṁspṛśet* (Āyār. 2,1,3,3. 5,5. 9,2. 4. 5. 6. 10,2. 3; 2,3,2,13). *pharisai* is formed as *karisai* = *karṣati*, *marisai* = *marṣati*, *varisai* = *varṣati*, *harisai* = *harṣati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Ki. 4,72)². The same type of conjugation is presupposed by *puṁsai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105), *uppuṁsia*, *oṇpuṁsia* (G. 57. 778 beside *oṇpusia* 723), which has been forced into Skt. as *utpuṁsaya*³.—*truṭ* forms also *toḍai* = **tróṭati* (Hc. 4,116), beside *tuḍai* = *truṭṭati* and *tuṭṭai*

= *trūṭyati*, as *mīl* forms *melaī* in M. *meliṇa* (§ 562), AMg. *melanti* (Vivāhap. 950), A. *melavi* (Hc. 4,429,1).—On *kr*, *mṛ* see § 477, on *sr* § 235, on *phuṭṭai* § 488, note 1.

1. The common basic meaning is "to slip over something, to go away", which easily yields "to rest". The derivation from *proh* (WEBER, Hāla s. v. *pus*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32, 99) is linguistically impossible. — 2. References in FISCHER on Hc. 4,235 and above under § 135. — 3. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 58. The nasal in *puṃsai* is not original as S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32, 99 note 2 means, but it is to be explained, as in *phaṃsai*, according to § 74. In H. 706 Dhva-nyāloka 155,11 reads *mā puṃsa* for *mā pusasu*.

§ 487. The 4. class has in Pkt. undergone a wider extension than that in Skt. There are a larger number of roots, that are conjugated according to this class, that were either never or only seldom so conjugated in Skt. All the roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than *a*, may according to Hc. 4,240 (cf. Vr. 8,21. 25. 26; Kī. 4,65. 75. 76; Mk. fol. 54) follow this conjugation: *pāāi* = **pāyati* beside *pāi* = *pāti* (protects); *dhāāi*, *dhāi* = *dadhāti*; *thāāi*, *thāi*, 3. plur. *thāanti*, JM. *thāyanti*, A. *thanti* (§ 483); *vikkeāi* beside *vikkei* = **vikrayati*²; *hoāūna* beside *hoūna* from the stem *ho* = *bhava*, which according to Sr. fol. 47 is inflected also as *hoāmi*, *hoasi*, *hoai* (§ 476). The duplicity of flexion is sometimes found already in Vedic, as *uvvāi* = Vedic *udvāyati*, *uvvāi* = Skt. *udvāti*. — *jambhāāi*, *jambhāi* are denominatives from *jmbhā*. AMg. *jāi* (Sūyag. 540; Uttar. 170), beside the usual M. *jāāi* = *jāyate*, too is formed from *jan* according to a similar analogy. Examples from literature are M. *māasi*, *māāi*, *māanti*, *amāanta-* (H.), JM. *māyanti* (Erz.), Ś. *nimmāanta-* (Mālatim. 121,1) from *mā*, which forms *māyate*; A. *māi* (Hc. 4,351,1) too, in addition to *māti*, *mimīti*, according to Dhātupāṭha 26,33.—M. *vāāi* (Ratn. 293,3), *vāanti*, *vāanta-* (G. R.), *niivāanti*, *niivāanta-* (R.), *parivāāi* (G.), *pavvāāi* (R.), Ś. *vāādi* (Śak 115,2 v. 1.), beside M. *vāi*, *āvāi*, *niivāi* (G. H.), JS. *niivādi* (Pav. 388,6), M. *vanti* (Karp. 10,2 v. 1.; Dhūrtas. 4,20 v. 1.), yet *vāanti* (Karp. 12,4).—JM. *paḍihā āi* (Āv. 33,28); Ś. *paḍihādi* = **pratibhāyati* = *pratibhāti* (Bālar. 135,11) beside *paḍihāsi* (Vikr. 7,18), *paḍihādi* (Mr̥ch. 71,25 ["bhā"]); Śak. 12,7; Vikr. 13,2;24,2; Nāgān. 4,49, often with the v. 1. *paḍihāadi*; M. A. *paḍihāi* (Hc. 3,80; G. H.; Hc. 4,441,1); Ś. *bhādi* (Mr̥ch. 73,14), *viḥādi* (Prab. 57,2).—Ś. *patiāasi* = *pratiyāsi* (§ 281) (Mr̥ch. 82,3; Ratn. 301,7;317,9; Nāgān. 37,7 [so correctly the v. 1.]), *patiāadi* (Nāgān. 30,3 [so rightly ed. Calc. 29,8]; Pras. 46,14; Ratn. 309,24; Vikr. 41,10 [so to be read with v. 1.]; Mg. *patiāāsi* (Mr̥ch. 130,13), *patiāadi* (Mr̥ch. 167,2), *patiāadha* (Mr̥ch. 165,9; Mudrār. 257,4 [so rightly v. 1. and ed. Calc. 212,9]), *patiāanti* (Mr̥ch. 167,1), passive *patiāādi* (Mr̥ch. 165,13).³ Against this are inflected in AMg. JM. M. completely according to the analogy of the first class: AMg. *patiijāmi* (Sūyag. 1015; Uvās. § 12; Nāyādh. § 133; Vivāhap. 134. 161. 803), *patiijai* (Vivāhap. 845), *patiijanti* (Vivāhap. 841 f.), opt. *patiijjā* (Paṇṇav. 577; Rāyap. 250), imperative *patiijahi* (Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134); JM. *patiijasi* (Erz. 52,20), *apāthiantena* (T. 6,18); M. *patiasī*, *puttiāi* (R. 11,90; 13,44); from which the imperative is M. *patia* (H.), falsely M. *patihi* (R. 11,94; the v. 1. rightly *patia*; Kāvyaṇṇakāśa 195,2; v. 1. rightly *patia*) and M. *patisu* (H. v. 1.), in dependence upon the false etymology = *pratihi*. Ś. *patiijāmi* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 42,12), *patiijasi* (Karpas. 31,11) are false; for the first KONOVO 40,9 reads *patiāmi*. — *nhāi* = *snāti* (Hc. 4,14); AMg. *snāi* (Sūyag. 344); JM. *nhāmo* = *snāmah* (Āv. 17,7); Mg. *snāmi* = *snāmi* (Mr̥ch. 113,21).—Cf. § 313. 314.—AMg. *paccāyanti* (Ovav. § 56) belongs to *jan* (LEUMANN s. v.), likewise *āyanti*, as Karpas. § 17 is to be read according to the v. 1.; opt. 1. sing. *payājējjā* (Nirayāv. 59), 2. sing. *payājējjasi* (Nāyādh. 420). On AMg. *jāi* = *jāyate* see above. Cf. also § 479.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 343; FISCHER, BB. 13,9. — 2. *vikkeai* is more correctly to be taken as the denominative from *vikreya* (§ 511). — 3. There with the help of the v. l. it is to be read: *yañ śaccakam pi na pattivādi*. The form *pattivādi* is likewise false as *Ś. pattivādi* at Mṛch. 325,19.

§ 488. The auslaut of the roots ending in a consonant in conjunction with *ya* undergoes the alteration described in the section on Phonology (§ 279—286): *paccaī* = *nṛtyati*; *jujjhai* = *yudhyate*; *tuṭṭai* = *trutyati*; *manṇai* = *manyate*; *kuppai* = *kupyati*; *lubbhai* = *lubhyati*; *uttammai* = *uttāmyati*; *nassaī*, AMg. JM. *nāsaī*, M. *nāsaī* = *naśyati* (§ 63); *rūsaī*, *tūsaī*, *sūsaī*, *dūsaī*, *pūsaī*, *sīsaī* (Bh. 8,46; Hc. 4,236; Kt. 4,68), AMg. JM. *pāsaī* = *paśyati* (§ 63). — According to the *e*-conjugation is formed JM. *tūseḍi* (Kattig. 400,335). Deviating from Skt. are conjugated according to the 4. class pro ex. *kukkai*, *koḥkai* = **krukyati* = **kruśyati* = *krośati* (Hc. 4,76)²; *callai* = **calyati* = *calati* (Vr. 8,53; Hc. 4,231) beside the usual *calai*, also in compounds, as *oallanti* = *avacalanti*, *oallanta-* (R.), *paallai* (Hc. 4,77), *pariallai* (Hc. 4,162); *jimmai* = **jimyati* beside *jimai*, *jemai* = *jemati* (Hc. 4,230; cf. 4,110); *thakkai* = **sthakyati* (Hc. 4,16)³; **millai* = **milyati* = *mīlāti* in compounds: *ummillai*, *ṇimillai*, *paṇimillai*, *saṇmillaī* (Vr. 8,54; Hc. 4,232; G. R.; in A. *ummillai* (Hc. 4,354); Mg. *saṇmyammadha* = **saṇmyamyata* = *saṇmyacchata* (Mṛch. 11, 3); Ś. *ruccadi* = **rucyate* = *rocate* (Vikr. 31,3; 40,18; Mālav. 15,14; 77, 21), A. *ruccai* (Hc. 4,341,1), beside *roadi* (Mṛch. 7,14; 44,5; 58,14; Śak. 54,4; Vikr. 24,7; 41,18), Mg. *loadi* (Mṛch. 139,16; Śak. 159,3); *laggai* = **lagyati* = *lagati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230); Ś. *olagganti* (Mālav. 39,14), *villaggantaṁ* (Mṛch. 325,14); Mg. *laggadi* (Mṛch. 79,10); A. *laggai* (Hc. 4,420,5; 422,7), *laggivi* (Hc. 4,339); Dh. *vajjasi*, *vajjadi*, *vajja* from *vraja* (Mṛch. 30,4,10; 39,10), Ś. *vajjamha* (Pras. 35,17), false *vaccasi* (Cait. 57, 2)⁴, Mg. *vayyeṇi*, *pavayyami* (Mṛch. 120,12; 175,18). In Mg. A. *vraj* may be conjugated also according to the 9. class: Mg. *vaññāmi*, *vaññādaśśa* (Lalitav. 566,7, 17), *vaññadi* = **vraññāti* (Hc. 4,294; Sr. fol. 63)⁵; A. *vuñai*, absol. *vuñeppi*, *vuñeppinu* (Hc. 4,392). AMg. has also *vajāmo* (Sūyag. 268), *vajanti* (Sūyag. 277).

1. FISCHER, BB. 13,18 f. In many cases one could think of the flexion according to the 6. class, as it certainly is in *phutai* = *sphuṭa'ti* (Vr. 8, 53; Hc. 4,231). — 2. FISCHER, BB. 3,256. — 3. FISCHER, BB. 3,258 f. — 4. Cf. § 202. In Mṛch. 109,19 we should for *vajjissāmo* read *bajjhissāmo*, fut. pass. from *bandh*; cf. v. l. — 5. In the verse in Mudār. 250,5 we should approximately read *vayyedha* instead of the transmitted *vajjeha*, as with HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,109 *vaññedha*. Cf. also *vaññāte* (Mallikām. 144,7).

§ 489. Some roots that follow the 4. class in Sanskrit go over to the first class or to the sixth class, partly compulsorily and partly optionally in Pkt. *man* may form *maṇai* = **manate* too (Hc. 4,7) beside the usual *maṇṇai* = *manyate*. Thereof the 1. sing. pres. atm. *maṇe* is frequent in M. (§ 457). M. AMg. JM. A. *muṇai*, JŚ. *muṇadi* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Mk. fol. 53; G. H. R.; Acyutaś. 82; Pratāp. 202,15; 204,10; Vikr. 26,8; Āyār. 1,7,8,13; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,85. 86. 90. 95 etc.; Kattig. 398, 303; 399,313. 316; 400,337) and AMg. *munejavva* (Paṇṇav. 33), JŚ. *muṇadavva* (Pav. 380,8; text °ja°) too are traced back to *man*. Against this derivation speaks the meaning "to know" as well as Pāli *munāti*. I derive *muṇai* from Vedic *mūta* in *kāmamūta* and Skt. *muni*. Cf. *animo movere*. — As sometimes already in Epic Skt., *śam* in Pkt. may form its stem according to the 1. class: *samai* (Hc. 4,167), *uvasamai* (H. 4,239). So M. *paḍisamai* (R. 6,44); AMg. *uvasamai* (Kappas. S. § 59); JM. *uvasamasu* (Erz. 3,13), *pasamanti* (Āv. 16,20); Mg. *uvaśamadi* (Hc. 4,299 = Verīs. 34,11, where GRILL reads *uvaśammadi*; cf. however, the v. l. and ed. Calc. 71,7). But more frequent is the inflection according to the 4. class, as

in Skt.: M. *ṇisammai*, *ṇisammanti*; *ṇisammasu*, *ṇisammanta-* (G.), *pasammai*, *pasammanta-* (G.R.); *parisāmai* (Hc. 4,167).—*śram* is conjugated according to the 1. class: AMg. *samāi* (Uttar. 38); JM. *uvasamanti* (Āv. 35,29); M. JM. *visamāmi*, *visamasi*, *visamāi*, *visamāmo*, *visamasu*, *visamāu* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Hc. 1,43; 4,159); JM. *visamamāṇa* (Dvār. 501,5); Ś. *visama* (Mṛcch. 97,12), *visamamha* (Ratn. 302,32), passive *visamiadu* (Mṛcch. 77,11), *vissamīadu* (Śak. 32,9; Vikr. 77,15).—*vidh* (*vyadh*) goes in M. AMg. JM. according to the 6. class with nasal inserted: M. *vindhanti* (Karp. 30,6); AMg. *vindhaī* (Uttar. 788), opt. *vindhējja* (Vivāhap. 122), *āvindhējja vā pivindhējja vā* (Āyār. 2,13,20), also in the causative *āvindhāvei* (Āyār. 2,15,20); JM. *āvindha* (Āv. 38,7,10.35), *āvindhāmo*, *āvindhāsu* (Āv. 17,8; 38,33), *oindhaī* (Āv. 38.36). In AMg. *vehaī* = *vedhoti* (Sūyag 186) goes according to the 1. class, and with *ud* according to the 6. class without nasal: *uvvīhaī* = **udvidhāti* = *udvidhyati* (Nāyādh. 958.959; Vivāhap. 1388).—*śliṣ* forms *silesai* = **śleṣati*=*śliṣyati* (Hc. 4,190) according to the first class.

§ 490. The verbs of the 10. class and the denominatives and causatives, so far as they are built similarly, tend to contract *-aya-* to *-e-*: PG. *abhatthemī* = *abhayarthayāmi* (7,44); M. *kahei* = *kathayāti* (H.), *kaheṇti* (G.); JM. *kahemi*, *kaheha* (Erz.); AMg. *kahei* (Uvās.), *parikahemo* (Nirayāv. 60); Ś. *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 60,2; 80,17; 142,9; 146,4; 152,24; Śak. 37,16; 50,12; Vikr. 51,11 etc.), *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Mṛcch. 28,2; Śak. 52,7; 113,12); Mg. *kadhedi* (Śak. 117,5).—M. *gaṇei*=*gaṇayati*, *gaṇēnta* (R.); *gaṇesi* (Śak. 156,5).—M. *cintesi*, *cintei*, *cintēnti*, *cinteum* (G. H. R.); AMg. *cintei* (Uvās.); JM. *cintesi* (Erz.), *cintēnti* (Āv.43,21); Ś. *cintemi* (Vikr. 40,20), *cintehi* (Śak. 54,7; Vikr. 46,8; Ratn. 309,13), *cintemo* (Mahāv. 134,11).—Ś. *takkemi* (Mṛcch. 39,3; 59,25; 79,1.4; 95,3; Śak. 9,11; 98,8; 117,10; 132,11 and very often), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 99,11; 122,12; 141,2; 163,22; 170,17); A. *takkei* (Hc. 4,370,3).—AMg. *pariyāveṇti* = *paritāpayanti* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); Ś. *samīāvedī* (Śak. 127,7).—AMg. *veḍheī* = *veṣṭayati* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 621; Nirayāv. § 11), *varemo* = *varayāmaḥ* (Vivāgas. 229), *vedemo* = *vedayāmaḥ* (Vivāhap. 70). Non-contracted forms are more frequent only before the following double consonants, especially *nt*, as AMg. *tālayanti* = *tādayanti* (verse; Uttar. 360,365) beside *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālei* (Nāyādh. 1236.1305), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *sobhayantā* (Jiv. 886), *paḍisaṃveṣṭayanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *avaaṃsaanti*=*avatāmsayanti* (Śak. 2,15); JM. *cintayanto*, *cintayantānam* (Erz.); Ś. *cintaanto* (Vikr. 42,8), *cintaantassa* (Śak. 30,5); P. *cintayamāṇi*, *cintayanto* (Hc. 4,310.322); Ś. *daṃsaantie* = *darśayantiyā*, *daṃsaamha*, *daṃsaissam*, *daṃsaissasi*,^odi; Mg. *daṃsaante* beside Ś. *daṃsemi*, *daṃsesi*, *daṃsehi*, *daṃsedum* (§ 554); Ś. *paḍsaanto* = *prakāśayan* (Ratn. 313,33) beside M. *paḍsei*, *paḍseṇti*, *paḍseṇtiṃ* (G.); Mg. *paḍāṣeṃha* (text ^{se}) = *prakāśayāma* (Lalitav. 567,1); Ś. *peṣaanteṇa* = *preṣayatiā* (Śak. 140,13); Ś. *dāsaanti* = *āyāsayanti* (Vṛsabh. 50,10). More seldom in other cases, as Ś. *pavesaami* (Mṛcch. 45,25) beside Ś. *pavesehi* (Mṛcch. 68,5); Mg. *paveṣehi* (Mṛcch. 118,9.19); Ś. *virāaami* = *viracayāmi* (Śak. 79,1), Ś. *assāsaadi* = *āśvāsayati* (Venṣ. 10,4); Ś. *ciraadi* = *cirayati* (Mṛcch. 59,22); Ś. *jaṇaadi* = *janayati* (Śak. 131,8), where, however, we should, with the v. l. read *jaṇedi*, as M. *jaṇei* (H.), *jaṇēnti* (H. R.); M. *vaṇṇaāmo* = *varṇayāmaḥ* (Bālar. 182,10). Always in AMg. JM., and in AMg. very frequently is used *dalaya-* "to give": *dalayāmi* (Nāyādh. § 94; Nirayāv. § 19; p. 62; Erz. 67,27), *dalayai* (Vivāgas. 35.132.211.223; Nāyādh. § 55.125; p. 265.432.439.442.449; Rāyap. 191 ff.; Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc.), *dalayāmo* (Vivāgas. 230; Nāyādh. 291), *dalayanti* (Vivāgas. 84.209; Nāyādh.

§ 120), *dalajjējjā*, *dalajāhi* (Āyār. 1,7,5,2; 2,1,10,6. 7; 2,6,1,10), *dalajaha* (Nirayāv. § 19), *dalajamāṇe* (Nāyādh. § 113; Kappas. § 103 [so to be read, as § 28 *dalajai* with A]). Cf. § 474.

§ 491. In Skt. denominatives may be derived from nominal stems without a particular affix, as *aṅkurati* from *aṅkura*, *kṛṣṇati* from *kṛṣṇa*, *darpaṇati* from *darpaṇa* (KIELHORN § 476; WHITNEY § 1054). This sort of formation, that is not frequent in Skt., is very usual in Pkt., especially in M. and A. The denominatives derived from the feminine forms ending in *-ā* shorten it, as in all similar cases (§ 487. 500. 510 f.) and are conjugated according to the 1. class. Thus from M. *kahā* = *kathā* are derived *kahāmi* *kahasi*, *kahāi*, *kahāmo*, *kahaha*, *kahanti*. From this it results that beside the forms ending in *-e* = *-aya-*, mentioned in § 490, those in *-a-* are found not seldom. So: M. *kahāi* (Hc. 1,187; 4,2; H. 59); AMg. *kahāhi* (Sūyag. 423), *kahasu* (Uttar. 700,703); A. *kahi* = **kathēh* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,422, 14).—M. *gaṇai*, *gaṇanti*, *gaṇantiē* (H.); A. *gaṇai*, *gaṇanti*, *gaṇantiē* (Hc.; also 4,353).—M. *cintāi*, *cintanti* (H.), *vinītantā* = *vicintayantaḥ* (G.); A. *cintāi*, *cintantiā* = *cintayātām* (Hc.).—M. *ummūlanti* = *ummūlayanti* (H.), *ummūlanta-* (R.) beside *ummūlēnti* (R.), *kāmanta-* = *kāmayamānaḥ* (H.) beside *kāmei* (Hc. 4,44), *kāmemo* (H.), *kāmēnti* (G.), *pasānti* = *prasādayati* beside *pasāsi*, *pasāamāṇassa* (H.), *papphoḍai*, *papphoḍanti* = *pasphoṭayati*, *ṇanti* (H.), *maṇlanti* = *mukulayanti* (H.), *maṇlāu* (G.), *maṇlanta-* (R.) beside *maṇlei*, *maṇlēnti* (R.), *maṇlīntā* (G.); A. *pāhasi* = *prāthayasi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 530). *a* is found preponderantly before *nt*, as the uncontracted forms (§ 490). Thence it is possible that the entire formation of these forms has developed. A *gaṇanti* = Skt. *gaṇayanti* must have through **gaṇānti* become *gaṇanti*, whence are deduced *gaṇāmi*, *gaṇasi*, *gaṇai*. In S. Mg. the forms with *a*, except in verses, are never found. In no case we can assume transition of *e* into *a*¹. On the causatives see also § 551 ff., on the denominatives § 557 ff.

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 60; cf., however, there the note 4.

§ 492. The roots in *-a* of the 2. class are conjugated as in Skt. or according to the 4. class (§ 487). *khyā* in conjunction with prefixes may in AMg. be conjugated according to the 2. class: *akkhāi* = *ākhyāti* (Vivāhap. 966); *akkhanti* = *ākhyānti* (Sūyag. 456. 465. 522); = *āghaṇ* = *ākhyān* (Sūyag. 397), *paccakkhāmi* (Uvās.), *paccakkhāi* (Thāṇ. 119; Vivāhap. 119. 607; Uvās.); *paccakkhāmo* (Ovav.). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24) is a false reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 499). However, in AMg., as in Pāli, the roots are mostly reduplicated and inflected according to the *a*-conjugation as *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* (§ 483)¹: *āikkhāmi* = **ācikyāmi* (Sūyag. 579; Thāṇ. 149; Jiv. 343; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 325. 341. 1033), *āikkhāi* (Sūyag. 620; Āyār. 2,15,28,29; Vivāhap. 915.1032; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.) = Pāli *ācikkhati*; *saṃcikkhāi* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2), *āikkhāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *āikkhanti* (Āyār. 1,4, 1,1; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 647. 969; Vivāhap. 139. 341; Jiv. 343), *abbhāikkhāi*, *abbhāikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3), *abbhāikkhanti* (Sūyag. 969); *paccāikkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,15,5,1), *āikkhe*, *āikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,6,5,1; 2,3,3,8; Sūyag. 661.663), *paḍiyāikkhe* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2), *paḍisaṃcikkhe*, *saṃcikkhe* (Uttar. 103. 106), *āikkhāhi* (Vivāhap. 150), *āikkhaha* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8 ff.; Nāyādh. § 83), *āikkhamāṇa* (Ovav. 59), *paccāikkhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 607), *saṃcikkhamāṇa* (Uttar. 440).

1. FISCHEL, BB, 15,126. The usual derivation from *caks* (§ 499) is wrong.

§ 493. *i* is inflected mostly as in Skt. The 3. plur. parasmaipada nevertheless is M. AMg. *ēnti* (G. R.; Kāleyak. 3,8; Āyār. p. 15,6), likewise in compounds: M. *aṇṇēnti* = *anuyanti* (R.); M. *ēnti* = *āyanti* (R.;

Dhūrtas. 4,20 Karp. 10,2); M. AMg. *uvēnti* = *upayanti* (G.; Āyār. 2,16,1; Sūyag. 468; Dasav. 627,12), AMg. *samuveṇti* (Dasav. 635,2). AMg. has for it also *inti* (Paṇṇav. 43), *ninti* = *niyanti* in the sense of *niriyanti* (Paṇhāv. 381. 382), *palinti* = *pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95.134), *sampalinti* (Sūyag. 52), *uvinti* (Sūyag. 259) and *uvinte* (Sūyag. 271), *samanninti* = *samanuyanti* (Ovav. [§ 37]). It is obvious to consider *e* as the original, that developed on the analogy of the sing. *emi*, *esi*, *ei* and to derive *i* from it according to § 84. If, however, AMg. *ninti* is the correct reading, it cannot be separated from M. *ninti* (G.; H. v. 1.; R.), *vininti* (Dhvanyāloka 237, 2 = H. 954), *ainti* (G.), *parinti* (R.), which then must be explained as having arisen from *ninti*, **ninti*, **vininti*, **vininti*, **ainti*, **ainti*, **parinti*, **parinti*. *inti*, as Pāli too has, is formed according to **imo*, **iha* = Skt. *imāḥ*, *iha*. The participle is JM. *into* (Dvār. 499,27); it occurs in M. *ninta-* (G.H.R.), *vininta-* (G.), *ainta-*, *parinta-*, (R.), *parininta-* (Sarasvatik. 9,21)² = *niyant-*, *viniyant-*, *atiyant-*, *pariyant-*, **pariniyant-* too. *e*, in the v. l. *neṇti* (G.H.R.), *viṇēnti* (Sarasvatik. 206,25)³ must be explained as having arisen from *i* according to § 119, in the same way as in the forms *eṇti*, *anṇēnti*, *uvēnti*, cited above. From the plural forms **aimo*, **aīha* = *aiṁaḥ*, *aiīha*, **rimo*, **riha* = *rimaḥ*, *riīha*, **parimo*, **pariha* = *parimaḥ*, *pariīha* and others a singular is deduced: M. *aii* = **atiti* (Hc. 4,162; R.). *nisi* = **nīsi* (R.); M. JM. *nii* = **nīti* (G. H. R.; Āv. 41,13. 22). M. *parū* = **pariī* (Hc. 4,162; R.).⁴ AMg. gives the regular forms *ei* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,5,1,1. 4,3; Sūyag. 328. 460), *accei* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 6,4; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 540), *ui* = *udeti* (Sūyag. 460), *ueu* (Āyār. 2,4,1,12; text *udeu*), *uvei* = *upaiī* (Āyār. 1,2,6,1; 1,5,1,1; Sūyag. 268. 523) etc. AMg. *ējjāsi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,8) is = *eyāḥ*; imp. is *ējjāhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). On *i* with *palā* see § 567.—*si* forms in AMg. *sayaī*, *āsayaī* (Kappas. § 95); opt. *sae* (Āyār. 1,7,8,13) and *saejjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,25. 26), particip. pres. *sayamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,26). Monstrous is Ś. *serade* (Mallikām. 291,3).

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 96. — 2. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,414. — 3. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,415. — 4. On these forms treated collectively by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,110 ff. and ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,411 ff., where further literature. The establishment of a root *nī* "to go beyond" is impossible. From the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa *upanayati* (OLDENBERG, KZ. 27,281) and Pkt. *nīpā* + **nīpāyati* (Hc. 4,162) is deduced a root *nī* "to go", which occurs in AMg. *nas=nayet* (§ 411; note 2; Āyār. 2,16,5), but that has nothing to do with *nī*, as the flexion and parallel forms *aii*, *pariī* show. The assumption that *nī* stands in the sense of *nīḥ* simply creates difficulty. Further instances on this are wanting. It is impossible to derive *ni*, with WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741, from *nīs* "weakened".

§ 494. The roots ending in *-u*, *-ū* of the second class mostly go over to the first class: *paṇḥaaī* = *prasnauti*, *raaī* = *rauti*, *savaī* = *sūte*, *pasavaī* = *prasūte*, *anīṇhavamāṇa* = *anīṇhuvāṇa*; *hnu* goes over to the 6th class too (§ 473). *stu* is conjugated in M. JM. AMg. as a verb of the 9. class in Pkt.: *thuṇai* (Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), *thuṇimo* (Bālar. 122,13); AMg. *sam-thuṇai*, absol. *sam-thuṇāntā* (Jiv. 612), *abhiṭthunanti* (Vivāhap. 833), *abhiṭthunamāṇā*, *abhisam-thuṇamāṇā* (Kappas. § 110. 113); JM. *thuṇei* according to the *e*-conjugation (Kk. II, 508,23), absol. *thuṇiya* (Kk. II. 508,26). In Ś. Mg. it follows the 5. class: Ś. *uvathuṇṇanti* = **upastuvanti* (Uttarar. 10,9; 27,3; so to be read; cf. LASSEN; Inst. p. 264 note); Mg. *thuṇu* (Mṛcch. 113,12; 115,9). The passive *thuvvāi* (§ 536) presupposes a flexion also according to the 6. class = **thuvāi* = Skt. **stuvāti*, the absol. JM. *thouṇa* (Kk. 277,31; II, 507,25; III, 513,3) one **stotvāṇa*.—*brū* has retained its old flexion of Skt. in the frequent AMg. *bemi* = *bravīmi* (§ 166; Hc. 4,238; Āyār. p. 2 ff.; 8 ff.; Sūyag. 45. 84. 99. 117. 159. 200. 322. 627. 646f. 863. 950; Dasav. p. 613 f.; 618,16; 622 ff.). From it is built a 3. plur. AMg. JM. *beṇti* (Dasav. N. 651,5. 16. 20; 658,25; 661,8; Erz. 4,5),

binti (Sūyag. 236); the 1. plur. is AMg. *būma* (Uttar. 784; verse), the imp. *būhi* (Sūyag. 259. 301. 553). On the optative *būjā* see § 464. In A. it goes according to the 6. class : *bruvaha* = *brūta* (Hc. 4,391); AMg. *buija* presupposes the same flexion (§ 565).

§ 495. The roots *rud*, *śvas* and *svap* have completely gone to the *a*-conjugation. *rud* is conjugated according to the 6. class in M. and mostly in JM. A. too: M. *ruāmi*, *ruasi*, *ruai*, *ruanti*, *rua*, *ruēhi*, *ruasu* (H. R.; Dhvanyāloka 173,3 = H. 966); JM. *rujasi* (Āv. 13,33; 14,27), *rujai* (Āv. 14,26), *rujasu* (Sagar. 6,11), *rujaha* (Āv. 14,28), *rujanti* (Āv. 13,33; Erz. 15,24), *rujantē* (Erz. 22,36), *rujamāni* (Erz. 43,19), *rujāmānim* (Āv. 14,26); A. *ruahi* = *rodisi* (Hc. 4,383,1), *ruai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). More seldom is the flexion according to the 6. class in AMg. JM.A. : AMg. *rojanti* (Sūyag. 114); JM. *rojai* (Āv. 17,27), particip. fem. *rojanti* (Āv. 12,34); JM. AMg. *rojamānā* (Erz. 66,24; Uttar. 169; Vivāhap. 807; Vivāgas. 77. 118. 155. 225. 239. 240); A. *roi* = **rodeh* = *rudyāh* (Hc. 4,368), *roantē* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). This alone is prevalent in Ś. Mg., as Ś. *rodasi* (Mṛcch. 95,22), *roadi* (Mṛcch. 95,5; Venis. 58,20 [so to be read for *roidi* with v. l. as also Uttarar. 84,2]), *roanti* (Venis. 58,15), *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,12; Nāgān. 24,8. 12; 86,10 [*rod*]), *rodidum* (Śak. 80,8; Ratn. 318,27), also according to the *e*-conjugation *rodesi*. (Mālatīm. 278,7), as with the v. l. for *rodisi* of the text we should read, if one will not like to read with the ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 207,3 and the ed. Madras. II, 65,4 *rodiadi* [both texts *rodiadi*], as stands also at Ratn. 318,9 and Mudrār. 263,6; Mg. *loda*, *loda-mānāśsa* (Mṛcch. 20,25; 158,12). The flexion according to the 6. class is found in Mg. only in Mṛcch. 158,7. 9 *luadi* in verses; in Ś. stands *rudatu* [sic] Viddhaś. 87,9 in both the editions, certainly falsely. Cf. § 473.

§ 496. *śvas* is inflected: M. *sasai*, particip. pres. parasmaip. *sasanta-* (H. R.), *āsasai* (G.), *āsasu* for *āsasasu* (H.), *ūśasai*, *ūśasanta-* (Hc. 1,114; G. R.), *samūśasanti*, *samūśasanta-* (G. H.), *ñīśasai*, *ñīśasanta-* (Hc. 4,201; G. H.), *visasai* (Hc. 4,43; H. 511 v. l.); AMg. *ussasai* (Vivāhap. 112), *ūśasanti* (Vivāhap. 26. 852; Pannav. 320 ff. 485), *ūśasējjā*, *ūśasamāne* (Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *nīśasai*, *nīśasanti* (Vivāhap. 112,852; Pannav. 320 ff. 485), *nīśasamāna* (Vivāhap. 1253; Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *visase* (Uttar. 181); Ś. *ñīśasanti*, *ñīśasadi* (Mṛcch. 39,2; 69,8; 70,8; 79,1), *visasāmi*, *visasadi* (Śak. 65,10; 106,1), *samassasa* = *samāśvasihi* (Vikr. 7,6; 24,20; Ratn. 327,9; Venis. 75,2; Nāgān. 95,18), *samassasadu* (Mṛcch. 53,2. 23; Śak. 127,14; 142,1; Vikr. 71,19; 84,11; Ratn. 319,28 and often, also Venis. at 93,16 with the ed. Calc. 220,1 to be read), *samassasadha* (Vikr. 7,1); Mg. *śaśadi*, *śaśantiā* (Mṛcch. 38,8; 116,17), *ūśaśadu* (Mṛcch. 114,20), *samūśaśadi* (Mṛcch. 133,22), *ñīśaśadu* (Mṛcch. 114,21), *samāśśaśadu* (Mṛcch. 130,17).

§ 497. *svap* as a rule follows the 6. class : M. *suasi*, *suvasi* = **supāsi* (H.), *sui* (Hc. 4,146; H.), *suvaī* (Hc. 1,64), *suanti* (G.), *suvasu*, *suaha* (H.); JM. *suwāmi* (Erz. 65,7), *sujai* (76,32), *sujaī* (Erz. 50,13; Dvār. 503,3), *sujanassa* (Erz. 37,12), *sujamāno* (Dvār. 503,4); Ś. *suwāmi* (Kārṇas. 18,19); *suveṃha* (Mṛcch. 46,9), particip. nec. *suvidavvaṃ* (Mṛcch. 90,20); A. *suahi* = *svapanti* (Hc. 4,376,2). The secondary root *suw* = *sup* is sometimes conjugated according to the 1. class, just as *rovaī* beside *ruvaī* and *dhovai* beside *dhuvaī* (§ 473. 482); *sovaī* (Hc. 1,64); JM. *sovēnti* (Dvār. 503,28), inf. *sovām* (Dvār. 501,7); A. particip. nec. *soevā* (Hc. 4,438,3).

§ 498. With the exception of AMg., in all the dialects the 1. and 2. sing. and plur. of *as* are used only as enclitics, in which the sing. forms lose the initial *a* (§ 145). Sing. M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* (text *mhi*) *śi*. The 1. plur. reads according to Vr. 7,7 *mha*, *mho*, *mhu*, according to Hc. 3,147; Kī. 4,9; Sr. fol. 50 only *mha*, *mho*. We have found in the text M.

mha and *mho* (H.), Ś. *mha* (Śak. 26,11; 27,6; 55,13; 58,6; Vikr. 23,8. 14 etc.) corresponding to *sma* of the Epic. The very seldom 2. plural is M. *ttha* (R. 3,3). In AMg. the 1. sing. is *aṃsi* (§ 74.313; Āyār. 1,1,1,2,4; 1,6, 2,2; 1,6,4,2; 1,7,4,2; 1,7,5,1; Sūyag. 239. 565 ff. 689), enclitic *mi* (Uttar. 113. 116. 406. 439. 574. 590. 597. 598. 615. 625. 708; Kappas. § 3. 29), as also in JM. (Āv. 28,14. 15; Erz. 65,10; 68,21) the 1. plur. *mo* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4 [so to be read according to § 85]), as also JM. has (Āv. 27,4). The 3. sing. in all the dialects is *atthi*, that in Mg. is to be equated as *asti*. *atthi* is used for all persons of the sing. and plur. as a non-enclitic form (Hc. 3, 148; Sr. fol. 50). Thus Ś. *atthi dāva aham* (Mudrār. 42,10; 159,12); Mg. *asti dāva hage* (Mudrār. 193,1; cf. v. l.); plur. AMg. *natthi sattovavāijā = na santi sattvā upapādītāḥ* (Sūyag. 28), *natthi nam tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pājā vā kaṇṇā vā = na sto nūnam tasya dāragasya hastau vā pādau vā karnau vā* (Vivāgas. 11); JM. *jassa oṭṭhā natthi = yasyauṣṭhau na staḥ* (Āv. 41,6); Ś. *atthi aṇṇāim pi candauṭṭassa kovakāraṇāim cāṇakke = santy anyāny api candra-guṭṭasya kopakāraṇāni cāṇake* (Mudrār. 164,3; so to be read; cfr. v. l. and ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 141,14). The 3. plur. *santi* is seldom : AMg. (Uttar. 200; Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585); JŚ. (Pav. 383,74; 385, 65); Mg. *santi* (Venis. 34,21; cf., however, v. l.). From the imp. is found in AMg. *tthu* in the combination *namo tthu nam* (Hc. 4,283; 380. 760; Ovav. § 20,87; Kappas. § 16). The optative is AMg. *siyā* (§ 464). On the use of *atthi*, *santi*, *siyā* at the beginning of the sentence, as well on the pronominal use of *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* see § 417. Accordingly we have the following flexion:

Sing.

Plur.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. AMg. <i>aṃsi</i> , <i>mi</i> ; M. JM. JŚ. Ś. <i>mhi</i> ,
JM. also <i>mī</i> ; Mg. <i>smi</i> . | 1. M. <i>mho</i> , <i>mha</i> ; Ś. <i>mha</i> ; Mg. <i>sma</i> ;
AMg. <i>mo</i> , <i>mu</i> ; JM. <i>mo</i> . |
| 2. M. JM. Ś. <i>si</i> ; Mg. <i>śi</i> . | 2. M. <i>ttha</i> . |
| 3. M. JM. AMg. JŚ. Ś. <i>atthi</i> ; Mg. <i>asti</i> . | 3. M. AMg. JŚ. <i>santi</i> ; Mg. <i>santi</i> . |

Opt. AMg. *siyā*; imp. AMg. *tthu*. On the imperf. *āsi* see § 515.

§ 499. The remaining roots that in Skt. behave as of the 2. class go over to the *a*-conjugation and are conjugated according to the 1. class. So one says: AMg. *ahi yāsae = adhyāste* (Āyār. 1,8,2,15) and = *adhyāsita* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8 ff.); AMg. *pajjuvāsāmi = paryuṇāse* (Vivāhap. 916; Nirayāv. § 3; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsai* (Vivāhap. 917; Nirayāv. § 4; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsāhi*, *pajjuvāsējjāhi* (Uvās.); *pajjuvāsanti* (Ovav.).—M. *niacchai = *nicakṣati = niścaṣṭe* (Hc. 4,181; R. 15,48), *niacchāmi* (Śak. 119. 7), *niacchae*, *niacchaha*, *niacchanta*-, *niacchamaṇa*-, also according to the *e*-conjugation, *niacchesi* (H.), *avaacchai*, *avaacchhai*, *avaakkhai*, *oakkhai = avacaṣṭi* (Hc. 4, 181; *avaakkhai* also Vr. 8,69); AMg. *avayakkhai* (Nāyādh. 958); Ś. *ācakkha* (Ratn. 320,32), past pass. part. of the pres. stem *ācakkhida = *ācakṣita* (Śak. 63,15 [so to be read]; 77,14; 160,15), *aṇācakkhida* (Vikr. 80,4); Mg. *ācaskadi* (Hc. 4, 297), *aṇācaskida* (Mṛcch. 37,21); Dh. *ācakkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24; so to be read; cf. v. l. in GODABOLE p. 101,4); A. *ācakkhai* (Vikr. 58,8; 59,14; 65,3), *ācakkhiu* (Vikr. 58,11); Ś. inf. *paccaṇācakkhidum* (Śak. 104,8). Cf. § 324.—JŚ. *padussedi* (Pav. 384,49) is not = *pradveṣti*, as the translation suggests, but = *praduṣyati* and enters for the explanation of AMg. JM. JŚ. *dosa* (§ 129). *sāhai = śāste* (Hc. 4,2); M. JM. *sāhāmi*, *sāhai*, *sāhāmo*, *sāhanti*, *sāhasu* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.), also according to *e*-conjugation : *sāhemi*, *sāheṇti*, *sāhesu*, *sāhehi*, *sāheu*, *sāheṇti* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); of the weak root *śiṣ* according to the 4. class: *śisai* (Hc.4,2), seen up

till now only as passive = *śiṣyate* (G. R.); AMg. *aṇusāsammi* = **anusā-sāmi* = *anusāsmi* (Uttar. 790)¹, *aṇusāsanti* (Sūyag. 517; Uttar. 33); passive D. *sāsiṣjāi* (Mṛcch. 103,16), *Ś. sāsiadi* (Mṛcch. 155,6); Mg. *śāsadi* (Mṛcch. 158,25).—M. *haṇai* = *hanti* (H. 214), *nihaṇanti*, and according to the *e*-conjugation *nihaṇemi* (R.); AMg. *haṇāmi* (Vivāhap. 254. 850 f.), *haṇai* (Vivāhap. 849 f.), in the verse also *haṇāi* (Uttar. 630), *abhihaṇai* (Vivāhap. 348), *samohaṇai* (Vivāhap. 114. 212 ff. 420; Nāyādh. § 91. 96; p. 1325; Kappas.); JŚ. *nihaṇadi* (Kattig. 401,339); AMg. *haṇaha* (Uttar. 365), *haṇanti* (Sūyag. 110), *samohaṇanti* (Rāyap. 32. 45). *sāhaṇanti* = *saṃghnanti* (Vivāhap. 137.138.141), in the verse also *vinihanti* (Sūyag.339), opt. *hamiṣyā harijjā*, *hanējjā*, *haṇe* (§ 464), imp. *hanaha* (Sūyag. 596; Āyār. 1,7,2,4); JM. *āhaṇāmi* (Āv. 28,2), *haṇai* (Erz. 5,32), imp. *haṇa* = *jahi* (Erz. 2,15), opt. *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1); Ś. *paḍihaṇāmi* = *pratihanmi* (Mudrār. 182, 7 v. 1.), *vihaṇanti* (Prab. 17,10); Mg. *āhaṇedha* (Mṛcch. 158,18); A. *haṇai* (Hc. 4,418,3).

I. JACOBI, SBE. 45,151, note 1 wrongly likes to read *aṇusasammi*. Cf. § 74. 182.

§ 500. The 3. class of Skt. has been retained in Pkt. just in scanty remnants. For *dā* in the present is used *de-* = *daya-* (§ 474), mostly in AMg., sometimes in JM. *dalajya-* (§ 490). — Of *dhā*, the old stem *dahā-* = *dadhā-* has generally been retained only in compounds with *sad* = *śrad*, which behaves almost exclusively according to the *a*-conjugation, as sometimes also in Vedic and Epic Skt. and in Pāli *dahati*¹. So *saddahai* = *śraddadhāti* (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Sr. fol. 57); M. *saddahimo* = *śraddadhāmaḥ* (H. 23), past passive participle of the present stem *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; Hc. 1,12; Acyutaś. 8); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134. 1316; Nirāyāv. 60; Uvās. § 12. 210; Nāyādh. § 132), *saddahai* (Vivāhap. 845; Paṇṇav. 64; Uttar. 805), in the verse also with old flexion *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804); JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399,311); opt. *saddahe* (Uttar. 170), *saddahējjā* (Rāyap. 250; Paṇṇav. 577. 583), imp. *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151) and *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134; Rāyap. 249. 258); JM. *asaddahanto* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahamāṇa* (Hc. 4,9; Āyār. 2,2,2,8). In AMg., in addition, is found also *ādahai* (Ovav. § 44), *ādahanti* (Sūyag. 286). Cf. § 222. Otherwise *dhā*, as all other roots in *-ā* (§ 483. 487), is inflected according to the 2. or 4. class: *dhāi*, *dhāi* (Hc. 4,240); M. *saṃdhanṭeṇa* = *saṃdadhatā* (R. 5,24); AMg. JM. with cerebralization (§ 223) very frequently: *ādāmi* (Āyār. 1,7 2,2; Vivāhap. 1210), *ādhai* (Thāṇ. 156. 285. 479 ff.; Vivāgas. 460. 575; Nirāyāv. § 8. 18. 19. p. 61 ff.; Rāyap. 78. 227. 252; Uvās. § 215. 247; Nāyādh. § 69; p. 460. 575; Vivāhap. 228. 234; Āv. 27,3), AMg. *ādhami* (Vivāgas. 458; Vivāhap. 239), *ādhaṇanti* (Vivāhap. 245; Nāyādh. 301.302.305), *ādhamim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 456), *ādhaṇa* (Nāyādh. 938) and *ādhaṇa* (Vivāhap. 234), *ādhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 240), *ādhaṇamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4,5), *aṇādhājamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2) and *aṇādhāyamāṇa* (Uvās. [so to be read; see v. l. ; Vivāgas. 217; Rāyap. 282), passive *aṇādhājjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 235; Uvās.). Like *sthā* (§ 483), *dhā* with prefixes usually goes over to the *e*-conjugation: M. *saṃdhei* (H. 733; R. 15,76), *saṃdhēnti* (R. 5,56), *saṃdhinti* (G. 1041; so to be read; see v. l.); *vihesi* (G. 332; read *khambhehi va vihesi* and cf. v. l.); AMg. *saṃdhei* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6), *saṃdhemāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3), opt. *nihe* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,3; 1,4,1,3), *pihe* (Sūyag. 129); JM. *aisaṃdhei* (Āv. 46,25); Ś. *aṇusaṃdheimi* (Karp. 70,3), *aṇusaṃdhedha* (Karp. 23,1). AMg. *saṃdhai* (Sūyag. 527), **nihai*, **pihai* is the connecting link. — *hā-* forms AMg. *jahāsi* (Sūyag. 174. 176), *jahai* (Sūyag. 118), *jahai* (Thāṇ. 281), *pajahāmi* (Uttar. 377), *vipajahāmi* (Vivāhap. 1237. 1242), *vipajahai* (Vivāhap. ; Ovav.), *vipajahanti* (Sūyag. 633. 635. 978), opt. *jahe* (Āyār. 2,16,9), *pajahijja* and *pajahējjja* (Sūyag. 128. 147), *pajaje* (Sūyag. 410), *pajaje* (Uttar. 456), *vipajaje*

(Uttar. 244), imp. *jahāhi* (Sūyag. 414), particip. *viṇṇajahamāṇā* (Vivāhap. 1385); JŚ. *jahādi* and *jahadi* (Pav. 383,24; 385,64). According to the 4. class: AMg. *hāyāi* (Thāp. 294 f.); future Ś. *parihāissadi* = *parihāsyate* (Śak. 2,1). — *mā* see § 487.

1. FISCHER, BB. 15, 121.

§ 501. *bhī* shows the old flexion in *bihemi* = *bibhemi*, *bihei* = *bibheti* (Hc. 1,169, 4,238). M. JM. *biḥai* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 3,134. 136; 4,53), *bihante* (Hc. 3,142), JM. *biḥasu* (Erz. 81,34), dragged to *bhī*, and M. *bihei* (H. 311. 778), JM. *bihehi* (Erz. 35,33; 83,7), *bihesu* (Erz. 82,20), formed according to the *e*-conjugation, do not belong to *bhī*, but is = **bhīṣati* from *Vbhīṣ*, of which only the causative is used in Skt. AMg. *biḥaṇa*, *biḥaṇaga* (§ 213. 263) proves it. Generally *bhī* is conjugated as the *ai*-roots (§ 479), always in Ś. Mg. So JM. *bhāyasu* (Erz. 31,18); Ś. *bhā-āmi* (Vikr. 24,13; 33,11), *bhāadi* (Ratn. 301,18; Mālav. 63,12), *bhāāhi* (Śak. 90,12; Mālav. 78,20; Ratn. 300,10; Priyad. 16,18; 21,5; Mallikām. 293,15); Mg. *bhāāmi*, *bhāāsi* (Mṛcch. 124,22. 23; 125,21). In M. according to the analogy of the *a*-roots too (§ 479); *bhāi* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 4,53); *bhāsu*, v. l. *bhāhi* (H. 583). — *hu* (to offer) goes over to the 9. class in AMg.: *huṇāmi*, *huṇāsi* (Uttar. 375), *huṇai* (Vivāhap. 910); also with retention of reduplication: AMg. *juhuṇāmi* (Thāp. 436. 437). Cf. Skt. *hunet* in BÖHTLINGK s. v. *hun* (!).

§ 502. Remnants of the 5. class of Skt. are found almost only in Ś. and there they are doubtful. Most of the roots of the 5. class have gone over to the 9. class, but prevalently they behave according to the *a*- and *e*-conjugations: AMg. *saṁciṇu* (Uttar. 170); Ś. *avaciṇomi* (Mālatim. 72,5 [ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 53,1 and ed. Madras. 61,3 *avaiṇummi*]; Unmattar. 6,19), *avaciṇumo* (Pārvatip. 27,14), *uccīṇosi* (Viddhaś. 81,9; both the editions; nevertheless doubtful); false forms also Priyad. 11,4; 13,15. 17. Against that *ciṇai* (Vr. 8,29; Hc. 4,238. 241), fut. *ciṇihī* (Hc. 4,243), passive *ciṇijjāi* (Hc. 4,242. 243); *uccīṇai* (Hc. 4,241); M. *uccīṇasu*, *saṁuccīṇai* (H.), *vicīṇanti* (G.); AMg. *ciṇai* (Uttar. 931. 937. 942. 948. 952 etc.; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 136. 137), *uvaciṇai* (Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 113. 136. 137) and *saṁciṇai* (Uttar. 205), *uvaciṇai* (Vivāhap. 38. 39), *cinanti* (Thāp. 107; Vivāhap. 62. 182), *uvaciṇanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 62); Ś. imp. *avaciṇamha* (Śak. 71,9; Mālatim. 111,2. 7 [so to be read; cf. v. l.; Cait. 73,11; 75,12 [°ṇu]), past passive participle *vicīṇida* (Mālatim. 297,5), also according to the *e*-conjugation: Ś. *uccīṇedi* (Karp. 2,8), inf. *avaciṇedum* (Lalitav. 561,8). In M. Mg. A. *ci* is conjugated according to the 1. class too: *uccei* (Hc. 4,241, H. 159), *uccēnti* (G. 536), imp. *ucceu* (Sr. fol. 49), inf. *ucceum* (H. 159); Mg. *saṁcehi* (Venīs. 35,9), A. opt. *saṁci* (Hc. 4,422,4); likewise *mi* in M. *ṇimesi* (G. 296). Cf. 473.

§ 503. *dhu* (*dhū*) forms AMg. *dhunāi* (verse; Āyār. 1,4,4,2), usually M. AMg. *dhunai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,59. 241; Ki. 4,73; G. 437; H. 532; R. 15,23; Viddhaś. 7,2; Sūyag. 321), opt. AMg. *dhune* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,4,3,2; 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 408. 550); AMg. *viḥunāmi* (Nāyādh. 938); M. *viḥunai* (R. 7,17; 12,66); M. AMg. *viḥunanti* (G. 552; R. 6,35; 13,5; Thāp. 155); AMg. *viḥune* (Sūyag. 921), *viḥunāhi* (Uttar. 311), *niddhune* (Uttar. 170), absol. *dhunīya*, *viḥunīya* (Sūyag. 111. 113), *viḥunīyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24), *saṁvidhūṇīya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5), *mddhūṇittāna* (Uttar. 605), particip. pres. ātmanep. *viṇṇiddhūṇamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1253); passive *dhunijjāi* (Hc. 4,242); Ś. absol. *avadhūṇa* (Mālatim. 351,6). It may be conjugated according to the 6. class too: *dhuvai* (Hc. 4,59), from which the passive *dhuvvai* (§ 536); further according to the *e*-conjugation M. *viḥunēnti* (R. 8,35); Ś. *vidhuvēdi* (Mṛcch. 71,20). On the past passive participle *hūṇa*, *viḥūṇa*, *viṇṇahūṇa*

see § 120.—Of *śru* is found the flexion according to the 5. class only in the 2. sing. imp. in Ś. Mg. So Ś. *śuṇu* (Śak. 78,4; Vikr. 42,12); Mg. *śuṇu* (Mṛcch. 121,23; Venis. 34,19, [GRILL false *śiṇu*], in the 2. plur. too *śuṇudha* Śak. 113,9). But in Ś. at both the places stands the v. 1. *śuṇa*, as in Ratn. 304,9; 309,9; Viddhaś. 63,2 against *śuṇu* 72,5 stands, and since beside it is found *śuṇāhi* too (Mṛcch. 104,16; Śak. 77,6; Mālav. 6,5; 45,19; Vṛṣabh. 42,7), the 1. plur. *śuṇamha* (Vikr. 41,17; Ratn. 302,7; 316,25), or according to the *e*-conjugation *śuṇēmha* (Nāgān. 28,9; 29,7), the 2. plur. is *śuṇadha* (Śak. 55,12), so *śuṇa* will have to be read throughout in Ś. In Mg. too *śuṇu* for *śuṇa* will be a Sanskritism. The 2. plur. in Mg. is *śuṇādha* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; 162,17; Prab. 46,14. 17) or *śuṇedha* (Mṛcch. 154,9), and so at Śak. 133,9 with the v. 1. and in Hc. 4,302 we should read either *śuṇadha* or (cf. Z) *śuṇādha*. In any case, in Ś. Mg. the conjugation according to the model of the 9. class is usual: Ś. *śuṇāmi* (Mālatīm. 288,1); Mg. *śuṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 14,22); falsely Ś. *śuṇomi* (Venis. 10,5; Mudrār. 249,4.6), for which with the v. 1. *śuṇāmi* or *śuṇemi* is to be read. Ś. *śuṇādi* (Mālav. 71,3; Mukund. 13,17; Mallikām. 244,2), also *śuṇedi* (Mṛcch. 325,19); Mg. *śuṇādi* (Mṛcch. 162,21). Against the dialect is Ś. *śuṇimo* (Bālar. 101,5), for which *śuṇāmo* is correct. Very frequent is the 3. sing. imp. Ś. *śuṇādu* (Mṛcch. 40,21; 74,5; Śak. 20,12; 21,4; 57,2; 159,10; Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; 83,19; 84,1; Mālav. 78,7; Mudrār. 159,12 etc.), Mg. *śuṇādu* (Mṛcch. 37,3); 3. plur. imp. Ś. *śuṇantu* (Mṛcch. 142,10), Mg. *śuṇantu* (Mṛcch. 151,23). In M. the stem is carried over to the *a*-conjugation: *śuṇāi*, *śuṇimo*, *śuṇanti*, *śuṇasu*, *śuṇaha* (G. H. R.), likewise in A. 2. plur. imp. *ṇisunahu* (Kk. 272,37), JM. *śuṇāi*, *śuṇanti* (Kk.), *śuṇa* (Dvār. 495,15), *śuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *śuṇaha* (Ovav. § 184; Āv. 33,19); AMg. *śuṇantu* (Nāyādh. 1134), *śuṇamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2), *apaḍisunamāṇa* (Nirayāv. § 25). In JM. AMg., however, the flexion according to the *e*-conjugation prevails: JM. *śuṇei* (Āv. 35,30; 42,41; 43,2; Kk.; Erz.); AMg. *śuṇemi* (Ṭhān. 143), *śuṇei* (Vivāhap. 327; Nandis. 371. 373. 504; Āyār. 1,1,5,2; p. 136,8. 16; Paṇṇav. 428 ff.), *paḍisuṇei* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *paḍisuṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1227; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Kappas. [so or °*ṇi*° to be read also at § 58] etc.). AMg. *paḍisuṇējjā* (Rāyap. 251), *paḍisuṇējjā* (Kappas.), *paḍissuṇe* (Uttar. 31,33) are opt. For the 3. sing. imp. Hc. 3,158 gives *śuṇāi*, *śuṇeu*, *śuṇāu*. AMg. has *śuṇeu* (Sūyag. 363), 2. plur. *śuṇeha* (Sūyag. 243. 373. 397. 423 f.; Uttar. 1). The passive M. JM. *śuvvāi* (§ 536) presupposes a conjugation according to 6. class **śuvvāi* = **śruvāti*.

§ 504. AMg. *pappōi* [text *pappōtti*; commentary *papputti*] = *prāpnoti* (Uttar. 430), JŚ. *pappodi* (Pav. 389,5) in verses are formed according to the 5. class from *āp* with *pra*. Otherwise *āp*, in AMg. with the stem of the 9. class, is inflected according to the *a*-conjugation: *pāunaī* = **prāpunāti*, **prāpunati* (Vivāhap. 845; Ovav. § 153; Paṇṇav. 846), *pāunanti* (Sūyag. 433. 759. 771; Ovav. § 74. 75. 81. 117); *saṃpāunanti* (Vivāhap. 926), opt. *pāunējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11. 2,6; Ṭhān. 165. 416), *saṃpāunējjāsi* (text °*se*; Uttar. 345); inf. *pāunittae* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11). In M. JM. JŚ., in verses in AMg., Ś. A. the usual flexion is according to the 1. class: *pāvai* = **prāpnoti* (Hc. 4,239). So M. *pāvasi*, *pāvai*, *pāvanti*, *pāva*, *pāvai* (G. H. R.), also according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvēnti* (G.); AMg. *pāvai* (Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.; Paṇṇav. 135); opt. *pāvijjā* (Nandis. 404); JM. *pāvai* (Kk. 272,5), *pāvanti* (Rṣabhap. 41), and according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvei* (Erz. 50,34), *pāvēnti* (Kk. 266,4; Erz. 46,1 [so to be read]); JŚ. *pāvadi* (Pav. 380,11; Kattig. 400,326; 403,370); Ś. *pāvanti* (Viddhaś. 63,2); absol. JŚ. *pāvīya* (Kattig. 402,369), and according to the *e*-conjugation JŚ. Ś. *pāvedi* (Kattig. 399,307; Ratn. 316,5), *pāvehi* (Mālav. 30,11; so to be read); A. *pāvami* (Vikr. 71,8). From the same stem is built the future too

Ś. *pāvaissam* (Śak. 54,3). Hc. 4,302 read *Mudrār*. 187,2 in AMg. *pāvemi*; the MSS. and editions have *ācemi*, *jācemi*, *paḍicchemi* (Hc. 4, 141. 142 mentions also *vāvei* = *vyāpnoti* and *samāvei* = *samāpnoti*).

§ 505. *taks*, as already in Skt. too, behaves according to the 1. class: AMg. *tacchanti* (Sūyag. 274), *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596).—From *śak* very frequent is *sakkanomi* = *śaknomi* (§ 140. 195; Śak. 51,2; Ratn. 305,33; 327,17; Uttarar. 112,8) or *sakkuṇomi* (Mṛcch. 166,13; Vikr. 12,12; 15,3; 46,18; Mudrār. 242,3; 246,1; 252,2 [everywhere to be so read]; Nāgān. 14,8. 11; 27,15 etc.). In other dialects it behaves according to the 4. class: *sakkai* = **sakyati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230; Kī. 4,60). So JM. A. *sakkai* (Erz.; Hc. 4,422,6. 441,2), JM. opt. *sakkeṣṣa* (Erz. 79,1), and according to the *e*-conjugation JM. *sakkei* (Āv. 42,28), *sakkeṇti* (Erz. 65,19), *sakkeha* (Sagara 10,13 [so to be read]). On the opt. *sakkā* see § 465.—*stṛ*, which in Skt. follows the 5. or 9. class is inflected in Pkt. according to the analogy of roots in *r* (§ 477): M. *ō'ttharai* = *avastṛnoti*, *ō'ttharia* = *avastṛta*, *vittharai*, *vittharanta*-, *vitthariuṃ*, *vittharia*(R.); JM. *vitthariya*=*vistṛta* (Erz.); Ś. *vittharanta*-(Mālatim. 76,4; 258,3); A. *ō'ttharai* (Vikr. 67,20). To it belongs also *utthaṅghai* (raises up; throws up; Hc. 4,36.144), past passive participle *utthaṅgia* (R. s.v. *stambh*) = **utstaghnoti* (PISCHEL, BB. 15,122 f.) Cf. § 333.

§ 506. The tottering flexion of the 7. class in Pkt. is completely lost. The nasal is taken from the weak forms to the strong ones and the stem is inflected according to the *a*- or *e*- conjugation : *chindai* = *chinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,124. 216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); *acchindai* (Hc. 4,125); M. *achindai* (G.), *vo'cchindanta*-(R.); JM. *chindāmi* and *chindei* (Erz.) abs. *chindittu* (Kk.); AMg. *chindāmi* (Ānuog. 528; Nirāyāv. § 16); *chindasi* (Ānuog. 528), *chindai* (Sūyag. 332; Vivāhap. 123.1306, (Nāyādh. 1436; Uttar. 789), *acchindai* *vicchindai* (Thāp. 360), *vo'cchindasi*, *vo'cchindai* (Uttar. 321. 824), opt. *chindeṣṣa* (Vivāhap. 123. 1306). *chinde* (Uttar. 217), *acchindeṣṣa* (Āyār. 2,3,1,9; 2,9,2; 2,13,13), *vicchindeṣṣa* (Āyār. 2,13,13), *chindāhi* (Dasav. 613,27), *chindaha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4), present participle *chindamāṇa* (Ānuog. 528), absol. *palicchindiyāṇām* (Āyār. 1,3,2,4); Ś. absol. *paricchindia* (Vikr. 47,1). On AMg. *acche* see § 466. 516. — *piṣai* for **piṃsai* (§ 76) = *piṇaṣṭi* (Hc. 4,185); Ś. *piṣedi* (Mṛcch. 3,1. 21). — *bhañjai* = *bhanakti* (Hc. 4,108); M. *bhañjai*, *bhañjanta*-(H. R.); JM. *bhañjiṇa*, °*je* (Erz.); AMg. *bhañjai*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 788. 789); Ś. future *bhañjaṣṣai* (Vikr. 22,2), absol. *bhañjia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23). Mg. *bhayyadi* [text *bhajjadi*; ed. Calc. *bhajjedi*] (Mṛcch. 118,12) must be considered as passive and *vibhayya* (text *bibhajja* (Mṛcch. 118,21) as its imperative; against this stands Ś. imp. *bhajjedha* (Mṛcch. 155,4) in the active sense, to which may be compared *juijā* (§ 507). — *bhindai* = *bhinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); M. *bhindai*, *bhindanta*-(G. H. R.); JM. *bhindai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhindai* (Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 1327), *bhindeṇti*, *bhindamāṇe* Vivāhap. 1227. 1327), opt. *bhindeṣṣa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9); Ś. Mg. absol. *bhindia* (Vikr. 16,1; Mṛcch. 112,17). On AMg. *abbhe* see § 466. 516.

§ 507. *bhuji* forms *bhuñjai* (Hc. 4,110; Mk. fol. 56), *uvahuñjai* (Hc. 4, 111); M. *bhuñjasu* (H.); JM. *bhuñjai* (Erz.), *bhuñjai* (Āv. 8,4,24), *bhuñjanti* (Erz.; Kk.), *bhuñjae* (Ātmanep.; Erz.), *bhuñjāhi* (Āv. 10,40), *bhuñjasu* (Av. 12,20), *bhuñjaha*, *bhuñjamāṇa*, *bhuñjiya*, *bhuñjittā* (Erz.); AMg. *bhuñjai* (Uttar. 12; Vivāhap. 163), *bhuñjai* (Sūyag. 209); *bhuñjāmo* (Vivāhap. 624), *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194; Vivāhap. 623), *bhuñjanti* (Dasav. 613,18), *bhuñjeṣṣa* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Vivāhap. 515. 516), *bhuñje* (Uttar. 37; Sūyag. 344), imp. *bhuñja* (Sūyag. 182), *bhuñjasu*, *bhuñjimo* (Uttar. 369.675), *bhuñjaha* (Āyār. 2,1, 10,7), *bhuñjamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101.102 [°*je*]. 103 [°*je*]; Kappas.); JŚ. *bhuñjade* (Kattig. 403. 382; 404,390); Ś. *bhuñjasu* (Mṛcch. 70,12), inf. *bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21); A. *bhuñjanti* inf. *bhuñjanāha*, *bhuñjanāhi* (Hc. 4,335,441,1).

— From *yuj* the present are *juñjai*, *jujjai* (Hc. 4,109), which may be compared with *bhajjedha* § 506 and under *rudh*. M. *paññajam* (Karp. 7,1). M. *jujjae*, *jujjai* (H.), *jujjanta-* (R.) are passive forms. AMg. *juñjai* (Pannav. 842 ff.; Ovav. § 145. 146), *paññjai* (Vivāhap. 1312; Nāyādh. § 89), opt. *juñje* (Uttar. 29), *paññje* (Samav. 86), *juñjamāṇa* (Pannav. 842 ff.), absol. *uvaññiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1591); absol. M. *niññija* (Erz.); Ś. *paññjadha* (Karp. (6,7), imp. passive from the present stem *paññjadi* (Mṛcch. 9,7), whilst the very frequent Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65,12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71, 10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.)=*yujyate* is, as the future Ś. *ahujjissadi*=*abhiyoksyate* (Uttarar. 69,6).—*rudh* forms *rundhai* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,133.218.239; Kī. 4,52; Mk.Sr fol. 56). So M. *rundhasu* (H.); AMg. *rundhai* (Thān. 360); Ś. *rundhedi* (Mallikām. 126,3; text. °ei); A. absol. *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20) and *ruññhai*=**rudhyati* (Hc.4,218), also with the nasal inserted M. *nirunñhai* (H. 618), JŚ. absol. *nirunñhittā* (Pav. 386,70), with which is compared AMg. *vigiñcai*=*vikṛntyati* (§ 485). M. AMg. *rumbhai* (Vr.8,49; Hc. 4,218; Kī. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56; H. R.; Uttar. 902), AMg. *nirumbhai* (Uttar. 834), passive M. JM. *rubhai* (§ 546) belong to a root **rubh*, which is an analogical formation according to the roots in gutturals (§ 266). — *hims* forms in AMg. *himsai*=*hinasti* (Uttar. 927. 935. 940. 945. 950 etc.), *viñimsai* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 4. 5. 5. 6. 3), *himsanti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5).

§ 508. The forms of *kr*, built according to the 8. class, are still found in AMg. JM. JŚ. only, notwithstanding the carrying over of the weak stem *kur-* to the *a-* class as *kurva-*: AMg. *kuvvaī*=**kurvati* (Sūyag. 321. 328 [°ai]. 359 [°ai]. 550. 551; Uttar. 43; Dasav. 613,19 [°ai]), *pakuṇvvaī* (Āyār. 1.2,6,2), *viuvvaī* (Vivāhap. 114; Rāyap. 60 ff. 79. 82; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.), *kuvvanti*=*kurvanti* (Sūyag. 231. 240. 359. 472. 646; Vivāhap. 409), *viukuvvanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215), opt. *kuvvējjā*, °jja (Uttar. 19. 289), usually, however, *kujjā* (§ 464), imp. *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), pres. part. ātmanep. *kuvvamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Pannav. 104; Nāyādh. 930), *viuvvamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1033 f. 1054), *pakuṇvvamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; 1,5,1,1); JM. *kuvvaī* (Kk.), *kuvvanti* (Āv. 7,11), *viuvvaī* (Āv. 35,6), *viuvvae* (Āv. 36,27), absol. *viuvviṇa*, past passive particip. *viuvviya* (Erz.); JŚ. *kuvvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340; 402, 357), *kuvvañ* (Pav. 384,58), *kuvvantañ* (Kattig. 400,332), *kuvvanto* (Kattig. 403,378), also ātmanep. *kuvvade* (Kattig. 403,384). The Vedic flexion according to the 5. class has been retained in M. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. Vedic. *kṛṇoti* becomes, according to § 502, *kuṇai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65; Kī. 4,54; Mk. 59). So M. *kuṇasi*, *kuṇai*, *kuṇanti*, *kuṇa*, *kuṇasu* *kuṇai*, *kuṇanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kuṇai* (Kk.; Rṣabhap.), *kuṇanti*, *kuṇaha* (Kk.), *kuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.; Sagara 6,2. 11. 12), *kuṇanta-*, *kuṇamāṇa-* (Kk.; Erz.), *kuṇanteṇa* (Kī. 15), also completely isolated *kuṇai* in AMg. in the verse (Samav. 85); JŚ. *kuṇadi* (Kattig. 399,310. 319; 402,359. 367; 403,370. 371. 385; 404,388. 389. 391); A. *kuṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79 [text °ha] and *kuṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118). In Ś. Mg. *kuṇa-* is never used (Vr. 12,15; Mk. fol. 72). It is correct, therefore, in the dramas only in the gāthās composed in M., as Ratn. 293,6; Mudrār. 83,3; Dhūrtas. 4,19; Nāgān. 25,4; 41,5; Bālar. 120,6; Viddhaś. 92,8; Karp. 8,9; 10,1; 55,3; 67,5, etc. Pratāp. 218,17; 220,15; 389,14 etc. Rājasekhara wrongly uses *kuṇa-* in Ś. too, as in Bālar. 69,13; 168,7; 195,13; 200,12; Viddhaś. 36,2; 48,9.11; 80,14; 83,3; 123,14. For *kuṇomi* (Karp. 107,6 ed. Bomb.) Konow reads 115,6 correct *kadiadu*, and so perhaps in Bālar. and Viddhaś. too in the critical editions. *kuṇa-* is to be removed from Ś. It is found, however, elsewhere in later days dramas too, as Hāsy. 32,12; 39,14; Cait. 36,11; 37,5;

39,1. 10; 44,12; 47,7; 80,14; 92,14; Kārṇas. 22,8; Jīvān. 39,15; 41,7; 81,14; 95,2; Mallikām. 69,1; 336,3 etc. perhaps a bit through the contribution of the publishers and authors. Out and out monstrous is *Ś. kummo = kurmaḥ* (Jīvān. 13,6), against this correctly *Ḍh. kulu = kuru* (Mṛcch. 31,16).

§ 509. *kṛ* is conjugated mostly as the roots in *r* of the first class (§477): *karai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65. 234. 239; Mk. fol. 59), yet in M. JM. AMg. JŚ. almost, in Ś. Mg. completely exclusively according to the *e*-conjugation. *a*-forms are: PG. opt. *karēyya*, *karēyyāma* (6,40; 7,41); M. *karanta*- (R.); JM. *karae = kurute* (Kk. II, 506,5), *karanti* (Rābhāp. 39. 40); AMg. *karai* (uncertain; Rāyap. 233), *karanti* (Sūyag. 297; Uttar. 1101; Vivāhap. 62; Jiv. 102; Paṇṇav. 56. 574), *pakaranṭi* (Uttar. 15; Paṇṇav. 575), *viyāgaranti*, *vāgaranti* (Sūyag. 523. 695); JŚ. *karadi* (Kattig. 400,332); opt. AMg. *kare* (Sūyag. 348. 385. 393), *nirākare* (Sūyag. 442), *karējjā* (§ 462), *viyāgarējjā* (Sūyag. 525. 527), *vāgarējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17); frequently in A.: *karimi* (Vikr. 71,9), *karai* (Hc. 4,370,2), *karai*, *karadi*, *karanti*, *karahi* (Hc. s. v. *ṽkar*), opt. *kari* (Hc. 4,387,3; Śukasaptati 49,4; Prabandhac. 63,7), imp. *karahi* (Hc. 4,385; Piṅgala 1,149), *karu* (Hc. 4,330,3), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107. 121 [text 'ha']), inf. *karāṇa*, absol. *karevi*, *karēppinu* (Hc. s.v. *ṽkar*). — *e*-forms are very frequent: M. *karemi*, *karesi*, *karei*, *karēnti*, *karehi*, *karesu*, *karēnta*- (H. R.); JM. *karei* (Erz.; Kk.; Āv. 9,17; 14,14), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35; Kk. 264,11. 14; Āv. 17,14; Sagara 2,14), *karēnti* (Erz.; Kk.), *karehi*, *karesu*, *kareha* (Kk.), *karēnta*-, *karemaṇa* (Erz.); AMg. *karemi* (Thāṇ. 149. 476; Nāyādh. § 94; Uvās.), *karei* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 403. 406. 853; Vivāhap. 915. 917. 931. 945; Nirayāv. 49; Uvās.; Kappas.), *karemo* (Sūyag. 734), *karēnti* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Rāyap. 183; Jiv. 577. 597; Uvās.; Kappas.), imp. *viyāgarahi* (Sūyag. 962), *kareha* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *karemaṇa* (Uvās.), *viyāgaremaṇe*, *viyāgarai* (Āyār. 2,2, 3,1). Isolated is AMg. *kajjanti* (Uvās. § 197. 198) in the active sense; at the parallel place § 184 stands *karēnti*. JŚ. *karedi* (Pav. 384,59; Kattig. 400,324; 402,369; 403,377. 383); Ś. *karemi* (Lalitav. 561,15; Mṛcch. 16,4; 103,17; 151,22; Śak. 165,8 [to be taken from the v.l. over to the text]; Vikr. 82,5; 83,5. 6 etc.), *karesi* (Ratn. 303,29; Mālatīm. 265,2; Prab. 44,2 [so to be read with P. M. Bomb.]), *karedi* (Lalitav. 560,9; Mṛcch. 73,11; 147,18; 151,19. 20; Śak. 20,5; 56,16; Vikr. 75,5), *karemo* (Śak. 80,5 [so to be read]), *alamkarēnti* (Mālatīm. 273,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l.]), *karehi* (Mṛcch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10), *karesu* (Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20), *karedu* (Mālatīm. 351,7), *karē'mha* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Prab. 63,11; Ratn. 303,21; Uttarar. 101,8), *karedha* (Mālatīm. 246,5), *karēnta*- (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23; 60,25; 61,24; 105,1; 148,8). — Mg. *kalemi* (Mṛcch. 12,15; 31,17. 20; 97,4; 113,23 etc.; Śak. 114,3), *kaleṣi* (Mṛcch. 151,25; 160,3), *kalide* (Mṛcch. 81,6; 127,6; 135,2; 158,25; Nāgān. 68,5 [so to be read]), *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5), *kalē'mha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Venis. 36,6; Caṇḍak. 71,10), *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23), *kalēnta* (voc.; Mṛcch. 30,9; 108,17).

§ 510. The forms built according to the 9. class are found in most of the dialects more frequently of only *jñā*, which after *na*, according to § 170, loses its initial *j*: M. *jāñāi* (Karp. 35,8); JM. *jāñāsi* (Erz. 57,8); AMg. *jāñāsi* (Vivāhap. 1271; Rāyap. 267; Uttar. 745), *aṇujāñāi* (Sūyag. 1.16), *na jāñāi*, *jāñāi* (Sūyag. 161. 520), *parijāñāi* (Vivāhap. 228; Rāyap. 252 [‘jā’]); *viyāñāsi*, *viyāñāi* (Uttar. 745. 791); JŚ. *jāñādi* (Pav. 382,25; 348,48), *viyāñādi* (Pav. 388,2); Ś. *jāñāsi* (Mṛcch. 57,9; 65,10; 82, 12; Śak. 13,5; Mālatīm. 102,3; Mudrār. 37,2); D. *āñāsi* (Mṛcch. 101,8.9).

10); Ś. *jānādi* (Vikr. 9,4; Mālatīm. 264,5; Mahāv. 34,1; Mudrār. 36,3,4,6; 55,1 etc.); Mg. Ś. D. *ānādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25; 51,25; 101,11); Ś. *viānādi* (Prab. 13,19), *jānādu* (Mṛcch. 94,13; Mudrār. 36,7); Mg. *jānāsi* (Venis. 34,18), *yānādi* (Mṛcch. 114,1), *ānādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25), *viānādi*, *paccabhiānādi* (Mṛcch. 38,13; 173,7). Except in Ś. Mg. *jñā* mostly behaves according to the *a*-conjugation: *jānāi* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Kī. 4,47). So: M. *jānīmi*, *jānasi*, *jānase*, *janai*, *jānimo* and *jānāmo*, *jāna*, *jānasu* (H.), after *na*: *ānasi*, *ānai*, *ānimo*, *ānaha* (H. R.); JM. *jānasi* (Dvār. 502,21), *na jānasi* (Erz. 52,17), *jānai* (Erz. 11,2; Kk. 277,10), *na jānai* (Āv. 21,18; 38,8; Erz. 30,3; 37,25); AMg. *jānasi* (Uttar. 745), *jānai* (Vivāhap. 284. 363. 911. 1194. 1198 etc.; Sūyag. 476. 540; Uttar. 202; Āyār. 1,2,5,4; Paṇṇav. 366. 432. 518 ff. 666; Jiv. 339 ff.), *parijānai* (Āyār. p. 132,9 ff.), *anujānai* (Vivāhap. 603 ff.), *samaṇu-jānai* (Āyār. 1,1,3,6; 1,2,5,2. 3), *jānāmo* (Vivāhap. 131. 144. 1180. 1406; Thān. 147; Sūyag. 578), *jānaha*, *parijānaha* (Vivāhap. 132,234), opt. *jāne* (Sūyag. 364), imp. *jāna* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1) and *jānāhi* (Sūyag. 249. 304; Kappas. S. § 52), *viyānāhi* (Paṇṇav. 39), *samaṇujānāhi* (Sūyag. 247), *anujānāhi* (Kappas. § 28), *jānaha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *jānamāna* (Samav. 82); JŚ. *jānadi* (Kattig. 398,302), *viyānadi* (Pav. 381,21), *jāna* (Kattig. 401,342); Ś. *jānāmo* [text false °nā; cf. v. l.] (Mālatīm. 82,9; 94,3; 246,1; 248,1; 255,4; Viddhaś. 101,1), *na ānādha* (Mālatīm. 245,8), imp. *jāna* (Karp. 63,8) and *jānāhi* (Mṛcch. 41,24 [so to be read]; 169,20; Vikr. 15,10; 41,5; Mālatīm. 239,1 [so to be read]), *anujānāhi* (Śak. 26,12; Vikr. 29,9); Mg. *yānāhi* (Mṛcch. 80,21); A. *jānai* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *janai* (Hc. 4,401,4. 419,1), *jānu* Piṅgala 1,26 [text *jāna*], *jānahu* (Piṅgala 1,105. 106. 144). In Ś. Mg. the flexion according to the *a*-class is restricted to *jānāmo*, *jāna*, *jānāhi*, which should not be considered to have been built from the strong stem of the 9. class, and to *jānadha*. Against the dialect is Ś. *jānasi* (Lalitav. 560,18), falsely also *jānadi* (Nāgān. 67,3), for which we should, with the v. l., read *jānādi*, as also for Mg. *yānadi* (Hc. 4,292), *paccabhiyānadi* (Mṛcch. 132,24) is to be read °nādi. On the other hand, correct is the *e*-form in JM. *jānei* (Kk. III, 512,4), JŚ. *viyānedi* (Kattig. 399,316; text °ei) and A. *jānehu* (Piṅgala 1,5. 14). JŚ. has *nādi* = **jñāti* (Pav. 382,25) too.

§ 511. *kṛi* forms *kiṇai* (Vr. 8,30; Hc. 4,52), with prefix *vi* *vikkiṇai* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52; Kī. 4,70; Mk. fol. 54). So: M. *vikkiṇai* (H. 238); JM. *kiṇāmi* (Āv. 31,9), *kiṇai* (Erz. 29,28), absol. *kiṇiya*, future *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 33,15), *vikkiṇāmi*, *vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,24. 26), *vikkiṇanti* (Āv. 31,7), *paḍi-vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,15); AMg. *kiṇai* (Thān. 516), opt. *kiṇe*, particip. pres. *kiṇanta-* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3); Ś. imp. *kiṇadha* (Caṇḍak. 51,10. 11. 12; 53,7), future *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), past passive particip. *kiṇida* (Karp. 32,9; 73,2), *nikkiṇasi* (Mṛcch. 61,16), *vikkiṇida* (Mṛcch. 50,4; Karp. 74,3; Latakam. 13,15; 18,10); Mg. *kiṇadha* and with *i* fut. *kiṇiṣṣaṇ* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); Dh. *vikkiṇia* (Mṛcch. 32,10. 12. 14). With the prefix *vi* *kṛi* is inflected also according to the analogy of the roots in *-i* of the 1. class: *vikkei* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52. 240; Kī. 4,71; Mk. fol. 54). So M. v. l. to H. 238. *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) is a denominative from *vikreya*, therefore = **vikreyati*.—*pū* forms *puṇai* (Hc. 4,241), *lū* likewise *luṇai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Kī. 4,73; Mk. fol. 57). Besides both the roots may be inflected according to the analogy of the roots in *-u*, *-ū* of the 6. class: AMg. opt. *luṇijā* (Vivāhap. 1186), passive *puvvaī*, *luvvaī* beside *puṇijjāi*, *luṇijjāi* (§ 536). The shortening of *i*, in *kiṇai* is explained from the old accent *kīṇḍti* and it corresponds to the shortening of *ū* in *puṇai*=*pundti*, *luṇai*=*lundti*. On M. JM. AMg. A. *jīnai*, Dh. *jīnādi*, AMg. *samussijjāi* see § 473, on *muṇai* § 489.

§ 512. The old flexion of the roots ending in consonants occurs in AMg. *aṇhāi*=*aśnāti* (Ovav. § 64. 65). The usual formation, however, is

aṇhai (Hc. 4,110). The roots are inflected the same according to the analogy of the roots of 7. class with the weak stem formed according to either *a-* or *e-* conjugation (§ 506 f.). The influence thereof was that a section of the roots, such as *granth*, *bandh*, *manth*, already had the nasal and another section as *aṇhai* = *asnāti*, *gēṇhai* = *grhṇāti* was forced to take it according to the phonetic rules of Prākṛit within the stem. So : *gaṇthai* = *grathnāti* (§ 333; Hc. 4,120; Mg. fol. 54); Ś. *niggaṇthida* (Bālar. 131,14).—*geṇhai*=*grhṇāti* (Vr. 8,15; Hc. 4,209; Ki. 4,63); M. *geṇhai*, *gēṇanti*, *gēṇha*, *gēṇhāṭi*, *gēṇhanti* (G.H.R.); JM. *geṇhasi* (Āv. 44,6), *gēṇhai*, *giṇhai*, *giṇhae* (Kk.); *gēṇhanti* (Āv. 35,3), *gēṇha* (Erz.; Kk.); *gēṇhāhi* (Āv. 31,11) and *gēṇhesu* (Erz.), *geṇhaha*, *giṇhaha* (Āv. 33,17; Kk.); AMg. *geṇhai* (Vivāhap. 916. 1032. 1659; Uvās.), *gēṇhējjā* (Vivāhap. 212. 214), *giṇhai* (Vivāhap. 1035; Paṇṇav. 377ff.; Nāyādh. 449; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv. etc.), also *giṇhei* (Uvās.), *abhiḡiṇhai* (Uvās.), *ogiṇhai* (Vivāhap. 838), *giṇhaha* (Vivāhap. 623), *giṇhanti* (Vivāhap. 24; Nirāyāv.), *giṇhāhi* (Nāyādh. 633), *giṇhaha*, *uvaḡiṇhaha* (Vivāhap. 332); JŚ. *giṇhadi* (Pav. 384,59 [text *giṇṇadi*], Kattig. 399,310; 400,335), *giṇhedi* (Kattig. 400,335); Ś. *geṇhasi* (Mr̥cch. 49,15), *gēṇhadi* (Mr̥cch. 45,9; 74,18; Śak. 73,3; 159,13), *gēṇhanti* (Mr̥cch. 70,3), *gēṇha* (Mr̥cch. 16,3; 38,4; 55,1; 75,2 etc.; Ratn. 305,7), *gēṇhadu* (Mr̥cch. 49,8; 74,14), *aṇuḡeṇhadu* (Śak. 56,11; Mudrār. 19,4), *gēṇhadha* (Mr̥cch. 97,24), *aṇuḡeṇhantu* (Mudrār. 262,5 [so to be read]), absol. *gēṇhia* (Mr̥cch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2; 107,10; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20), inf. *gēṇhidum* (Mr̥cch. 94,12), partic. nec. *gēṇhidava* (Mr̥cch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9); Mg. *gēṇhadi* (Mr̥cch. 128,19; 145,17), *gēṇha* (Mr̥cch. 45,21; 132,13; Mudrār. 264,1; 265,1), *gēṇhadu* (Mr̥cch. 22,3. 5), *gēṇhia* (Mr̥cch. 12,14; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Caṇḍak. 64,8); Dh. *geṇha* (Mr̥cch. 29,16; 30,2); A. *grṇhai* (Hc. 4,336), *gēṇhai* (Piṅgala 1,60), absol. *grṇhēppini* (Hc. 4,394. 438,1). In A. *grah* is inflected according to the 6th class too: *grhanti* (Hc. 4,341,2).

§ 513. *bandh* is inflected: M. *bhandhai* (Hc. 1,187; H. R.; Pracandap. 47,6); *ṇibandhai* (R.), *bandhanti* (G. R.), *aṇubandhanti* (R.), *bandhasu* (R.), *ābandhanīta* (Hc. 1,7), future *bandhīhi*, passive *bandhījjā* (Hc. 4,247), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhēnti* (R.), inf. *bandheum* (Hc. 1,181); JM. *bandhaha*, *bandhiṇṇa*, *bandhiya* (Erz.), *bandhium*, *bandhittu* (Kk.); AMg. *bandhai* (Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 104. 136. 137. 331. 391 ff. 635 ff. 1810 ff.; Ovav. § 66; Paṇṇav. 638. 653. 657. 663 etc.), *paḍibandhai* (Sūyag. 179), *bandhanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 66. 1435; Paṇṇav. 638. 657. 663 etc.), *bandhējjā* (Vivāhap. 420. 421; Uvās. § 200), *bandhaha* (Vivāhap. 234. 1263), inf. *bandhiu* (Nirāyāv. § 15); JŚ. *bandhade* (Kattig. 400,327); Ś. *bandhāmi* (Lāṭakam. 18,12), *aṇubandhasi* (Śak. 86,14), *aṇubandhanti* (Uttar. 60,7), absol. *bandhia* (Mr̥cch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Nāgān. 34,15; 35,9), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhesi* (Priyad. 4,16); *obandhedi* = *avabadhnāti* (Mr̥cch. 89,5; 152,25); Mg. absol. *bandhia* (Mr̥cch. 163,16), past passive participle *bandhida* (Mr̥cch. 162,17), according to the *e-* conjugation imp. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12).—*manth* forms *manthai* (Hc. 4,121). To the flexion of Skt. *mathati* corresponds AMg. opt. *maḥējjā* (Uvās. § 200), where, however, the v. l. points to *manthējjā*.

§ 514. In Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhaṇ* follows the analogy of the roots of the 9. class, because *bhaṇāmi*, should be construed as **bha-ṇā-mi*. In the 2. 3. sing. indic., 3. sing. imp., 2. plur. indic. imperative the length is retained as in the 1. sing. plur. Examples are extraordinarily numerous: Ś. *bhaṇāsi* (Mr̥cch. 51,7. 10; 52,11; 53,54; 57,11; Vikr. 10,5; 22,14; Mālav. 27,13; Mudrār. 71,1. 2. 4; 72,2. 4; 73,2 etc.), *bhaṇādi* (Mr̥cch.

23,19; 67,14; 74,13; 94,11; Śak. 51,4; 158,2; Vikr. 16,5; 46,5; Mālav. 16, 18; 64,20 etc.), *bhaṇādu* (Mṛcch. 18,25); Mg. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *bhaṇādha* (Mṛcch. 32,18; 96,21; 97,1; Prab. 46,16; Caṇḍak. 64,6; Mudrār. 154,1; 257,6; 258,2 [so to be read throughout, as also in Ś. Uttarar. 123,7]); Dh. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 34,12). The 2. sing. imp. is Ś.D. *bhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 88,19; Śak. 50,9; Vikr. 47,1; Nāgān. 30,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,8) or Ś. *bhaṇāhi* (Vikr. 27,7; Mālav. 39,9; Venis. 10,12; 100,14; Nāgān. 44,13; Jivān. 10,4); Mg. *bhaṇa* (Śak. 114,5) and *bhaṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 81,13. 15; 165,4). Beside them these dialects have also the *a*-conjugation: D. Ś. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 105,8; Śak. 137,12 [so to be read]); Mg. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 21,8. 20. 22); Dh. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 39,16); Ś. *bhaṇehi* (Mṛcch. 61,13; 79, 3). In the rest of the dialects *bhaṇ* behaves regularly according to the *a*-conjugation: yet *bhaṇāi* in JM. Āv. 22,41. 42 beside the usual *bhaṇai*.

IMPERFECT.

§ 515. The single imperfect, that has been retained by dialects, more than one, is the imperfect of *as* (to be). However, only the 3. sing. *āsi* or *āsī* = *āsīt*, which is used for all the persons in the sing. and plur., only is found (Vr. 7,25; Hc. 3,164; Kī. 4,11; Sr. fol. 54). So 1. sing. AMg. *ke ahaṃ āsi* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3); Ś. *ahaṃ khu...āsi* (Mṛcch. 54,16)¹; 2. sing. Ś. *tumaṃ...gaddā āsi* (Mṛcch. 28,14), *tumaṃ kiṃ mantaṃtī āsi* (Mālatim. 71,4), *tumaṃ khu...me piṣaṃhī āsi* (Mālatim. 141,11 f.), *kiṃto āsi* (Uttarar. 18,12), *kīsa tumaṃ*, ed. *tuam*] *mantaṃtī āsi* (Kārṇas. 37,7f.)²; 3. sing. M. *āsi* (G.H.); JM. *āsi*, *āsi* (Kī. 2; Dvār. 495,19; 499,20; 504,19; Erz.); AMg. *āsi* (Sūyag. 896; Uvās. § 197; Ovav. § 170), *āsi* (Uttar. 660; Jiv. 239.452); Ś. very frequently; e. g. *āsi* (Lalitav. 560,14; 568,1; Mṛcch. 41,21; Śak. 43,6; 105, 10; 117,12; 129,13; 162,13; Vikr. 11,2; 27,21; 35,7. 9), *āsi* (Uttarar. 20,12; 78,4; Venis. 12,1.6); Dh. *āsi* (Mṛcch. 36,18); 1. plur. AMg. *āsi mo*, *āsi mo*³ (Uttar. 402), *āsi amhe* (Uttar. 403); 3. plur. M. *je āsi...mahāṇāipavahā* (G.449), *āsi rahā* (R. 14,33), *je go'cchaā āsi...vañjulā* (H.422); JM. *mahārājāṇo cattārī mittā āsi* (Erz. 4,36); AMg. *wasaggā bhīmāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7), *tassa bhajjā duve āsi* (Uttar. 660); Ś. *paṣaṃsanāsi āsi* (Bālar. 289,2).—Besides we find only AMg. *abbavi* = *abravīt* (Hc. 3,162; Uttar. 279. 281; Sūyag. 259), used also as 3. plur. too: *abambhacārīṇo bālā imaṃ vaṇṇaṃ abbavi* (Uttar. 351).—On the hypothetical preterite *udāhare*, *care*, *pahāne*, *pucche*, *acchā*, *g'ṇhā* etc. see § 466. The preterite posulated by BOLLENSSEN⁴ rests on false readings and forms wrongly understood⁵. See also § 517.

1. Notwithstanding Pāli *āsiṃ*, we should not with the v. l. read here *āsiṃ*, as BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. presumes.—2. At H. 805, *āsi* should not be considered, with WEBER, as = *āsīt*, but as = *āsiṃ* with the scholiasts.—3. *āsi* of the text should be so corrected. As the similar following *āsi amhe* and the other use of *āsi*, *āsi* point, it is not to be read with LEUMANN, WZKM. 5, 134 *āsiṃ* or *āsiṃ*, but *mo* should, with the scholiast, be considered as a pronoun.—4. Mālavikā. p. 188. 230.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 46.

AORIST.

§ 516. Of the strong aorist only AMg. *acche* = **acchet* from *chid*, *abbhe* = Vedic. *ābhet* from *bhid* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which are used in the sense of the opt. (§ 465), are noticeable, in addition to *abhū* = *abhūt* in the verse in AMg. (Uttar. 116), which has been used there as the 3. plur.: *abhū jīṇā atthi jīṇā aduvā vi bhavissā*. Very numerous, on the other hand, in AMg. are the many forms of the *s*-aorist in the parasmaip., frequently derived from the present stem. The very seldom 1. sing. parasmaip. shows, as in Pāli¹, doubled *s*: *akarissam c' ahaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1, 1,5); *pucchiss' ahaṃ* (verse; Sūyag. 259). The 2. sing. occurs in

akāsi = *akārṣiḥ* (Samav. 82); *kāsi* (Uttar. 415) and in *vajāsi* = *avādiḥ* (Sūyag. 924), of a form, that is placed together with Pāli forms like *agamāsi*³. Both the forms are more frequent as 3. sing. So *akāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8; 2,2,2,4; Sūyag. 74; Kappas. § 146), *akāsi* (Sūyag. 120. 123. 298), behind *mā* also *kāsi* (Hc. 3,162; Sūyag. 234; Uttar. 14), according to Hc. 3,162; Sr. fol. 54 also *kāhi* and according to Deśin. 1,8 *akāsi* in the sense of *pariyāptam*. The same forms are used also as 1. sing. *jaṃ ahaṃ puvvaṃ akāsi* = *yad ahaṃ pūrvam akārṣam* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3); *aham ejaṃ akāsi* = *aham etad akārṣam* (Sūyag. 621) and used as 1. plur.: *jahā vajāṃ dhammam ayaṇamāṇā pūvaṃ purā kammam akāsi mohā* (Uttar. 433 f.). This corresponds to the use of the imp. *āsi* (§ 515). As 3. sing.: *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 578; Vivāhap. 165. 1260. 1262. 1268; Ovav.; Uvās.; Kappas.), very frequently in the meaning of the 3. plur. (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 783; Vivāhap. 131. 186. 236. 238. 332. 809. 951; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 68 ff. u.s. w.) etc., also *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 565. 841; Ovav. § 53. 84 ff.). Other examples for the 3. sing. are: *ṭhāsi, ṭhāhi* from *sthā* (Hc. 3,162); *paccāsi* from *aś* with *parti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *acārī* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2); *kaheśi* from *kathaya-* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327). From *bhū* the 3. sing. is *bhuvi* = **abhūvit* (Vivāhap. 78. 844 [text here °im]; Nandis. 501. 502 [text *bhuviṃ ca*]; Jiv. 239. 452 [text here °im]), or from the present stem *bhava-*: *ahesi* from **abhaviṣīt, *abhaiṣīt, *abhaiṣīt* (§ 166; Hc. 3,164), according to Hc. used also as 1. 2. sing., and found in the text as 3. plur.: *samaṇā...tattha viharantā puṭṭhapuvvā ahesi sunacchīm* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6). Likewise is explained AMg. *annesi* = **āññāyisīt* (cf. § 487; Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,5,2,1. 3,4; 1,8,1,14). That the form is not = *anvesi*, but is the aorist of *jñā*, has already been assumed by JACOB³. One 1. plur. occurs in *vucchāmu* = *avātsma* from *vas* “to live” (Uttar. 410), formed from an aorist stem **vatsa-*. The 3. plur. ends in *-imsu* = Skt. *īṣuḥ*. So: *parivici-ṭṭhimsu* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4); *pucchimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; Sūyag. 301 [text °issu]); *ciṇimsu, uvaciṇimsu* (Vivāhap. 62; Thāp. 107. 108 [text °ṇa°]); *bandhimsu, udāṇimsu, vedimsu, niṇjarimsu* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 62 [text °eṇsu]); *sijjhi-ṇsu, bujjhiṇsu* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 79); *āyāṇimsu* from *jan* with *ā* (Kappas. § 17—19; cf. § 487); *pariṇivvāṇimsu* (Sūyag. 790); *bhāsiṇsu, seviṇsu* (Sūyag. 704); *atarimsu* (Sūyag. 424; Uttar. 567); *hiṇsiṇsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,3); *viharimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,5); *luṇciṇsu, nihaṇsiṇsu* (Āyār. (1,8,3,11. 12); *kandimsu* from *krand* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4; 1,8,3,10); *viṇāṇimsu* = *vyanaṇsiṇsu* (Sūyag. 454); *abhaviṇsu* (Sūyag. 157—551) and *bhaviṇsu* (Vivāhap. 157). Beside the usual *akarimsu* (Thāp. 149); *karimsu* (Vivāhap. 62. 79; Nāyādh. § 118; Sūyag. 790 [text *karesu*]), *uvakarimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11), is found also *vikuvvimsu* (Vivāhap. 214. 215) from the present stem *kuva-* (§ 508). Aorists of the causative are *giṇhāvimsu* (Nāyādh. § 123); *paṭṭhāvimsu* from *sthā* with *pra* (Kappas. § 128); *samphāṇimsu* from *dhar* with *sam* and *pra* (Sūyag. 585. 620); aor. of a denominative is *rikkāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3) belonging to one **riknaya-*. The 3. plur. is used also for other persons. Thus for the 1. sing.: *karimsu vāham* (Thāp. 476); for the 3. sing. *āhiṇsiṇsu* [text °sa°] *vā hiṇsaī vā hiṇsiṇsaī vā* (Sūyag. 680); *puṭṭho vi nābhībhāsiṇsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); *āsiṇsu* [text °sa°] *bhagavaṇ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,6); *seviṇsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2). An old Skt. form is *addakkhu* (Vivāhap. 332), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3; may be sing. too) = *adrākṣuḥ*, frequently used as 3. singular: *adakkhu* (Āyār. 1,2,5,2; Vivāhap. 1306), *addakkhu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,2,1. 6,1; 1,8,1,16. 17)⁴. In Kappas. S. 19 *adakkhu* is a false reading for *adaṭṭhu*, as the v. l. has. Accordingly is formed, from *nakṣ* with *niḥ*, *niṇṇakkhu* (Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 4. 5. 6) used as 3. singular.

l. c. p. 114; E. MÜLLER, l. c. p. 116.—3. SBE. XXII, p. 44, note 2.—4. In certain places one may be doubtful, whether or not there is an adjective **adrākṣu*, as it certainly appears for *dakkhu*, *adakkhu* = **drākṣu*, **adrākṣu* or **dr̥kṣu*, **adr̥kṣu* in Sūyag. 151.

§ 517. In AMg. we frequently find a 3. sing. ātmanep. in *-itthā*, *-ittha*. The form is built explicitly from the present stem, and this as well as the unusual dental, which Pāli too has, for the expected cerebral (§ 303), makes it doubtful, as to whether they derive it correctly from the *s*-aorist¹. Examples are *saṃuppajjitthā* from *pad* with *saṃ* and *ud* (Vivāhap. 151. 170; Nāyādh. § 81. 87; p. 771; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.); *roittthā* from *ruc* (Hc. 3, 143); *vaḍḍhitthā*, *abhiḥvaḍḍhitthā* from *vr̥dh* (Kappas.); *riittthā* from *riyate* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 1; 1, 8, 3, 13); *esittthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 12); *viharittthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 12); *bhuñjitthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 17. 18), *sevitthā*, *sevitthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 1; 1, 8, 4, 9); *apiittthā*, *apiittthā* [so to be read] from *pā* (to drink) with privative *a* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 5. 6); *aṇujāñittthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 8); *kuvvitthā* from the present stem *kuvvai* (§ 508) (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 15); *udāharittthā* (Uttar. 353. 408), *jaiittthā*, *parājayittthā* (Vivāhap. 500); *dalayittthā* (Vivāhap. 502). From *bhū* is derived the form *ho'tthā* from the present stem *ho* = *bhava*- (§ 476) (Vivāhap. 5. 168. 182; Thāp. 79; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ovav. etc.); also with augment in the verse *aho'tthā* (Uttar. 619); with *prāduh* on the other hand, from the stem *bhava*-: *pāubbhavitthā* (Vivāhap. 1201). Of the causative the form ends in *-ē'tthā*, *-ē'ttha*: *kāre'tthā* from *kāre* = *kāraya*- (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 8); *paḥāre'tthā*, mostly *°ttha* from *paḥāre* = *pradhāraya*- (Sūyag. 1012; Vivāhap. 153. 831; Vivāgas. 123; Ovav. § 50; Nāyādh. § 81 etc.); but also *jāva'tthā* from *yāpaya*- (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 4). The same form is used also for persons other than 3. sing. Thus for the 2. plur. in *labhitthā* [so the commentary; text *°bhe*]: *jai me na dāhitthā ih* [so the commentary; text *ak*] *esaṇijam kim aija jannāna labhitthā lābham* (Uttar. 359); for the 3. plur.: *viḥṣasarittthā* (Nāyādh. 348); *bahave hatthi.. diso disim viḥṣasarittthā, kasāittthā*, denominative from *kaśā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 11); *pāubbhavitthā* (Nāyādh. § 59; Ovav. § 33 ff.); *bahave... devā antiyam pāubbhavitthā*; more often *ho'tthā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 16; Thāp. 197; Nāyādh. 628; Samav. 66. 229; Uvās. § 4. 184. 233. 234; Kappas. Th. § 5. 6; Ovav. § 77. — Cf. § 520. On the precativē see § 466.

1. Hypotheses on the origin of the form in JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 450 ff.

PERFECT.

§ 518. Of the perfect, only the 3. plur. parasmaip. has retained *āhu* = *āhuḥ* in AMg. (Āyār. 1, 4, 3, 1; Sūyag. 74 [text *āha*]. 132. 134. 150. 316. 468. 500); *udāhu* (Uttar. 424); also *āhū* (Āyār. 1, 5, 1, 3) and *udāhū* (Sūyag. 454). More frequent, as in Pāli, is the recent formation *āhaṃsu* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Sūyag. 37. 166. 202. 241. 356. 445. 456. 463. 465. 778. 842; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 179. 438. 1033. 1402; Thāp. 148. 438 ff.; Paṇhāv. 95. 106; Jiv. 12. 13; Kappas. S. § 27). Both the forms are employed for other persons too. So *āhaṃsu* for the 1. sing.: *tao 'ham evam āhaṃsu* (Uttar. 623); for the 3. sing.: *evam āhaṃsu nāyakulanandaṇo mahappā jīṇo varavīraṇāmadhējjo kaheṣi ja* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327); likewise for the 3. sing. *āhu* (Sūyag. 257. 308; Uttar. 365. 646; Kappas. and *udāhu* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; Sūyag. 159. 304. 387. 518. 974. 989. 992 ff.; Uttar. 756).

PLUPERECT.

§ 519. With the exception of the cases mentioned under § 515—518, in Pkt. the past tense is expressed either by the present, particularly in narration, or generally by the paraphrasis with the past passive participle, by which the person or thing spoken of, which in the case of transitive verbs

goes over to the instrumental *abalāṇa tāṇa ... vasio aṅgesu ... seo* "sweat clung to the limbs of those women" (G. 210); *kiṃ ṇa bhaṇio si bālaa gāmaṇidhūāi* "have you, o boy, not been told by the daughter of the village-chief?" (H. 370); *sāpārimaṭṭhena va vūḍho teṇa vi nīrantaraṃ romaṇico* "he exhibited uninterrupted thrill of hair, as if touched by Sītā" (R. 1,42); JM. *pacchā rannā cintiyāṃ* "later the king thought" (Av. 32,19); *annayā bhūjadinṇeṇa vinnāyāṃ* "once Bhūtadinnā learnt" (Erz. 1, 24); AMg. *suṇam me āsāntenabhaḡavayā evaṃ akkhāyāṃ* "I, the long-lived one, have heard that the Lord had spoken thus" (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); *urālā ṇaṃ tume devāṇuppie sumiṇā diṭṭhā* "O beloved of gods, you have seen an excellent dream" (Kappas. § 9); Ś. *tā aāṇanteṇa eḍiṇā eṇvaṃ aṇuciṭṭhiḍaṃ* "so he has done thus unknowingly" (Mr̥ch. 63,24); *sudaṃ khu mae tāḍakaṇṇassa muhādo* "I have heard from the mouth of the father Kaṇva (Śak. 14,12); Mg. *sudaṃ tue yaṃ mae gāḍaṃ* "did you hear what I sang?" (Mr̥ch. 116, 20); *adha e'kkadāsaṃ mae lohidaṃsaḡka khaṇḍaso kappiḍo* "one day I cut the rohita fish into pieces" (Śak. 114,9); A. *tumhē'k' amhē'hī jaṃ, kiāṇ diṭṭhāṇ bahuajaneṇa* "many people have seen what was done by you and by us (Hc. 4,371); *sabādhu karē'ppiṇu kadhidu maṭṭi* "I have said on oath" (Hc. 4,396,3). Pkt. may form in this manner by insertion of *āsi* (was) the pluperfect from the past passive participle¹. So: M. *jo sisammi vūṇṇo majjhaṇṇeḡhi gaṇavai āsi* "he, whom the young men had put over my head, was Gaṇapati" (H. 372); JM. *tayā ja so kumbhajāro... gāmaṃ annaṃ gao āsi* "and at that time the potter had gone to another village" (Sagara 10, 18); *jaṃ te sukkihiyāṃ āsi buddhileṇa addhalakkhaṃ* "that half lac, that Buddhila had spoken to thee" (Erz. 10,34); Ś. *ahaṃ khu radaṇachattṭhiṃ uvavasidā āsi* "I had brought the (prescribed) fast to end on the ratnaṣaṣṭhī (for the vow)" (Mr̥ch. 54,16); Ś. *tumaṃ mae saha ... gadā āsi* "you had gone with me (Mr̥ch. 28,14); *ajja devī ajjagandhālie pāḍavandaṇaṃ kāduraṃ gadā āsi* "today the queen had gone to adore the feet of Her Majesty Gāndhārī (Venis. 12,6); *pūṇo mandassa vi me tattha paḇcuppaṇaṃ uttaraṃ āsi*, "although dull, I had prepared the answer" (Mālav. 57,16); *tāe'kkhu cittaḡhalaṃ paḇhāde hatthikidaṃ āsi* "I had taken the picture into my hand in the morning" (Mālatim. 78,3); Dh. *tassa jūḍialassa muṭṭhippahaḡeṇa ṇāsikā bhaggā āsi* "the nose of the gambler was broken with a stroke of the fist (Mr̥ch. 36,18). In many cases we may take them as adjectival participle.

1. FICK, Sagara p. 26.

FUTURE

§ 520. By far the most usual in Ś. Mg. exclusively attestable formation of the future of the roots ending in a consonant is that of the stem in *-i*. But Pkt. does not employ merely the crude one, but more frequently the present stem, as well as the stem in *-e*. The 1. sing. has in AMg. JM. often, in other dialects almost isolated, the ending *-mi*, mostly *-m*, the ending of the secondary tense, which in A. with *a* of the stem becomes *u* (351). In the 2. sing. *-issasi*, Mg. *-issasi*, in the 3. sing. *-issai*, Ś. Dh. *-issadi*, Mg. *-issadi* the regular, in Ś. Mg. Dh., except rarely in verses, is only the usual ending. In M. JM. AMg., in lieu of it, mostly enters 2. sing. *-ihisi*, 3. *-ihii*, also the contracted *-ihī* and prosodically shortened *-ihī*, a phonetic transition that has disappeared from the roots and stems ending in long vowels and diphthongs. The grammarians mention for the 1. sing. too the ending *-ihāmi*, *-ihimi*: *kittāhimi* beside *kittāssaṃ* = *kīrtayiṣāmi* (Hc. 3,169); *so'cchihimi*, *so'cchihāmi* from *śru*, *gacchihimi*, *gacchihāmi*.

beside *gacchissam* from *gam* (Hc. 3,172); *hasihimi* beside *hasissam*, *hasissāmi* (Sr. fol. 52). For the roots and stems ending in long vowels *-himi* too is mentioned: *kāhimi* from *kr*, *dāhimi* from *dā* (Hc. 3,170; Sr. fol. 52), *hohimi* from *bhū* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167. 169; Ki. 4,16), *hasehimi* beside *hasehāmi*, *hasēssāmi* from the *e*-stem of *has* (Sr. fol. 52), to which *hasehii* (Bh. 7,33; Hc. 3,157) too belongs. We find in the texts such forms with *-i* upto the present day only in A.: *pe'kkhihimi* = *prekṣiye*, *sāhimi* = *sahiye* (Vikr. 55,18. 19). According to Hc. 4,275 *Ś.* has in the 3. sing. *-issidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*, *karissidi*, *gacchiṣṣidi*, according to 4,302 in Mg. *-iṣṣidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*. In South Indian manuscripts, several times the future forms in *-issidi* are found; they are unknown in the texts. Probably in Hc. by *Ś.* is again meant by *JŚ.*, in which the examples for the future are hitherto wanting. The 1. plur. mostly ends in *-issāmo*, in verses seldom in *-issāma* too, as M. *karissāma* (H. 897), after long vowels in *-hāmo*, metrically in *-hāmu* too. The grammarians recognise beside the forms like *hasissāmo* also *hasihimo* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,167; Sr. fol. 52), *hasihissā*, *hasihitthā* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,168; Sr. fol. 52), Bh. 7,15 also *hāsihāmo*, Sr. fol. 52, *hasehissā*, *hasehitthā* *hasēssāmo*, *hasēssāmu*, *hasissāmu*, *hasēssāma*, *hasehāma*, *hasihāma*, *hasehimo*, *hasehimu*, *hasihimu*; further *sōcchimo*, *sōcchimu*, *sōcchima*, *sōcchihimo*, *sōcchihimu*, *sōcchihima* *sōcchissāmo*, *mu*, *ma*, *sōcchihāmo*, *sōcchihissā*, *sōcchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172), *gacchimo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172); *hohimo*, *hōssāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7,13,15; Hc. 3,168; Ki. 4,18), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Ki. 4,18). Cf. with it § 521.523.531. The ending *-ihissā* for the 1. plur. is completely obscure¹. The ending *-hitthā*, *-ihitthā* is mentioned for the 2. plural too: *hohitthā* (Hc. 3,166); *sōcchitthā*, *sōcchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172) beside *sōcchiha*, *sōcchihaha*, *gacchitthā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172) beside *gacchiha*, *gacchihaha*, *hasehitthā*, *hasihitthā* (Sr. fol. 52) beside *hasehiha*, *hasihiha*. The one found in the text in AMg. is *dāhitthā* = *dāyatha* (Uttar. 359). Accordingly this must have belonged to the 2. plur. and taken over to the 1. plur. It still remains undecided if it is connected with the ending *-itthā*, which is assigned to the aorist. The usual ending of the 2. plur. is *-issaha*, *Ś. Mg.* *-issadha*. The 3. plur. ends in *-issantī*, in JM. AMg. very frequently in *-ihinti*, *-hinti* too Sr. fol. 51 teaches *-ire*: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire*.

1. According to Ki.'s *hohitthāmo* LASSEN, Inst. p. 353 will explain *hohissā*, *hohitthā* as abridgment of *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo*. But since *hohitthā* is also the 2. plural, the explanation is not plausible. One compares the free use of *āsi*, *ahesi*, *āhu*, *udāhu* and the 3. sing. preterite in *-itthā*. For the sake of brevity *i* is always pushed to the ending above.

§ 521. The examples for the future are regulated according to the present stem (§ 473) for the sake of facilitating abridgment. The future of *ji* is JM. *jīṇissai* (Erz. 22,29), AMg. *parājīṇissai* (Nirayāv. § 3); from *nī*, M. *nehii* = *nesyati* (G.223), JM. *nīnehii* = *nirṇesyati* (Erz. 52,13), *nehinti* (Erz. 29,15), AMg. *wanehii* (Ovav. §107), *vinehii* (Nāyādh. §87); *wanehinti* (Ovav. § 106), but from the present stem *Ś. āṇaṇaṇissam* (Ratn. 316,15), *āṇaṇaṇissam* (Śak.102,14;104,13), *wanaṇaṇissam* (Śak.137,3), *naṇsadi* (Mṛcch.58,3), *āṇaṇsadi* (Mālatīm. 104,1), *naṇsadhā* (Karp. 33,8); Mg. *naṇṣam* (Mṛcch. 169,13). On *Ś. daṇsam*, Mg. *daṇṣam* from *daya*-(to give) see §474.—In the future of *bhū* all the present stems are to be found, however, the dialects maintain distinction in their employment. M. A. use only *ho-*, which *Ś. Mg.* do not know. JM. *bhaviṣṣāmi* (Dvār. 501,38); *Ś. bhaviṣsam* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 51,13; 85,7; Mālav. 52,19; Ratn. 315,16; 318,31; Karp. 8,7; 52,2), *apubhaviṣsam* (Mālatīm. 278,9); Mg. *bhaviṣsam* (Mṛcch.116,23); *Ś. bhaviṣṣasi* (Mṛcch. 4,6; Ratn. 296,25); Mg. *bhaviṣṣasi* (Śak. 116,4); AMg. JM.

bhavissai (Vivāhap. 844; Jiv. 239. 452; Uttar. 116; Ovav. § 103. 109. 114. [115]; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,27; 504,5; Erz. 11,35; Kk. 268,33; 271,13,15); *Ś. bhavissadi* (Mṛcch. 5,2; 20,24; Śak. 10,3; 18,3; Vikr. 20,20; Mālav. 35,20; 37,5; Ratn. 291,2; 294,9; Mālatim. 78,9; 89,8; 125,2 etc.); Mg. *bhaviṣṣadi* (Prab. 50,14); AMg. *bhavissāmo* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 601); AMg. *bhavissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *bhavihinti* (Āv. 47,20); *Ś. bhavissanti* (Mālatim. 126,3). False is *havissadi*, *havissam* (Mālav. 37,19; 40,22)¹, since the stem *hava* is used only after the prefix *pra*, as in *Ś. pahavissam* (Uttar. 32,4). *Ś. Mg.* use also the stem *huva-*: Mg. *huviṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 29,24; 32,19; 40,1; 118,17; 124,12); *Ś. huviṣṣasi* (Venis. 58,18); *Ś. huviṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 22,14; 24,4; 64,18; Vikr. 36,6; 46,4. 6; 53,2. 13; 72,19; Mālav. 70,6; Venis. 9,21; Vṛṣabh. 47,11 etc.); Mg. *huviṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 21,14. 15; 117,15; 118,16,17; Venis. 33,3); *Ś. huviṣṣanti* (Mṛcch. 39,4; Candak. 86,14). From the stem *ho-* are derived: *hōssāmi* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167. 169; Ki. 4,16); M. *hōssam* (Vr. 7,14; Hc. 3,169; Ki. 4,17; H. 743); A. *hosai* (Hc. 4,388; 418,4), and *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6; cf. § 166); *hōssāmu*, *hōssāma* (Bh. 7,13. 15; Hc. 3,167. 168; Ki. 4,18), mostly with *h* from *ṣ* (§ 263); JM. *hohāmi* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Ki. 4,16; Āv. 26,36); *hohimi* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Ki. 4,16); *hohissam* (Ki. 4,17); JM. *hohisi* (Hc. 3,166. 178; Erz. 62,31); M. JM. *hohii* (Hc. 3,166. 178; Ki. 4,15; G H.R.; Āv. 43,13; Erz. 37,1), *hohi* (Erz. 6,36; Dvār. 495,15; T. 7,10; Kk. 265,41; 270,43); before double consonants *hohi*: *hohi tti* (Dvār. 495,24); 1. plur. *hohāmo*, *hohāmu*, *hohāma*, *hohimo*, *hohimu*, *hohīma*, *hohissā*, *hohiṭṭhā* (Bh. 7,13. 15; Hc. 3,167. 168), *hohissāmo*, *hohiṭṭhāmo* (Ki. 4,18); 2. plur. *hohiṭṭhā* (Hc. 3,166; Ki. 4,15); 3. plur. M. JM. *hohinti* (Bh. 7,12; Hc. 3,166; Ki. 4,15; H. 675; Sagara 2,15). In AMg. sometimes the stem *hō'kkha-* is met: *hō'kkhāmi* (Uttar. 63. 202), *hō'kkham* (Uttar. 63), *hō'kkhāi*, *hō'kkhanti* (Samav. 240 ff.). It is probably merely false, a reading deduced from **bhosya-* (§ 265). Cf. also § 520. According to Hc. 37,18 from the precativ too a future is derived: *hojjahimi*, *hojjāhimi*, *hojjassāmi*, *hojjahāmi*, *hojjassam*; *hojjahisi*, *hojjāhisi*; *hojjahii*, *hojjāhii*. Sr. fol. 53 reads *hojjehii*, *hojjihii*, *hojjāhii*.

1. Further examples in BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 42. — 2. The forms, that are hitherto incapable of verification, have been quoted here without indication of the dialects.

§ 522. The roots in *r*, *ṛ* according to the 1. and 6. classes form in all the dialects the future, as in Skt.: *Ś. aṇusarissam* (Viddhaś. 115,6), *visumarissam* = *vismariṣyāmi* (Śak. 14, 3), *visumarissasi* (Śak. 89, 7), *visumarissadha* (Śak. 86,6); *Ś. sumarissasi* (Ratn. 313,6); *Ś. pariharissam* (Śak. 25,1), *pariharissadi* (Vikr. 79,7); Mg. *palihaliṣṣadi* (Prab. 42,5; 47,7); *vihalissam* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. *viharissai* (Ovav. § 114. [§ 115]), *viharissāmo* (Āyār. 2,2,3,3; 2,7,1,2; Vivāhap. 979), *viharissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *viharissanti* (Kk. 269,38); *marissasi* (Mṛcch. 72,18); Mg. *malihīsi* (verse; Mṛcch. 9,24); M. *aṇumarihii* (R. 14,55); M. *harihii* (H. 143); AMg. *tariṭhanti* (Uttar. 253) and *tariṣṣanti* (Uttar. 567; Sūyag. 424), *nijjariṣṣanti* (Thāp. 108). — Of the roots in *-ai* gai forms: AMg. *gāhii* = *gāsyati* (Thāp. 451); M. *uggāhii* (R. 11,84); against that *Ś. gāissam* (Śak. 2,8; Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,4; Kāmsav. 8,16), Mg. *gāissam* (Mṛcch. 116,20; 117,3); from *trai* the fut. is Mg. *palittāiṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 12,10).

§ 523. Of the roots of the old *ska-* class *r* forms in JM. *acchihisi* (Āv. 11,11), *yam* JM. *payacchissāmo* (Dvār. 503,4). In the case of *gam* the formation from the stem *gami-* prevails, which is exclusively dominant *Ś. Mg.* The form *gacchissidi*, taught by Hc. 4,275 for *Ś.* is not attested by the text. So: JM. *gamissāmi* (Erz. 60,19); *Ś. gamissam* (Mṛcch. 8,24; 9,7; 15,10; 54,19; Śak. 17,4; Ratn. 293,24; 296,26; 297,12; 314,26; Karp.

35,3; 108,4; 109,2; Nāgān. 42,7. 15; 43,10; Jivān. 42,17. 23; 43,17 etc.), *āgamissam* (Karp. 22,7; 107,4); Mg. *gamiṣam* (Mṛcch. 20,10. 14; 32,2; 97,1; 98,2; 112,18); Ś. *gamissasi* (Mṛcch. 3,17; Śak. 24,15); AMg. *gamihi* (Uvās. § 125; Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27); A. *gamihi* (Hc. 4,330,2); M. *samāgamissā* (H. 962); Ś. *gamissadi* (Mṛcch. 94,2; Śak. 56,14; Mālatīm. 103,7), *āgamissadi* (Uttarar. 123,7; Karp. 105,3); Dh. *gamissadi* (Mṛcch. 36, 23); AMg. Ś. *gamissāmo* (Ovav. § 78; Karp. 36,6); AMg. *uvāgamissanti* (Āyār. 2,3,1,2 ff.). From the stem *gaccha-* are built : *gacchissāmi* (JM. Āv. 21,10), *gacchissam*, *gacchihāmi*, *gacchihimi*; *gacchihisi* (Hc. 3,172); AMg. *gacchihii* (Hc. 3,172; Sr. fol. 52; Ovav. § 100.101; Uvās. § 90); *āgacchissā* (Uvās. § 188); according to Sr. also *gacchehi*; *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihittā*, *gacchihūha* (AMg. Āyār. 2,3,3,5), *gacchihittā*; *gacchihinti* (Hc. 3,172). Beside them is found a future AMg. *gacchaṃ* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Ki. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53; Thāp. 156. 285), according to Hc. also *gacchimi*, that according to the grammarians is inflected: *gacchisi*, *gacchii*, *gacchimo*, *gacchiha*, *gacchinti*, according to Sr. also *gacchei*. The hypothesis that *gacchaṃ* may have been formed on the analogy of *dacchaṃ*, *mōcchaṃ*, *vicchaṃ*, *rōcchaṃ*, *vēcchaṃ*, *vōcchaṃ* (§ 525.526. 529) is convenient, but wholly improbable. We should assume a root *gacch-*, deduced from *gacchāi*, and derive *gacchaṃ* from **gacchsyāmi*, **gacchsyāmi*. Cf. *so cchaṃ* § 531.

§ 524. Of the reduplicated roots of the first conjugation *pā* forms JM. *pāhāmi* = *pāsyāmi* (Āv. 42,27); AMg. *pāhaṃ* (Uttar. 593 [text *pāhim*]), *pāhisi* (Kappas. S. § 18), *pāhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6); M. *pāhinti* (R. 3,21; text false *o'he*). The future of *sthā* is M. *thāhi* (Pracandap. 47,4), Ś. *ciṭṭhissam* (Śak. 30,9; Vikr. 15,5; Nāgān. 69,14; Karp. 22,2); Mg. *ciṭṭhissam* (Candak. 42,11), *anuciṭṭhissam* (Mṛcch. 40,11; cf. v. l. and § 303); Ś. *ciṭṭhissadi* (Vikr. 43,8); AMg. Ś. *ciṭṭhissāmo* (Nāyadh. 908. 939; Viddhaś. 61,8). — Ś. *uṭṭhissāmo* (Mṛcch. 20,22) goes back to *uṭṭhai*, AMg. *uṭṭhehinti* (Vivāhap. 1280) to *uṭṭhei* (§ 483).

§ 525. The future from *dr̥ś* in M. JM. AMg. is *dacchaṃ* = *draksyāmi* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 52). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case too. One says: M. *dacchāmi* (R. 11,77), *dacchimi* (R. 11,85); M. *dacchihisi* (H. 819; R. 11,93 [to be read so with G; false S. GOLD-SCHMIDT p. 286 note 1]); AMg. *dacchisi* (Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35, where correct is the text); JM. *dacchihī* (Erz. 24,12); M. *dacchihī* (R. 14,55), *dacchāma* (R. 3,50), *dacchiha* (R. 3,23 [so to be read]). Beside them one says also AMg. *pāsihi* from *pāsai* = *pāsyati* (Ovav. [§ 115]). To Ś. Mg. Dh. both the verbs are unknown : they use *ikṣ* with *pra*, that is known also to the rest of the dialects: M. *pēcchissam* (H. 743), *pēcchihisi* (H. 566); JM. *pēcchissāmo* (Dvār. 505,28); Ś. *pekkhissam* (Mṛcch. 4,11; 77,12; 93,16; Śak. 90,15; 125,15; Vikr. 11,2; 13,19; Prab. 37,13; 38,1 etc.), *pekkhissadi* (Ratn. 300,1; Uttarar. 66,7); Mg. *pekkhissam* (Mṛcch. 40,10), *pekkhissadi* (Mṛcch. 123,22); Dh. *pekkhissam* (Mṛcch. 35,15. 17); A. *pekkhimi* (Vikr. 55,18). — As in the present (§ 484), in the fut. too *labh* may take a nasal in the root: Ś. *labhissam* = *lapsye* (Cait. 83,2); Ś. *uḷambhissam* = *uḷālapsye* (Priyad. 19,15); but also Ś. *lahissam* (Mṛcch. 70,12); Ś. *uḷahissam* (Śak. 61,2; 130,4); AMg. *labhissāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5); JM. *lahissāmo* (Erz. 13,30). From *sah* we find in AMg. the fut. *sakkehāmo* = Epic *śaksyāmaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14). — From the contracted stems *khā-* and *dhā-* from *khāda-* and *dhāva-* (§ 165) the fut. *khāhi* and *dhāhi* are formed (Bh. 8,27; Hc. 4,228). So Mg. *khāhi* (Mṛcch. 11,11) in the verse, against *khāssam* (Mṛcch. 124,10) in prose.

§ 526. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch*, corresponding to the present *puccaṃ* = *prechati*, forms the fut. Ś. *pucchissam* (Mṛcch. 4,22;

81,1. 2. 10; Śak. 19,3; 50,4; Mālatīm. 103,10; Venis. 59,1; Karp. 3,4); Mg. *puccissām* (Prab. 50,46; 53,12); AMg. *puccihissāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Ovav. § 38).—*sphuṭ* forms according to the present *phuṭtai* (§ 488, note 1), A. *phuṭṭisu* (Hc. 4,422,12); M. *phuṭṭihisi*, *phuṭṭihii* (H. 768.281 [so to be read]). *muc* forms *mōccham*=*moksyāmi* (Hc. 3,172; Ki. 4,19; Sr.fol. 53). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case. So M. *mōcchihii* (R. 4,49) and *mōcchhi* (R.3,30; 11,126). JM. says also *muñcīhii* (Dvār.504,11), Ś. *muñcissadi* (Vikr.72,20), as from *sic* Ś. *siñcissam* (Śak.15,4). On *mṛ* see §522.—From *viś* Ki. 4,19 teaches *viccham*, for which, as already LASSEN (Inst. p. 351) has noted, *vēccham* would be expected, which the rest of the grammarians derive from *vid*. We find in the texts the forms of the *i*-stem only, as AMg. *apupavisissāmi*, *pavisissāmi* (Āyār.2,1,4,5), *pavisissāmo* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); JM. *pavisihii* (Erz. 29,16); Mg. *paviṣiṣam*, *uvaviṣiṣam* (Mṛcch. 36,1; 124,8).

§ 527. The roots of the 4. class mostly use the present stem: M. *kilammihisi* (G. 954), *kilammihii* (H. 196) from *kilammai* = *klāmyati* (§ 136); AMg. *siṁvissāmi* from *siṁvyati* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); M. *kuppiṣsam* (H. 898); Ś. *kuppiṣsadi* (Mṛcch. 94,7. 8; Uttarar. 66,9); but also Ś. *kuviṣsam* (Uttarar. 32,3; Viddhaś. 71,3); Ś. *ṇaccissam* (Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,5), *ṇaccissadi* (Cait. 57,12) from *nṛt*; AMg. *sajjihii*, *rajjihii*, *gijjihii*, *mujjihii*, *ajjhovavajjihii* from *saj*, *raj*, *grdh*, *muh*, *pad* (Ovav. § 111); AMg. *bujjihii* from *budh* (Ovav. § 116), *sijjihii* from *sidh* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 116), *sijjihihink* (Ovav. § 128), *sijjhissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16); JM. *sijjihii* (Erz. 28,16; 34,20; Dvār. 508,8); M. Ś. *vivajjissam* from *pad* with *vi* (H. 865; Mṛcch.25,15); AMg. *paḍivajjissāmi* (Uvās. §12.210), Ś. *paḍivajjissam* (Mālatīm. 117,5), Ś. *paḍivajjissadi* (Śak. 70,12; Nāgān. 22,7), AMg. *paḍivajjissāmo* (Ovav. § 38); M. *pavajjihisi* (H. 661); AMg. *uvavajjihii* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 100. 101), *uvavajjissaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *samupajjihii* (Ovav. § 115), *uppajjissanti* (Thāp. 80. 133); Ś. *sampajjissadi* (Vikr. 43,12); JM. *vaccihisi* (Erz. 77,33), M. *vaccihii* (H. 918) from *vaccaī* (§ 202), but JM. *pavvaissāmi* (Āv. 32,27), AMg. *pavvaīhii* (Ovav. § 115) from *vray*; M. *maṇṇihisi* (G. 954; H. 663), JM. *mannissai* (Erz. 12,35), Ś. *maṇṇissadi* (Uttarar. 95,2 [so to be read]); JM. *vinassihisi* (Erz. 29,16), Ś. *vināsihii* (Dvār. 495,17); M. *laggissam*, *laggihisi* (H. 375. 21), *laggihii* (G. 70), Mg. *anulaggissam* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *rūsesu* from the *e*-stem of *ruṣ* (Hc. 4,414; 4), like JM. *mannehii* (Āv. 12,12) from the *e*-stem of *man*. Deviating from the present (§ 489) *śram* forms the future in M. *visammihii* (H.576 [so to be read]).—Corresponding to the present *jāi*, AMg. *āyanti*, *pacāyanti* (§487) the future of *jan* are AMg. *paṇāhisi* (Vivāhap. 946; Kappas. § 9; Nāyādh. § 26), *paṇāhii* (Ovav. § 104; Kappas. § 79; Nāyādh. § 51), *pacāyāhii* (Vivāhap. 1090; Thāp. 523; Ovav. § 102), *āyāissanti* (Kappas. § 17). On *śak* see § 531.

§ 528. The verbs of the 10. conjugation and the similarly built causatives and denominatives form the future as in Skt. with regular elision of *y*: *kittāissam*, *kittāihimi* = *kīrtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); AMg. *dalaissai* (Vivāhap. 1288), *dalaissanti* (Ovav. § 108); Ś. *kuṭṭāissam* (Mṛcch. 18,5), *anulāissam* = *anukūlayisyāmi* (Mālatīm. 267,8), *cūraissam* (Karp. 21,2), *vāraissadi*, *cintaissadi*, *niattaissadi* = *nivartayisyati* (Śak. 55,2; 87,1; 91,6), *puloāissadi* (Vṛṣabh.22,9), *viṇoḍaissāmo* (Śak. 78,10), *visajjaissadha* (Śak. 86. 5), *saddāvaissam* = **sadbāpayisyāmi* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *moāvaissasi* = **mocāpayisyasi* (Mṛcch. 60,13); Mg. *gaṇāiṣṣam* (Śak. 154,6), *maḍamaḍāiṣṣam*, *tāḍaiṣṣam*, *liḍāiṣṣam*, *dūḍaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 21,22; 80,5; 136,21; 176,6), *vāvāḍaiṣṣadi* = *vyāpādayisyati* (Venis. 36,5). At Mṛcch. 128,14 Mg. *moḍaiṣṣāmi* with the ending *-mi* as against *moḍaiṣṣam* at Mṛcch. 113,1, is made certain prosodically.

On the contrary *Ś. nikkāmaṁsāmi* at *Mrcch.* 52,9 is to be corrected as *°aṁsām*. In *M. AMg. JM.* we find the future also from the contracted form in *-e*: *M. mārehisi* (*H.* 567); *JM. vattehāmi* = *vartayisyāmi* (*Āv.* 47, 26); *viṇāsehāmi* = *vināsayisyāmi* (*Dvār.* 495,31); *nāsehii* (*T.* 5,20); *melavehisi* = *melayisyasi* (*Āv.* 30,8); *janehi* (*Erz.* 12,28); *niṇārehi* (*Erz.* 8,21); *kahehinti* (*Āv.* 26,36); *AMg. sehāvehi* = **saikṣāpayisyati, sikkhāvehi* = *ṣikṣāpayisyati* (*Ovav.* § 107), *ceyēssāmo* = *cetayisyāmah* (*Āyār.* 2,1,9,1; 2,2, 2,10), *sakkārehinti, saṁmānehinti, paḍivisaṁjehinti* (*Ovav.* § 108), *uvapimante-hinti* (*Ovav.* § 110), *saddavehinti* (*Vivāhap.* 1276), *ṇḷlavehinti* (*Vivāhap.* 1280). Not seldom are the future of the denominatives formed without a suffix (§ 491), to which are attached the causative (§ 533): *Ś. kadhissām* (*Mrcch.* 80,25), *M. kahissām* (*H.* 157), beside the usual *Ś. kadhāissām* (*Mrcch.* 19,2; *Śak.* 51,12; 105,7), *Mg. kadhaṁsām, kadhaṁsāsi* (*Mrcch.* 139,23; 165, 15); *AMg. *kāraṁvissām* = *kārāpayisyāmi* = *kārayisyāmi* (*Āyār.* 1,1,1,5); *Ś. khaṇḍissām* = *khaṇḍayisyāmi* (*Karp.* 18,7); *M. puloissām* = *pralokayisyāmi* (*H.* 743), *Ā. paloissām* (*Mrcch.* 104,21); *Ś. vaḍḍhāissām* = **vardhāpayisyāmi* (*Śak.* 37,10), *vinṇavissām* = *viññāpayisyāmi, sussūissām* = *śūśrūṣayisyāmi* (*Mrcch.* 58,11; 88,11); *Mg. mālīssāsi* = *mārayisyasi* (*Mrcch.* 125,7); *Ś. takkissadi* = *tarkayisyati* (*Vikr.* 79,9; v. l. *cintissadi*), *mantissadi* (*Ratn.* 299, 9) beside *mantāissadi* (*Mrcch.* 54,1).

§ 529. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ending in *-ā*, *khyā* forms *AMg. pacāikkhiṣṣāmi* = **pratyaḥkhiṣyāmi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,9,2), *yā AMg. niṣṣāissāmi* according to § 487 (*Ovav.* § 40 [so to be read with *Q* for *niṣṣāissāmi* of the text]), *JM. jāhii* (*Erz.* 29,12; 35,5), *vā AMg. pariṇivvāhii* (*Vivāhap.* 175; *Nāyādh.* 390 [so to be read]), *parinivvāissanti* (*Āyār.* 2,15,16), *snā Ś. ṇhāissām* (*Mrcch.* 27,14) according to § 487.—From *i* the fut. is *AMg. ēssāmi* (*Thāp.* 142), *ēssanti* (*Sūyag.* 45. 56. 71); with the prefix *ā* *M. ehisi* (*H.* 385), *M. AMg. ehii* (*H.* 137. 784 [so to be read]. 855. 918; *R.* 10,79; *Āyār.* 2,4,1,2 [so to be read]); *Uvās.* § 187), *JM. ehī* (*Erz.* 24,11), *ehinti* (*Erz.* 29,13), *A. eṣi* (*Hc.* 4, 414, 4). From this is found also a wholly isolated optative *M. ehijja* (*H.* 17) standing there.—*rud* forms *roṇcchām* = **rotsyāmi* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53), in *Ki.* 4,19 *rucchām*, but *M. roṭissām* (*H.* 503), *Ś. rodissām* (*Mrcch.* 95,23; *Nāgān.* 3,1), also *rudissāmo* (*Mallikām.* 154,23).—From *svap* the fut. is *Ś. suviṣṣām* (*Mrcch.* 50,4; *Priyad.* 34,3), *Mg. suviṣṣām* (*Mrcch.* 43,12; *Prab.* 60,15).—*vid* has the fut. *veṇcchām* = **vetsyāmi* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53), but *Ś. vedissadi* (*Prab.* 37,15), *AMg. vedissanti* (*Thāp.* 108).—*vac* forms *voṇcchām* (§ 104; *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53). So *M. AMg. voṇcchām* (*Vajjālaga* 324,10; *Paṇhāv.* 331; *Ovav.* 184 [text *bo°*]; *Nandis.* 92 [text *bo°*]; *Jīyak.* 1.60) and *voṇcchāmi* (*Vivāhap.* 59; *Paṇhāv.* 330; *Uttar.* 737. 897); but *AMg. also vakkhāmo* = *vakṣyāmah* (*Dasav.* 627,23), *pavakkhāmi* (*Sūyag.* 278. 284). In *Ki.* 4,21 *vacchihimi, vacchimi, vacchi* are edited. Cf. 4,20. The forms *roṇcchām, veṇcchām, voṇcchām* and all similarly built ones are not used in *Ś. Mg.*, as *Mk.* fol. 70 expressly mentions and the texts attest. For their flexion the rules for *gacchām* (§ 523) hold good. = From *duh* the fut. is *duhihi* (*Hc.* 4,245).

§ 530. From *dā* the future is *AMg. JM. dāhāmi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,10,1; *Uttar.* 743; *Erz.* 59,23. 34)¹ and *dāham* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,170; *Ki.* 4,19; *Erz.* 10,24), according to *Hc.* also *dāhimi*; *AMg. dāhisi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,2,4; 2,2, 3,18; 2,5,1,7; 2,6,1,5); *JM. dāhi* (*Āv.* 43,22; *Erz.*); *AMg. dāhāmo* (*Āyār.* 2,5,1,10), *dāhāmu* (*Sūyag.* 178; *Uttar.* 355. 358), *dāhiṭṭha* (*Uttar.* 359); *JM. dāhinti* (*Erz.* 80,22). In *Ś. Mg.* the fut. *Ś. daṁssām* (*Mrcch.* 80,20), *Mg. daṁssām* = **dayisyāmi* (*Mrcch.* 31,6.8.15; 32,9.24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19 etc; § 474); are formed from the stem *daya-*, corresponding to the present *dedi* = **dayati*.

We should read *daïssam* for *Ś. dāissam* (Karp. 112,5; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Priyad. 23,4) and *daïssanti* for *deissanti* (Kāleyak. 2,13). — *dhā* has attested the old reduplicated stem also in the future (cf. § 500) in combination with *śrad*: AMg. *saddahissai* (Nāyādh. 1114—1116). Otherwise in combination with prefixes, in the future in AMg. the flexion points to °*dhat*°, °*hai* (§ 500): AMg. *pehissāmi*, metrically for *pi*°, as the ed. Calc. has (Āyār. 1,8,1,1), but Ś. according to the 4. conjugation: *pihāissam* (Viddhaś. 70,8); AMg. *saṁdhissāmi*, *parihissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); also in Ś. *saṁdhihi* (Bālar. 22,18), certainly against the dialect, in which **saṁdhāissasi* is to be expected. — From *hā* AMg. has the fut. *vip̐pajāhissāmo* (Sūyag. 633. 635), from *bhī* Ś. has *bhāissam*, *bhāissadi* (Śak. 140,11; 135,14).

1. At Āyār. 1,7,7,2 JACOBI twice reads *dāsāmi*, 2,5,1,11. 13 *dāsāmo* beside *dāhāmo*. At the first place the ed. Calc. reads *dalaïssāmi*, as also the v. l. has, at the second *dāsāmo*, at the third *dāsāmo*.

§ 531. Of the verbs of the 5. conjugation *ci* forms the fut. Ś. *avaciñissam* (Ratn. 295,25; Vṛṣabh. 58,20; Cait. 73,10), AMg. *ciñissanti*, *uvaciñissanti* (Thāp. 107,108; Vivāhap. 62). According to Hc. 4,243 *ciñihii* would be passive; according to the form it is parasmaip. — *śru* forms according to the grammarians *so'ccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171. 172; Ki. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53) with the flexion according to *gaccham* (§ 523). This *so'ccham* does not belong to *śru*, but to Vedic *śruṣ*, and, therefore, stands regularly for **śrokyāmi*. The fut. from *śru* are Ś. *suñissam* (Mrcch. 60,7,9; Śak. 20,7; Vikr. 24,5; 31,1. 9; Mālav. 83,3 etc.), *suñissāmo* (Mallikām. 129,3; 132,9), Mg. *suñiśsam* (Mrcch. 21,21), JM. *suñissai* (Kk. 265,4), in AMg. also from the *e*-stem: *suñē'ssāmi* (Thāp. 143), *suñē'ssāmo* (Ovav. § 38). — From *āp* AMg. forms the fut. *pāuñissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1), *pāuñihii* (Uvās. § 62; Ovav. § 100. 116)¹ corresponding to the present *pāuñai* (§ 504). The rest of the dialects derive it from the present stem *pāva*—: A. *pāvīsu* (Hc. 4,396,4); Ś. *pāvissasi* (Kāleyak. 7,6); M. *pāvihisi* (H. 462. 510), and so also against the dialect in Ś. (Vikr. 42,10); Mg. *pāvihisi* (Mudrār. 177,6; [so to be read for *vahesi*; cf. v. l. and ZDMG. 39,125]); M. *pāvihii* (H. 918). — *śak* forms the future according to the 4. conjugation (§ 505); M. *sakkihisi* (Viddhaś. 64,1 [so to be read]); Ś. *sakkiśsam* (Cait. 75,15; text *sakissamha*); JM. *sakkiśsa* (Kk. 265,11); also with the *e*-stem: JM. *sakkehii* (Āv. 45,8), *sakkehī* (Dvār. 501,39).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s. v. *pāuñ*; wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 108 on v.

§ 532. The future of *chid*, *bhid*, *bhuj* according to the grammarians is formed: *chē'ccham*, *bhē'ccham*, *bho'ccham* corresponding to Skt. *chetsyāmi*, *bhetsyāmi*, *bhoksyāmi* (Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). The flexion is as that of *gaccham* (§ 523). From *chid* are found: AMg. *acchindihinti* *vicchindihinti*, *vo'cchindihinti* (Vivāhap. 1277), from *bhid*: AMg. *bhidissanti* (Āyār. 2,1,6,9), for which one could expect *bhindissanti*, as for *bhidanti*, rather *bhindanti* from *bhuj*: AMg. *bho'kkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *bho'kkhasi* (Kappas. S. 18), *bho'kkhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6). JM. has *bhuñjīhī* (Erz. 6,36), likewise *bhuñjissai* (T. 5,18). According to Hc. 4,248 *saṁrundihi* would be fut. of the passive; according to the form it belongs to the parasmaipada.

§ 533. In all the dialects the fut. of *kṛ* is formed as in Skt.: AMg. JM. *karissāmi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; Thāp. 149. 476; Dasav. 627,24; Nandīs. 354; Uttar. 1; Erz. 46,7); M. JM. Ś. *karissam* (H. 743.882; Erz. 11,31; Mudrār. 103,6; Nāgān. 43,7); Mg. *kalīśsam* (Mrcch. 96,13); A. *karisu* (Hc. 4,396,4); M. *karihisi* (H. 844); Ś. *karissasi* (Mrcch. 9,12; Śak. 58,2); A. *karihisi* (Vikr. 55,19); AMg. *karihii* (Vivāhap. 175); JM. *karissai* (Āv. 32,19; Erz. 5,22); AMg. *karissai* (Dasav. 627,24); Ś. *karissadi* (Prab. 39,9; 42,2;

Uttarar. 197,11); Mg. *kalaiṣṣadi* (Prab. 51,1; 58,15 [so to be read; see v. l.]); AMg. JM. *karissāmo* (Kappas. § 91. 128; Ovav. § 38; Erz. 3,11); M. *karissāma* (H. 897); AMg. Ś. *karissanti* (Vivāhap. 62; Ovav. [§ 105]; Nāgān. 43,11). Corresponding to the use of the *e*-stem in the present (§ 509), the same is used in fut. too, in Ś. Mg., however, always in the uncontracted form: AMg. *karēssam* (Vivāhap. 1255), but Ś. *karaṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 60,11; 120,8; Śak. 59,10; 60,15; 76,2; 142,2), Mg. *kalaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 96,20; 124,11. 14; 125,5. 8; 127,6; 134,8; 165,1; Caṇḍak. 42,10), *kalaiṣṣasi* (Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. AMg. *karehii* (H. 724; Kk. 265,3 [so to be read]; Ovav. § 116 [the commentator has *kāhii*]), but Ś. *karaṣṣadi* (Prab. 42,8), Mg. *kalaiṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 140,6); JM. *karēssāmo* (Kk. 274,26) and *karehāmo* (Erz. 25,25); AMg. JM. *karehinti* (Ovav. § 105. 128; Äv. 43,18), AMg. *karēssanti* (Äyār. 2,15,16), but Ś. *karaṣṣanti* (Śak. 142,4). In AMg. the fut. is formed from the stem *kuvva-* (§ 508) too: *viuvvissāmi* (Vivāhap. 1397 f.), *vikuvvissanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215). M. JM. AMg. have, besides, frequently the future *kāham* = **kargyāmi*, that is inflected as *gaccam* (§ 523; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 52). So: M. JM. *kāham* (H. 187; Erz. 80,18); JM. *kāhāmi* (Erz. 5,23; 83,8); according to Hc. and Sr. also *kāhimi*; M. AMg. *kāhisi* (H. 80. 90. 683; Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35); M. AMg. JM. *kāhii* (Hc. 3,166; H. 410. 683; R. 5,4; Niraṣāv. § 27; Äv. 32,7); JM. AMg. *kāhi* (Erz. 8,21; 71,8; Dvār. 495,18 [*kāhi tti*]; Dasav. 617,28); JM. *kāhāmo* (Erz. 15,13; 80,18; Sagara 3,15), *kāhiha* (Äv. 33,27), AMg. JM. *kāhinti* (Ovav. § 105; Uttar. 253; Äv. 43,36). A. *kisu* (Hc. 4,389) presupposes one **kryyāmi*.

§ 534. From *jñā*, corresponding to Skt., AMg. forms *ñāhisi* = *jñāsyasi* (Sūyag. 106); *ñāhii* (Thān. 451), *nāhii* (Dasav. 617,28), *nāhi* (Dasav. 617,32. 34) = *jñāsyati*. In all the dialects the formation from the present stem *jāna-* is usable. So: M. Ś. *jāniṣsam* (H. 749; Mṛcch. 3,2; Ratn. 307, 26); M. *jāniṣisi* (H. 528. 643), likewise A. (Vikr. 58,11); AMg. *jānihi* (Ovav. § 115); Ś. *jāniṣṣadi* (Mālav. 87,9; Ratn. 299,5. 7; Viddhaś. 114,5; Laṭakam. 6,6), *abbhañjāniṣṣadi* (Mālav. 40,7), *ahijāniṣṣadi* (Śak. 102,15); AMg. Ś. *jāniṣṣāmo* (Sūyag. 962; Vikr. 23,18; 28,12); Mg. *yāniṣṣamha*, false for *yāniṣṣāmo* (Lalitav. 565,9). — From *kṛi* the fut. is Ś. *kiṇiṣṣadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), Mg. *kiṇiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); JM. *kiṇihāmo* (Äv. 15); from *grah* Ś. *geṇhiṣsam* (Mṛcch. 74,19; 95,22; Ratn. 316, 22; Mudrār. 103,9), *geṇhiṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 54,5; 74,24; Kāleyak. 7,6), *aṇu-geṇhiṣṣadi* (Pārvaṭip. 30,18); AMg. *giṇhiṣṣāmo* (Äyār. 2,2,3,2). JM. *ghēcchāmo* (Äv. 23,6) belongs, as *ghēppai* (§ 548), to a root **ghṛp*, present **ghivai* (§ 212), is therefore = **ghṛpsyāmah*. — *bandh* forms AMg. *bandhiṣṣai* (Vivāhap. 1810 ff.), *bandhiṣṣanti* (Thān. 108); Ś. *aṇubandhiṣsam* (Viddhaś. 14,13). According to Hc. 4,247 *bandhihi* would be the future of the passive: according to the form it is in *parasmaipada*. — *bhan* regularly forms AMg. *bhaṇihāmi* (Jiyak. C. 11); M. Ś. *bhaṇiṣsam* (H. 12.604; Mṛcch. 21,24; 24,20; Viddhaś. 72,2; Mallikām. 83,4 [text *pha*]); Mālatim. 265,1; 276,7); Ś. *bhaṇiṣṣasi* (Mṛcch. 58,8); M. *bhaṇihii* (H. 858,918); Ś. *bhaṇiṣṣadi* (Ratn. 304,1); JM. *bhaṇiṣṣaha* (Kk. 274,19); Ś. *bhaṇiṣṣadha* (Mālatim. 246, 7); M. *bhaṇihinti* (G. 965). From the *e*-stem is built Mg. *bhaṇaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 32,20).

PASSIVE.

§ 535. In Pkt. the passive is formed in a three-fold manner. Either 1) the Skt. form with *ya* is used after undergoing the alterations as required by the phonetic laws of Pkt.; after vowels, *-ya* then becomes *-jja* in M. JM. JŚ. AMg. A. and *-yya* in P., in Ś. Mg. it drops; after consonants it is assimilated with the consonant; or *-īya*, which in M. JM. JŚ.

AMg. A. becomes *-jja*, in Ś. Mg. *-īa*, in P. *-iyya*, 2) it enters into the root, or more frequently 3) into the present stem. Thence from *dā* one says M. JM. AMg. A. *dijjāi*, JŚ. *dijjādi*, P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi*; from *gam* M. JM. AMg. *gammaī*, *gamiijāi*, P. **gamiyyate*, Ś. *gamiadi*, *gacchiadi*, Mg. **gaściadi*. Forms in Ś. *-ijja*, Mg. *-iyya* (mostly printed *-ijja*) are very often found in the texts; they are, however exceptional perhaps in verses, for Ś. Mg. false¹. In D. *kahijjādi* (§ 103,15) for *kadhiadi* and *sāsijjāi* (103,16) for *sāsiadi* (155,6) are not to be objected to (§ 26). The "uncharacteristic" passive in R. as *ārambhante* (8,82; particip.), *rumbhāi*, *rumbhanta* (s. v. *rudh*), *osumbhanta*, *ṇisumbhanta* (s. v. *sudh*) are false readings for *ārabbhante*, *rubbhāi*, *rubbhanta*, *osubbhanta*, *ṇisubbhanta*, as the similar ones are often found in the manuscripts. Likewise the false reading *uvabhuñjanto* (IS. 15,429) for *uvabhujjanto* is false; *oḥchundāi* (R.10,55) for which the manuscript C has *apphundāi* is not clear. The optative *vejjā*, *lahējjā*, *acchejjā* for *viñjejjā*, *lahijjejjā*, *acchijjejjā* (Hc. 3,160) are presumably purely metrical shortenings, as the fut. pass. AMg. *samucchihiñti* for *samucchiijhiñti* from *chid* (§ 549). Vr. 7,8; Hc. 3,160; Kī. 4,12; Mk.fol. 51 teach *-ia* and *-ijja* without distinguishing between the dialects; Mk. fol. 71 mentions in Ś. only *-īa* and forbids the forms like *dubbhāi*, *libbhāi*, *gammai* for Ś., to whom the texts correspond, taught by Vr. 7,9; 8,57—59; Hc. 4,242—249; Mk.fol. 62. The derivation of the "irregular passive", as *sippāi*, *juppaī*, *ādhappaī*, *dubbhāi*, *rubbhāi* etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which JACOB² has given with the approbation of JOHANSSON³, is wholly wrong. See §266. 286. To the passive belong an indicative, an optative and an imperative; moreover, aor., fut., inf., pres. participle and preterite are formed from the passive. The endings as a rule are those of the *parasmaip.*; however, M. JM. JŚ. AMg. frequently, and P. according to the grammarians always have the endings of the *ātmanep.*, especially in the participle.

1. BOLLENSEN on Malav. p. 223. The following paragraphs give examples of false forms.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT on R. 8,82 note 4 p. 256.—3. KZ. 28,249 ff.—4. KZ. 32,446 ff., where further literature.

§ 536. As in the future (§ 521), the examples for the passive are regulated according to the present stem § 473 ff. The roots in *-u*, *-ū*, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to the 6. class of Skt. (§ 473) and build their passive accordingly: M. *ṇiṇhuvijjanti*. (H. 657), Ś. *ṇiṇhuvādi* (Ratn. 303, 9) from *hnu*; *ruvvaī*, *ruvijjai*, (Hc. 2,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the sense of the middle (H. 10) from *ru*; Mg. *thuvvasi stūyase* (G. 298), *thuvvaī* = *stūyate* (Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54; G. 253); JŚ. *thuvvade* (Kattig. 401,351), AMg. *thuvvanti* (text *thuva°*) = *stūyante* (Vivāhap. 1232), JM. *thuvvanta-* (Erz. 24,2), *saṁthuvvanta-* (Av. 7,26); beside *thuvvijjai* (Hc. 4,242) from *stu*; *dhuvoai*, *dhuvijjai*, M. *vihuvvaī*, *vihuvvanta-*, *odhuvvanti* (R.), AMg. *uddhuvvamāñhiṁ* (Ovav.; Kappas.) from *dhū*, *puvvaī*, *puvijjai*, A. *puvijje* (Piṅgala 2,107) from *pū*, *luvvaī*, *luvijjai* from *lū*, *huvvaī*, *huvvijjai* from *hu* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Kī. 4,74; Mk. fol. 58; Sr. fol. 54); from *śru*. M. JM. *suuvaī*, *suuvanti*, *suuvamāṇa* (G. H. R.; Av. 37,44; Erz.; Kk.), M. *suuvanta-* (Karp. 51,3); AMg. *suuvae* (Sūyag. 154), *suuvaī* (Sūyag. 277; text *cca°*), *suuvanti* (Uttar. 280; text *cca°*); beside *suuvijjai* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54), *suuvijjae*, *suuñai*, *suñae* (Sr. fol. 54); Ś. *suñādi* (Mr̥cch. 29,2; 64,6; 97,7; Śak. 50,12; 139,6; Ratn. 315,21; Prab. 14,9; Karp. 3,3; 24,3; 45,3; Vṛṣabh. 47,14; 51,7 etc.), *suñiyanti* (sic; Lalitav. 555,2), *suñiantī* (Śak. 58,1; Uttarar. 127,6; Prab. 8,8), *suñiādu* (Vikr. 48,9); Mg. *suñiadi* (Mr̥cch. 45,1; 163,22; 169,18; Mudrār. 191,5; Venis. 35,18; 36,3); A. *suñijje* (Piṅgala 2,107). JM. has also *summaī* (Erz. 11,16), as one **sumai* beside **suvaī* is presupposed in accordance with § 261.

According to the grammarians (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Ki. 4,73; Mk. fol. 58) *ji* too, according to Hc. 4,243 *ci* too have the same formation of the passive: *civvaī*, *ciñijjāī*, fut. *civvīhiī*, *jivvaī*, *jiñijjāī*, according to Hc. also *cimmaī* fut. *cimmīhiī*, which is to be explained likewise as JM. *summaū*. It is not correct to presume analogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ū with JACOBI, whose hypothesis is erroneous¹, and JOHANSSON². *civvaī* is a regular passive from *civ* (Dhātupāṭha 21,15 *civ* *ādānasamvaranayoḥ*), *jivvaī*, apparently from *jiv* (Dhātupāṭha 15,85 *jiv* *prīṇanārthaḥ*), that is equated as *jiñv*. The case will be decided only when the meaning be settled with certainty. AMg. has *cijjanti*, *uvacijjanti*, *avacijjanti* (Paṇṇav. 628. 629), Ś. *vicīadu* (Vikr. 30,15). According to Hc. 3,160 the passive from *bhū* is *hoīaī*, *hoijjāī*. In Ś. it is *bhaviadi* in *anubhaviadi* (Ratn. 317,5), *anubhaviadu* (Nāgān. 4,5), and *anubhaviadi* (Kāleyak. 9,22), *abhibhaviadi* (Mālatim. 130,5), particip. *abhibhūamāṇa* (Śak. 16,10), in Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *huvadi* (Venīś. 33,6. 7; 35,8), both in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). On *pahuppaī* see 286.—From *nī* the passive is M. *nijjāī* (G.H.R.), JM. *nīñijjanta-* (Āv. 24,4), Ś. *ñiadi* (Śak. 78,8), *āñiadi* (Vikr. 31,5; Karp. 26,8), *āñiadu* (Karp. 26,7), *ahiñiadu* (Śak. 3,5), *anūñiamāṇa* (Mṛcch. 23,23. 25); Mg. *ñiadi* (Mṛcch. 100,22).

¹. KZ. 28,255.—². KZ. 32,449. Falsely also P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 71; GN. 1874, p. 513; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494.

§ 537. The roots in -r form the passive mostly from the present stem: M. *dharijjāī* (R.), fut. *dharijjihī* (H. 778; so to be read); Mg. *dhalīadi* (Prab. 50,10); M. *anusarijjanti* (G. 627); M. *niṇvarijsae* (H. 204); M. A., *samarijjāī* = *smariyate* (R. 13,16; Hc. 4,426), JM. *sumarijjaū* (Erz. 15,3), Ś. *sumariadi* (Mṛcch. 128,1). The roots in -r form the passive as in Skt. or according to the analogy of the roots in -r: Ś. *kīranta-* from *kṛ* (Bālar. 199,10) against the dialect, in which *kīranta-* was to be expected.: *jīraī* (also = *jiryati*) and *jarijjaī* (Hc. 4,250), AMg. *nijjarijjāī* (Uttar. 885; so correctly in the commentary); M. JM. *tīraī* (Hc. 4,250; G. H. R.; Erz.), *tīrae* (H.; Erz.; Dvār. 498,21) and M. *tarijjaī* (Hc. 4,250; G.), AMg. *viyarijjāī* (Uttar. 354). Conversely *hṛ* follows the roots in -r: M. AMg. *hīraī* (G. 726; Uttar. 711); M. JM. *hīraī* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Ki. 4,79. 80; Mk. fol. 62; H. R.; Āv. 35,13), M. *hīranti* (G.), *hīranta-* (H.), AMg. *avahīranti* (Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 398 ff.), *avahīramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 404); but Ś. *avaharīami* (Uttarar. 97,1; text *ri*^o), *avaharīasi* (Nāgān. 95,14), *avaharīadi* (Dhūrtas. 13,5), *avaharīadu* (Mṛcch. 25,6); *uddhariadi* (Mālatim. 246,5); Mg. *āhaliadu* (Prab. 63,4). Cf. Ki. 4,79.80. Thence false in Ś. *hīraī* (Bālar. 174,9). From *pṛ* are found M. *pūrijjanta-* (H. 116), *ahiūrijjanti* = *abhipūryante* (G. 872); JM. *āūrijjamāṇa* (Erz. 24,5) and M. *pūraī*, *āūramāṇa*, *paripūranta-* (R.). On *vāhippaī* beside *vāharijjaī* see § 286, on *kṛ* § 547.

§ 538. From the *ai-* roots the passive are: M. JM. *gijjanta-* (H. 644; Kk. 264,2); JM. *gijjanti* (Erz. 40,19); AMg. *parigijjamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 117); P. *giyyate* (Hc. 4,315); Ś. *nijjhāīadi* (Mālav. 60,6); from the verbs of the old -ska- class: M. *acchijjāī* (H. 83); Ś. *icchīadi* (Mudrār. 57,4), Mg. *iśīadi* (Śak. 118,6). Like *rammaī*, *ramijjāī* (Vr. 8,58), P. *ramiyyate* (Hc. 4, 315) formed from *ram* are formed from *gam* M. JM. *gammaī* = *gamyate* (Vr. 8,58; Hc. 4,249; Ki. 4,13; Sr. fol. 54; H. R.; Erz.), AMg. *gammanāī* (Ovav. 56, p. 63,13), *samanugammanā-* (Ovav. [§ 37]) and *gammanāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 103. 105); M. *gammaū* (H. 715), fut. *gammūhi* (Hc. 4,249; H. 609), partly with an active meaning; M. *gamijjanti* (G. 846; so to be read); Ś. *gamiadu* (Mālatim. 285,5; printed *mi*^o), *gacchīadi* (Śak. 25,2; Vikr. 22, 10. 15), *avagacchīadi* (Mudrār. 58,4), *ācchīadi* (Nāgān. 19,11). For *anugacchijjanti* in Mṛcch. 25,10 we have in Ś. correctly *anugacchīanti*; M.

sañjamijjanti (G. 289). — From *dhau* (to wash), corresponding to the flexion according to the 6. conjugation (§ 482), are formed the passive M. particip. *dhuvvanta-* (H. R.) and *dhuvvamāṇa*.

§ 539. From *pā* (to drink) the passive forms are M. *pijjaī* (H.), *pijjae* (Karp. 24,12), *pijjanti* (G.), *pijjanta-* (Karp. 10,8), *Ś. piviadi* (Mṛcch. 71,7; Vikr. 9,19), as we should read at Mṛcch. 87,13 too for *pīadi* and at Vikr. 48,15 with the v. l. for *pīadi*, imp. *Ś. piviadu* (Mṛcch. 77,11). Against the dialect is *Ś. pijjanti* Śak. 29,5, for which we should read *pivanti*, in all cases with the remaining recensions *pīanti* (Kashmīr recension *pīante*). False is Mg. *pijjae* (Prab. 28,15) too, as Bb. M. P. too have; *piviadi* would be correct. — *sthā* forms *Ś anuciṭṭhiadi* (Mṛcch. 4,13). imp. *anuciṭṭhiadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Ratn. 290,28; Prab. 3,5; Nāgān. 2,17). Kī. 4,14 teaches *thīai*, *thijjai*.

§ 540. Besides the usual formations *khañijjaī* (Hc. 4,244), JM. participle *khañnamāṇa* (Erz. 39,7), from *khan* is mentioned as passive *khammaī* too (Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56). So M. *ukkhammanti*, *ukkhammanta-*, *ukkhammīavva* (R.). The form is not to be separated from *jammaī* from *jan* (Hc. 4,136) and *hammaī* from *han* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56) beside *hañijjaī*. So M. *āhammīuṭṭh*, *ñhammaī*, *ñhammanti*, *paḥammanta-* (R.); AMg. *hammaī* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 289), *hammanti* (Uttar. 668. 1008; Paṇḥāv. 289 [commentary correctly]; Sūyag. 294. 431), *hammantu* (Paṇḥāv. 129), *paḍihammejjā* (Thāṇ. 188), *viñhammanti* (Uttar. 156); AMg. JM. *hammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 278. 297. 393. 647. 863; Paṇḥāv. 202; Vivāgas. 63; Nirayāv. 67; Erz.); AMg. *vihammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 350), *suhammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270). It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of *gammāī* from *gam* with JACOB¹ and JOHANSSON². *jammaī* points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from *janman*, Pkt. *jamma-*, *hanman*, Pkt. *hamma-*, **khanman*, Pkt. *khamma-*³. Cf. § 550. 557. On *khuppaī* see § 286.

1. KZ. 28,254.—2. KZ. 32,449.—3. Mk. fol. 57 teaches *khammaī* like *hammaī* (§ 550) as active.

§ 541. From *drś*, corresponding to Skt. *drśyate*, is regularly formed M. JM. *disai* (Hc. 3,161; Sr. fol. 56; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); M. *disae* (Karp. 54,10), *āisanta-* (H. R.); M. AMg. *disanti* (Karp. 4,10; Dasav. 635,12); AMg. *dissai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3), *adissamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; Sūyag. 646); *Ś. disadi* (Mṛcch. 50,24; 138,23; 139,8; Vikr. 7,3; 10,4; 39,6; 40,6; Ratn. 295,10; Nāgān. 52,8 etc.), *disadha* (Karp. 3,8), *disanti* (Śak. 99,12; Viddhaś. 71,9; 119,13; Mālatīm. 201,2), *disadu* (Karp. 54,4), Mg. *disadi* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 138,24; 139,10. 11; 147,4. 15; 168,18), *disanti* (Mṛcch. 14,11). — *labh* forms M. *labbhaī* = *labhyate* (Hc. 4,249; H. R.; Mṛcch. 153,17), as we should read in JM. too for *lajjhaī* (Erz. 60,16), that is wrongly read; AMg. fut. *lubbhihi* in the active sense (Dasav. 624,14); *Ś. labbhadi* (Śak. 23,14); beside it *lahijjaī* (Hc. 4,249), as in A. (Piṅgala 1,117), and in *Ś. Mg.* from the nasalised present stem (§ 484. 525); *Ś. lambhiadi* (Mālatīm. 217,3), *lambhiāmo* (Mālatīm. 240,4), *uvālabbhiadi* (text ° *bhiijjaī*, Mallikām. 218,8); Mg. *ālambhiadi* (Mudrār. 194,2; to be so read; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. samvat 1926 p. 162,8). — *vah* has the passivum M. AMg. JM. *vubbhaī* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79 [text *va°*]; Mk. fol. 62; G. H.; Erz.), M. *niuvubbhaī* (R.). So also we should at H. 275 read *vubbhasi* for *ujjhasi* (cf. WEBER on it) and Dasav. 635,8 *vubbhaī* for misread *vujjhaī*. Cf. § 266. Hc. 4,245 teaches *vahijjaī* too. According to Mk. fol. 72 in *Ś. vahiadi* alone is used.

§ 542. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch* forms the passivum M. JM. AMg. *pucchijjaī* : M. *pucchijjanti* (particip. ; H.); JM. *pucchijjāmi* (Erz.); AMg. *pucchijjanti* (Paṇṇav. 388); *Ś. pucchīasi* (Viddhaś. 118,8), *pucchīadi*

(Mṛcch. 57,18; 72,25).—*kṛt* has in AMg. *kiccai* (Uttar. 177).—*muc* forms in M. JM. AMg. *muccai* = *mucyate*; M. *muccai*, *muccanti* (G.), *muccanta-* (R.); JM. *muccāmi*, *muccāe* (Erz.); AMg. *muccai* (Vivāhap. 37), *muccae* (Uttar. 243), *muccanti* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *muccējjā* (1. sing.; Uttar. 624), *muccējja* (3. sing.; Sūyag. 104; Uttar. 247), *ṣamuccai*, *vimuccai* (Āyār. 1,3, 3,5; 2,16,12); JŚ. *vimuccadi* (Pav. 384,60); but Ś. *muñciadu* (Mudrār. 247,7; [so to be read for *muñciyadu*, *muñcadu* of the editions]) in the face of the fut. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]).—From *lup* is found M. *luppanta-* (G. 384), AMg. *luppaī*, *luppanti* (Sūyag. 104), from sic JM. *siccanto* (Dvār. 504,10), AMg. *abhisiccāmāni*, *parisiccāmāna* (Kappas.), *samsiccāmāna* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); Ś. *siccanti* (Mudrār. 182,1); so to be read with the Calc. editions], *siccāmānā* (Mālatim. 121,2). On *sippai* see § 286, on *mṛ* § 477. *chippai*, *chivijjai*, which Hc. 4,257 derives from *sprś*, belong to *kṣip* (§ 319).

§ 543. For the verbs of the 4. conjugation the characteristic examples are: M. *paḍibuijjijjai* = *pratibudhyate* (G. 1172); A. *rūsiijai* = *rusyate* (Hc. 4,418,4). The verbs of the 10. conjugation, the causatives and the similarly formed denominatives mostly build the passive, as in Skt., through the insertion of the passive element within either the root or the stem, excluding *-ya*, *-aya*, Pkt. *-a*, *-e*: *kāriai*, *kāriijai*, *karāviai*, *karāvijjai*, *hāsiāi*, *hāsiijai*, *hasāviai*, *hasāvijjai* (Vr. 7,28. 29; Hc. 3,152. 153; Sr. fol. 55. 56). M. *cheijjanti* (G. 1198), Ś. *chedianti* (Mṛcch. 71,4) = *chedyante*; M. *tosijjai* = *tosyate* (G. 508), *samatthijjai* = *samarthyate* (H. 730), *kavaliijai* = *kavalākrīyate* (G. 172), *paḥāmijjanta-* = *prabhṛāmyamāna* (R. 7,69); JM. *māriijai* = *māryate* (Erz. 5,34), *māriijau*, *māriijāmi* (Erz. 5,26; 32,26); AMg. *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandis. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), *piḍḍai* = *piḍyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); Ś. *ṣabodhiāmi* = *ṣabodhye* (Śak. 29,9), *vāvādiadi* = *vyāpādyate* (Mṛcch. 41,7; Uttarar. 97,1; Mudrār. 250,2; Venis. 35,20), *sāmpadhāriadu* = *sānpṛadhāryatām* (Vikr. 22,19), *viṇṇaviadi* = *viññāpyate* (Vikr. 30,21), *jīvāviadi* = *jīvyate* (Mṛcch. 176,7), *avādāriadu* = *avātāryatām* (Karp. 26,9), *sukkhavijjanti* = *śisyante* (characteristically **śuśkāpyante*; Mṛcch. 71, 4); A. *ṭhaviṇe* = *sthāpyate* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Exceptions are found in the case of the denominatives in M.: *kajjalāijjai* (R. 5,50); *valaiijjai* (G. 1028), *kaṇḍaiijjanta-* (H. 67), *maṇḍalaiijjanta-* (S. 1034). From *kathaya-* the regular passive are: M. *kahijjai* (Hc. 4,249), *kahijjanti*, *kahijjau*, *kahijjanta-* (H.); AMg. *parikahijjai* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,4,1,3); D. *kahijjadi* (Mṛcch. 103,15); Mg. *kadhīyidu* (sic; Lalitav. 566,9); A. *kahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,117), *kahiṇe* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Beside Hc. 4,249 teaches also *katthai*, that is found in AMg. (Āyār. 1,2,6,5) and phonetically must have been **kacchāi* (§ 280). Perhaps it belongs to *katth*. AMg. *ṣakatthai* (Sūyag. 234) is = **prakatthate*. On *ādhappai*, *ādhavai*, *viḍhappai*, *viḍhavijjai*, *viḍhappiadi* see § 286.

§ 544. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation *yā* has the passivum A. *jāijjai* (Hc. 4,419,3); in AMg. is found *pattiādi* (§ 487). On the roots in *-u*, *-ū* see § 356. *rud* has Ś. *rodīadi* (§ 495), *svap* in M. *suppau* = *supyatām* (H.), in Ś. *suviadi* (Karnas. 18,20). *vac* forms *vuccai* (Hc. 3,161; § 337); AMg. *vuccai* (Uttar. 3; Vivāhap. 34. 35. 102. 928; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.), *vuccai* (Uttar. 2). *pavuccai* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3. 5,1,1. 1,6,1; 1,2,2,1. 6,2. 4; 1,4. 1,2; 1,5,3,3; Vivāhap. 202. 374 f. 409. 444; Rāyap. 144 ff.), *pavuccai* (Sūyag. 351); *vuccanti* (Sūyag. 978. 979. 994 ff.; Dasav. 629,22), *vuccamāna* (Sūyag. 393; Vivāhap. 149); Ś. *vuccāmi* (Karp. 32,9), *vuccasi* (Śak. 12,8), *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 77,12; 79,2; 87,12; 138,2. 3; Viddhaś. 128,1 [text *uccadi*]; Bālar. 96,12 [text *uccadi*]), *vuccanti* (Mṛcch. 29,7); Mg. *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 36, 11).—Form *duh*, besides *duhijjai* is taught *dubbhai*, from *lih*, besides *lihiijjai*, also *libbhai* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; so also at Vr. 8,59 we

should read *libbhai*; cf. v. 1.). On this see § 266. JM. has *dujjhañ* (Āv. 43, 11), fut. *dujjihii* (Āv. 43, 20), probably a false reading for *dubbhai*, *dubbhii*. Cf. *lajjhai*, *vujjhai* § 541. On *sāsai*, D. *sāsijai* from *sās* see § 499, on *hammai*, *hanijai* from *han* § 540.

§ 545. From *dā*, corresponding to Skt. *diyate*, the passive is M. JM. A. *dijjai* (H. R.; Erz.; Hc. 4,438,1; Piṅgala 1,121), M. also *dijjae* (H.; Karp. 76,7; 89,9), A. also *dije* (Piṅgala 2,102. 105), *dijjau* (Piṅgala 2,106) in the active sense, 3. plur. *dijjahī* (Hc. 4,428; Piṅgala 2,59[so to be read]), JŚ. *dijjadi* (Kattig. 401,345); Ś. *diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6), false *dijjadi* (Mṛcch. 49,7; Karp. 61,9), *dijjantu* (Karp. 113,8), *dijjandu* (Viddhaś. 124,14), beside the correct *diadu* (Karp. 103,7); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); P. *tiyyate* (Hc. 4,315). — To *dhā* belong AMg. *dhijjai* = *ādhiyate* (Sūyag. 603. 674 ff.), *ādhijjanti* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Jiv. 12; Kappas.), explained by the commentators with *ākhyāyate*, *ākhyāyante*. From *hā* the passive forms are Ś. *parihāsi* (Śak. 51,5), *parihādi* (Mālatim. 212,4), *parihāmāṇa* (Karp. 76,1). On *huvañ*, *hunijai* from *hu* see § 536. Of the roots of the 5. conjugation the following form the passive: *ci*: *cinijjai*, *civvai*, AMg. *cijjanti*, Ś. *viādu* (§ 536), *dhu*: *dhuñijjai*, *dhuvañ* (§ 536), *śru*: *suñijjai*, *suvañ*, JM. *summañ*, Ś. *suñiadi*, Mg. *suñiadi* (§ 536), *āp*: Ś. *pāviadi* (Viddhaś. 43,2), A. *pāviañ* (Hc. 4,366), Śak.: Ś. *sakkīadi* (Viddhaś. 87,2; Cait. 84,5; 85,13; 258,16), Mg. *sakkīadi* (Mṛcch. 116,6).

§ 546. The roots of the 7. conjugation form the passive mostly as in Skt., more seldom from the present stem: M. *chijjai*, *chijjanti*, *vo'cchijjai* (R.); JM. A. *chijjai* (Erz.; Hc. 4,357,1; 434,1); Ś. *chijjanti* (Mṛcch. 41,2), fut. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16). — M. JM. *bhajjai*, *bhajjanti*, *bhajjanta-* (G. R.; Erz.), M. fut. *bhajjihisi* (H. 202); Mg. *bhayyadi*, imp. *vibhayya* (Mṛcch. 118, 12. 21; see § 506). — M. *bhiijai*, *bhiijanti*, *bhiijanta-* (G. H. R.); AMg. *bhiijai* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2), *bhiijau* (Vivāhap. 1230), *bhiijamāṇa* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *ubbhijjadu* (Karp. 83,1), *ubbhijjanti* (Viddhaś. 72,3; text *ñdi*). — M. *bhuujanta-*, *uvahujjanta-* (G.); JM. *bhuijai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhuijai* (Uttar. 354); but also *bhuñijjai* (H. 4,249); JM. *paribhuñijjai* (Dvār. 500,36); Ś. *bhuñiadi* (Śak. 29,6). — M. *jujjanta-* (R.), and in the meanings "it is proper", "it accords with" = Skt. *yujyate* always M. *jujjai* (H. 924), *ujjae* (H. 12), JŚ. *jujjade* (Kattig. 403,380), Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65, 12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71,10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.), in the usual meaning, on the contrary: Ś. *niñjiāmi*, *niñjasi* (Karp. 18,3,2), *niñjiadi* (Mālatim. 22,5 [so to be read; see p. 372]); *paññiadi* (Karp. 19,8), *paññiadu* (Mṛcch. 9,7). On *juppai* see § 286. For *rudh* Hc. 4,245 teaches *rundhijjai* and *rubbhai*, in conjunction with the prefixes *anu*, *upa*, *sam* 4,248: *anu-*, *uwa-*, *sam-* *rujjhai*, *rundhijjai*. In the text are found M. *parirujjai* (G. 434); Ś. *uvarujjahi* (Vikr. 82,15 v. 1.; cf. 131,10 ed. Bombay). M. *rubbhai*, *rubbhanta-*, *rubbhamāṇa* (R.), JM. *rubbhai* (Āv. 41,9) are passive from *rubh* (§ 507).

§ 547. *kr* forms the passive in M. JM. usually *kirañ* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 54), therefore, as *hṛ*, according to the analogy of the roots in *-ṛ* (§ 537). So M. *kirañ*, *kirae*, *kiranti*, *kirañ*, *kiranta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kirañ* (Erz.; Āv. 9,23; 13,26; Dvār. 497,7), *kirañ* (Kk. 269,37; so to be read); JŚ. *kirañ* (Kattig. 399,320; 401, 350). Sometimes AMg. has the same form (Vivāhap. 135. 796; Ovav. § 116. 127. 128), *kiramāṇa* (Da:av. 629,5), *kiranta-* (verse; Āyār. 1,8,4,8); it is mentioned as *kirate* for P. by Hc. 4,316 and by Rājasekhara (pro ex. Bālar. 176,16 [kīrañ]; 224,17 [kīrañ]; 228,8 [kīrañ]; Karp. ed. Bomb. 22,4 [kīrañ]) and used by later writers like Bilhāṇa, Kārṇas. 53,16 (*kīrañ*) in Ś. too, what perhaps is simply a contribution of the edition, as Karp. 22,4 Konow (p. 19,7) correctly has *kariadi*. Hc. 4,250 mentions also *karijai*, and so A. has *karije* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101. 102. 105) and

karijasu (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95, 144; 2,119). Hc. 1,97 further has *kijjāi* = *kriyate* in *duhākijjāi*, *dohākijjāi*, and according to Hc. 4,274 *kijjadi* and *kijjade* will be used in Ś. So stands *kijjadu* in Ś. (Lalitav. 562,24), elsewhere, however, in none of the texts. *kijjāi* is found in M. at R.13,16, and it is the usual form in A. : *kijjāū* (Hc. 4,338; 445,3) in the sense of the fut. active (§ 550), *kijjāū* (Piṅgala 1,81^a) in the active sense, *kijjahī* (so to be read; text °hī) = *kriyante* (Piṅgala 2,59). On A. *kijjasu*, *karijasu* see § 461. 466. In AMg. the only prevalent form in prose is *kajjāi* = **karyate* (Āyār. 1,2,1,4; 1,2,2,3. 5,1; Sūyag. 656. 704. 838 ff.; Thān. 291; Vivāhap. 52. 99.136.137.182.346.444.1406; Paṇṇav. 636 ff.), *kajjanti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Vivāhap. 47. 50. 52. 1302; Ovav. § 123. 125), *kajjamāna* (Sūyag. 368; Vivāhap. 840), *duhā*, *tihā* (Vivāhap. 141). In Ś. are used exclusively *kariadi* (Mṛcch. 18,11; 69,10; Śak. 19,6), *alamkariadi* (Śak. 19,5), *karianti* (Śak. 77,4; Ratn. 293,21), *kariadu* (Śak. 54,1; 168,15; Karp. 22,9; 26,3; 63,6; 68,2; 113,8; Viddhaś. 99,5), in Mg. *kalādi* (Mudrār. 154,4; 178,7), *kalādu* (Mṛcch. 39,21; 160,6).

§ 548. *jñā* forms, according to Hc. 4,252, *ñajjāi*, *nāijjāi*, *jāñijjāi*, *ṇavvāi*, according to Kī. 4,81 *jāñiāi*, *āñiāi*, *ñajjiāi*, *ṇavvāi*, *ñajjāi*, *ṇavvāi*. Of them *ñajjāi* = *jñāyate* is the current form in M. (G. H. R.), JM. (Erz.), AMg. (Uvās.; Niraṭṭāy. [in JM. AMg. *ñajjāi*]). Ś. has *jāñiadi* (Ratn. 300,8; 318,12; Vṛṣabh. 45,10; 47,10; Karp. 28,2; Viddhaś. 119,4), *jāñiadu* (Nāgān. 84,5), behind *ṇa* (not) *āñiadi* (§ 170; Mṛcch. 74,9; 88,25; Mālatim. 285,5; Nāgān. 38,3 [so to be read]), A. *jāñiāi* (Hc. 4,330,4) corresponding to it. In lieu of *ṇavvāi* Triv. 2,4,84 and Sr. fol. 56 have *ṇappaī*, that stands in place of *ādhappaī*, *vidhappaī*, i.e. = *jñāpyate*. Accordingly one **ṇavvāi*, of which the regular passive is *ṇavvāi*¹, is to be deduced from the causatives such as Ś. *āṇavedi*, *viṇṇavedi*. — *kṛi* forms Ś. *vikkīṇiadi* (Karp. 14,5), *vikkīṇi-anti* (Mudrār. 108,9; [so to be read]); *pū* has *puvvaī*, *puñijjāi*, A. *puñijje*; *lū* has *luvvaī*, *luñijjāi* (§536), *granth* has Ś. *ganthānti* (Mṛcch. 71,3 [text *gathī*]). From *grah* the passive forms are *geṇhijjāi* (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82) and *gahijjāi* (Sr. fol. 56), Ś. *aṇuggahādu* (Vikr. 21,10). M. JM. AMg. A. use for it *ghēppai* = Pāli *ghēppati*, which the Indian grammarians (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 56) and the European scholars drag to *grabh*, however, belongs to the parallel root **ghṛp* (§ 212). So M. *ghēppai*, *ghēppae*, *ghēppanti*, *ghēppanta-* (G. H. R.; Ānandavardhana in Dhvanyāloka 62,4; Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 178,3); JM. *ghēppai* (Kk. 273,37), *ghēppanti* (Erz. 67,12; Āv. 36,42); AMg. *ghēppejjā* (Paṇhāv. 400); A. *ghēppai* (Hc. 4,341,1), *ghēppanti* (Hc. 4,335). Falsely in Ś. (Mallikām. 101,6; 144,8). In the verse stands *geṇjjhai* = *grhyate* in AMg. Dasav. N. 655,5. 6. Kī. 4, 82 teaches also *ghēppijjāi*. — *bandh* forms *bajjjhai* = *badhyate* (Hc. 4,247); AMg. *bajjjhai* (Uttar. 245); JŚ. *bajjjhadi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjāi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjāi*. — From *bhañ*, which in the present behaves according to the 9. conjugation (§ 514), the passive is M. *bhañnai* = *bhañyate* (Hc. 4,249 [so to be read]; Kī. 4,13; H. R.), *bhañnai* (G. R.; Śak. 101,16), *bhañnamāna* (H.), *bhañnanta-* (R.), and *bhañijjāi* (Hc. 4,249), *bhañijjāū* (H.); A. *bhañijje* (Piṅgala 2,101), perhaps also *bhañijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,109; cf. § 461); JM. *bhañnai* (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *bhañiadi* (Mṛcch. 151,12; Prab. 39,3). False is Ś. *bhañijjandi* (Prab. 42,5; P. °jjanti, M. °jjamānā) for *bhañiantī*, as Bb. 93,4 reads (only wrongly °mī).

1. Wholly wrong is S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494; JACOBI, KZ. 28,255, JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,449 f.

§ 549. From the passive is found in AMg. an aorist : *muccimsu* (Sūyag. 790), and in almost all the dialects a future, which too is wholly

likewise formed, like the fut. Parasmaip. from the present stem of the parasmaip. So: 1. M. *kalijjihisi* from *kal* (H. 225. 313), *khajjihii* from *khād* (H. 138), *ḍajjihii* (H. 105), *ḍajjihii* (Hc. 4,246) from *dah*, *ḍisihii* (H. 619; R. 3,33 [so to be read]), *dharijjihii* (H. 778); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,25); *khammihii* from *khan* (Hc. 4,244).—6. AMg. *muccihii* (Ovav. § 116; Nāyādh. 390 [text °hīm̐ti]; Vivāhap. 175), *muccissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but also *paṃō'kkhasi* = *pramoksyase* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,3,3,4); Ś. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]); AMg. *uvalippihii* (Ovav. § 112).—4. JM. *khō'ṭṭijjihii* (Āv. 32,2) from *khutṭai* (Hc. 4,116).—10. Causatives and denominatives: AMg. *mārijjissāmi* (Uvās. § 256); JM. *chiddijjihii* (Āv. 33,2) from *chidraya-*, *vāvāijjissāi* (Erz. 43,22).—2. *hammihii* from *han* (Hc. 4,244; cf. § 540. 550. 557); AMg. *paḍihammihii* (Nāyādh. § 30); *dubbhiihii* (Hc. 4,245), JM. *ḍujjihii* (Āv. 43,20; cf.; however § 544).—5. *civviihii*, *cimmiihii* from *ci* (Hc. 4,242. 243; cf. § 536); M. *jhiijihisi* from *kṣi* (H. 152. 628); M. *samappihii* (H. 734. 806; R. 5,4).—7. M. *bhajjihisi* from *bhañ* (H. 202); AMg. *vo'ccijjihinti* from *chid* with *vyud* (Sūyag. 1011), *samucchiñhinti*, metrically for *samucchiñjinhinti* (Sūyag. 869), Ś. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16); Ś. *ahiujjissadi* from *yuj* with *abhi* (Uttarar. 69,6); *samrujjihiihii* (Hc. 4,248).—8. AMg. *kajjissāi* (Vivāhap. 492); JM. *kirihii* (Āv. 16,9).—9. *bajjihiihii* (Hc. 4,247), Ś. *bajjhissāmo* (Mṛcch. 109,19; see § 488, note 4) from *bandh*; JM. *ghē'ppihii* from **ghṛp* (Āv. 7,5).

§ 550. The passive is sometimes used in the sense of parasmaipadam. WEBER has rightly compared such forms with the deponentia of Latin¹. So: M. *gammihisi* (H. 609)², uncertain *gammasu* (H. 819) in the sense of the causative: M. *gasijjihii* (H. 804); M. *ḍisihisi* (R. 15,86), where, however, C has *dakṣihisi*, i. e. *dacchihisi* (§ 525); M. *pijjaī* (Hc. 4,10; H. 678)³; M. *bhaññihisi* (H. 906)³; *hammāi* = *hanti* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 57; Sr. fol. 56; cf. § 540), particip. pres. ātmanep. AMg. *vihammāṇa* (Uttar. 787); fut. AMg. *hammihanti* (Thāṇ. 512); AMg. *labbhiihii* (Dasav. 624,14); A. *dijjaū*, *kijjaū* (§ 545. 547; cf. § 461. 466). The future too is used prevalently in the active sense, in which the metre might have often associated. Very interesting is that the present passive in Mg. A. is sometimes used in the sense of the fut. parasmaip., therefore, "I am made" is used in lieu of "I shall make". For Mg. Mk. fol. 75 teaches in the Parasmaip. *bhavissadi* and *bhaviadi*. So Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *haviadi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8) "he will be", *vāvāḍḍiāsi* "thou wilt kill" (Mṛcch. 167,25), *pivāṣiāsi* (so to be read; Venis. 34,6) "that thou wilt be thirsty"; A. *kijjaū* (Hc. 4,338. 445,3) "I shall make".

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 64, where, however, all the examples are false, likewise, excluding *samappihii* and *ḍisihisi*, the examples in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,492 and on R. 15,86 p. 325 note 10.—2. WEBER on Hāla 609.

CAUSATIVUM.

§ 551. As in Skt. the causative is formed by insertion of -e- = Skt. -aya- into the strengthened root: *kārei* = *kārayati*, *pāḍhei* = *pāṭhayati*, *wa-sāmei* = *upaśāmyati*, *hāsei* = *hāsayati* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Ki. 4,44; Sr. fol. 55). Cf. § 490. The roots in -ā add -ve- = Skt. -paya-: M. *niivāve'nti* = *nivāpayanti* (G. 524); Ś. *niivāvedi* (Mālatim. 217,5), fut. *niivāvaissam* (Mālatim. 266,1), past passive participle *niivāvida* (Mṛcch. 16,9); AMg. *āghāvei* = *ākhyāpayati* (Thāṇ. 569); Mg. *pattiāvaissam* (Mṛcch. 139,12) from *yā* with *prati* (§ 281. 487); PG. *anuvattihāveti* = *anuvasthāpayati* (7,45); AMg. *thāvei* = *sthāpayati* (Nirayāv. § 4; Kappas. § 116); AMg. *thāveni* (Erz. 43,32); Ś. *samavatthāveni* = *samavasthāpayāmi* (Vikr. 27,6); *pajjāvattā-*

vehi = *paravasthāpaya* (Vikr. 7,17), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol.; Mrcch. 24,2), *paṭiṭṭhāvehi* (Ratn. 295,26); Mg. *stāvēmi*, *stāvia* (absol.), *stāvaśśām* (Mrcch. 97, 5; 122,11; 132,20; 139,2), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol. Mrcch. 21,12); A. *paṭṭhāviai* (passive; Hc. 4,422,7); AMg. *ṇhāveha* = *snāpayata* (Vivāhap. 1261). *jñā* forms the caus. from the present stem: JM. *jāṇāve* (Hc. 3,149; Erz.), *jāṇā-vi-jam*, *jāṇāvium* (Kk.); M. *jāṇāveum* (H.). With prefixes it is formed with shortening of the root-vowel, as in Skt. too: AMg. JM. *āṇave* (Nir-yāv.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *āṇavemāṇa* (Sūyag. 734), *paṇṇavemāṇa* (Ovav. § 78); Ś. *āṇavesi* (Mrcch. 94,9), *āṇavedi* (Lalitav. 563,21. 29; 564,23; 568, 11; Mrcch. 4,19; 7,3; 16,2 and very frequently), *āṇavedu* (Mrcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,8; Nāgān. 2,16 etc.), but *āṇavidavvam* (Mrcch. 58,13) beside *viṇṇā-davvā* (58,12), hence with GODABOLE 167,8 to be read *āṇā°*; *viṇṇavemi* (Mrcch. 78,10), *viṇṇavedi* (Mrcch. 74,6; 96,5; Śak. 138,10; Vikr. 12,13 etc.), *viṇṇavemo* (so to be read according to § 455; Śak. 27,7), *viṇṇavehi* (Mrcch. 27,14; 74,21; Vikr. 16,20; Mālatīm. 218,1), *viṇṇavissam*, *viṇṇā-davvā* (Mrcch. 58,11. 12), *viṇṇavidam* (so to be read; Vikr. 48,8), *viṇṇā-adi* (Vikr. 30,21); Mg. *āṇavedi* (Śak. 114,1), *viṇṇavia* (absol.; Mrcch. 138, 25; 139,1). As *jñā*, also the other roots ending in *-ā* shorten the vowel in M. JM. AMg. So particularly often *sthā*: M. JM. AMg. *ṭhavei* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; cf. Hc. 1,67); M. *ṭhavijjanti* (G. 995), *utṭhavesi* (H. 390), *samṭhavehi* (G. 997); AMg. *uvatṭhaveha* (Nāyādh. § 130); A. *ṭhavehu* (Piṅgala 1,87. 125. 145).—M. *nimmavesi* = *nirmāpayasi* (G. 297); AMg. *āghavemāṇa* = *ākhyāpayamāṇa* (Ovav. § 78), *āghaviya* = *ākhyāpita* (Pāphāv. 376. 431. 469), *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandis. 398.427.428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), inf. *āghavittae* (Nāyādh. § 143). As in Skt., certain roots in *-i*, *-ī* too have the same formation: Ś. passive *jaṇviasi* = *jāpyase* (Śak. 31,11); AMg. *ūsaveha* (Vivāhap. 957), *ussaveha* (Kappas. § 100) = *ucchrā-payata*; Ś. *bhāvesi* from *bhī* (§ 501; Mrcch. 91,19). From the present stem is built *kiṇāve* (Thān. 516), *kiṇāvae* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), *kiṇāvemāṇa* (Sūyag. 609) from *krī*; Ś. *viciṇāvedi* (so to be read; Mudrār. 54,1) from *ci*; AMg. *allijāve* (Nāyādh. 434) from *lī*.

§ 552. The element *-ve-* = Skt. *-paya-* is employed in Pkt. for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, and in diphthongs and consonants. As a rule it is added to the present stem in *-a*, which is mostly lengthened, wherein the analogy according to the *-ā*-roots might have taken a hand. This formation is seldomer than the causative in *-e-* = *-aya-*. So: *hasāve* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55), *hasāvia* (Hc. 3,152), also M. *hāsāvia* (Hc. 3,153 = H. 123); AMg. *paṇṇavemāṇa* from *pac* (Sūyag. 609); M. *ramāvēnti*, *sahāvēnti* (H. 325. 327); A. *kappāve* from *kṛp* (Mrcch. 105,3); Ś. *ghaḍāvehi* (Mrcch. 95,21), M. *vihaḍāvia* (G. 8) from *ghaṭ*; Ś. *jivāvehi* (Uttarar. 63,14), *jīāvesu* (Viddhaś. 84,4), *jivāvedu* (Mrcch. 326,3), *jivāviadi* (Mrcch. 176,6), *jivāvia* (absol.; Mālatīm. 215,1), *jivāvidā* (Mrcch. 173,4; 177,16); Mg. *jivāvidā* (Mrcch. 171,14); AMg. *dalāve* (Vivāgas. 168); AMg. *samārambhāve* (Āyār. 1,1,2,3; 1,1,3,5), *samārambhāvējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6; 1,1,3,8); Ś. *ṇivattāve* mi (Mrcch. 77,15); Mg. *palivattāvehi* (Mrcch. 81,17.19); Ś. *vaḍḍhāve* mi (Karnas. 21,8); Ś. *dhovāved* (Mrcch. 45,9); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvia* from *gam* with *abhi* and *upa* (Āv. 30,9); AMg. *pijāvas* from *pā* (to drink; Dasav. 638,26).—AMg. *nicchubhāve* (Nāyādh. 823,824. 1313) from *nicchubhā* from *kṣubh* with *ni* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇṇav. 827. 832. 834); Ś. *paḍicchāviadi* (Mrcch. 69,12) from *iṣ* with *prati*; Ś. *pucchāved* from *pracch* (Viddhaś. 42, 4); JM. *melavehisi* (Āv. 30,8); Ś. *moāve* mi, *moāvehi* (Śak. 27,11; 24,2), M. *moāvia* (Mrcch. 41,17) from *muc*; Mg. *lihāve* mi (Mrcch. 133,1) from *likh*.—*wasamāve* (Hc. 3,149) from *śam*; *tosavia* from *tuṣ*, *sosavia* from *śuṣ* (Hc. 3,150); Ś. *lohāved* (Śak. 61,3).—AMg. *vaḍḍhāve* (Vivāgas. 170) from

vedhei (§ 304. 490). — *M. ruāvei, ruāvia, roāvia* (H.), *Ś. rodāvida* (*Mr̥cch.* 21,1) from *rud-*.—From *dā* (to give) is built in *JM.* a double form *dāvāvei* in the meaning “ to cause to give ” (*Erz.*).—*Ś. sunāvidā* (*Mālav.* 31,8).—*AMg. chindāvae* (*Dasav.* 638,30).—*karāvei, karāvia, kārāvei* (*Vr.* 7,27; *Hc.* 3, 149. 152. 153; *Ki.* 4,44); *AMg. kāravemi* (*Uvās.* § 13. 14. 15), *kāruveha* (*Kappas.* § 57. 100); *JM. kāravei* (*Erz.* 30,7), *kārāviya* (*Erz.*).—*JM. gēṇhā- vemi* (*Āv.* 34,19).

§ 553. For *-e, -ve-* are found dialectically, particularly in *A.*, not seldom *-a-, -va-*, it may be that here we have the formation according to the model of the denominativa or a flexion, which might have arisen from forms originally contracted and regularly shortened before doubled consonants (§ 491). So: *hasāvai* (*Hc.* 3,149; *Sr.* fol. 55); *ghadāvai* (*Hc.* 4, 340), *ugghādai* (*Hc.* 4,33) beside *Ś. ghadāvehi* (*Mr̥cch.* 95,21); *vīppagālai* = *vīppagālayati* (*Hc.* 4,31); *uddālai* = *uddālayati* (*Hc.* 4,125); *pādai* = *pātayati* (*Hc.* 3,153) beside *M. pādei* (*R.* 4,50), *Mg. pādemi* (*Mr̥cch.* 162,22); *bhamāvai* (*Hc.* 3,151) from *bhram*; *A. uttārahi* (*Vikr.* 69,2) beside *Ś. odāredi* (*Uttarar.* 165,3), *padāredi* (so to be read; *Prab.* 15,10); *JM. A. mārai* (*Hc.* 3,153; *Erz.* 5,32; *Hc.* 4,330,3) beside *M. māresi, mārehisi* (*H.*), *mārei* (*Mudrār.* 34,10), *Ś. māredha* (*Mr̥cch.* 161,16; 165,25), *Mg. mālemi* (*Mr̥cch.* 12,5; 123,3), *mālehi* (*Mr̥cch.* 123,5; 124,2. 17; 165,24), *māledu* (*Mr̥cch.* 125,8), *māledha* (*Mr̥cch.* 165,23; 166,1; 168,8; 171,18); for *Mg. mālantam* (*Mr̥cch.* 123,22) is to be read *mālēntam*; *A. mārei* (*Hc.* 4,337); *hāravai* (*Hc.* 4,31); *A. vāhahi* (*Piṅgala* 1,5^a) beside *Ā. vāhehi* (*Mr̥cch.* 109,18), *Mg. vāhesi* (*Mr̥cch.* 122,15); *melavai* (*Hc.* 4,28) from *mīl* (§ 486) beside *JM. melavehisi* (§ 528); *nāsavai, nāsai* (*Hc.* 4,31) from *naś*; *AMg. vedanti* (*Pannav.* 786 ff.), *veyanti* (*Jiv.* 281 ff.) = *vedayanti*; *nimmavai* = *nirmāpayati* (*Hc.* 4,19) beside *M. nimmavesi* (*G.* 297); *ādhavai, viḍhavai* from *dhā* (§ 286. 500); *M. thavai* (*G.* 980), *saṁthavanti* (*H.* 39); *paṭṭhavai, paṭṭhāvai* (*Hc.* 4,37); *A. pariṭhavahu, saṁthavahu* (*Piṅgala* 1,10. 85) beside *thāvei, thavei* (§ 551); *karāvai* (*Hc.* 3,149); *vinṇavai* (*Hc.* 4,38) beside *Ś. vinṇavedi* (§ 551); *palāvai* from *lū* with *pra* (*Hc.* 4,31).

§ 554. From *dr̥ś* *Hc.* 4,32 teaches the causative *dāvai, daṁsai, dakkhāvai, darisai*. Of them *dāvai* is found (also in *Sr.* fol. 57) in *M. dāvanteṇa* (*H.*); more often forms with *-e-*: *M. dāvemi* (*Ratn.* 322,5; *taṁ te dāvemi* according to *Dhanika* on *Daśarūpa* 42,6 for *taṁ taṁ daṁsemi* of the editions), *dāvei, dāventi, dāvae, dāveha, dāvēnti, dāvia* (*H. R.*), *dāvijjau* (*Ratn.* 321, 32), *dāviā* (*Karp.* 56,7); *JM. dāviya* (*Erz.*), *dāvia, dāvijjasu* (*R̥ṣabhap.* 10. 49); *Ś. dāvīda* (*Mudrār.* 44,1). The word is = *Marāṭhi dāvenē*³. The derivation from *dī*² is false. *dāvei, dāvai* stand for *dar̥payati, dar̥pati* from *dr̥pa samāpāne* (*Dhātupāṭha* 34,14) according to § 62. To the same root belong *Skt. dar̥pāna* (mirror) and *M. addā, AMg. JM. addāga, addāya* (mirror; § 196, where we should read = **ādāpaka* = **ādar̥paka*³). *daṁsai* occurs in *AMg. daṁsanti* = *dar̥śayanti* (*Sūyag.* 222), *M. daṁsantiṁ* = *dar̥śayantiṁ* (*G.* 1055; without v. 1.); more frequently with *-e-*; *M. daṁsintiṁ* (*G.* 1054); *JM. daṁsei, daṁseha* (*Erz.*; *Kk.*); *Ś. daṁsemi* (*Mr̥cch.* 74,16; *Mālatim.* 38,9), *daṁsesi* (*Mr̥cch.* 90,21; *Śak.* 167,10), *daṁsehi* (*Ratn.* 321, 20), *daṁsedum* (*Mudrār.* 81,4); before doubled consonants (§ 490): *daṁsa- antie, daṁsaamha* (*Prab.* 42,7; *Uttarar.* 77,3; 113,2); fut. *daṁsaissam* (*Śak.* 63,9; *Ratn.* 311,4), *daṁsaissasi* (*Śak.* 90,10), *daṁsaissadi* (*Mālatim.* 74,3; 78,7); *Mg. daṁsaante* (*Śak.* 114,11).—*darisai* (also *Hc.* 3,149) occurs in *JM. as darisei* (*Erz.*). According to *Mk.* fol. 74 it occurs in the form *darisedi* in *Āvanti*. In the *Mr̥cch.*, that sports in *Āvanti*, at 70,5 the *Vidūṣaka* uses it: *darisaanti*; at 100,4 it stands in *D.*: *darisesi*.—*dakkhavai*, in *Sr.* fol. 57 *dakkhāvai* is a causative form *dakkhai* and = *Marāṭhi dākhavineṁ, Gujarāṭi dākhavum*³; *A. dēkkhāvahi* (*Vikr.* 66,16) is a causative from *dēkkhai*

The South Indian manuscripts of the dramas write *dakkhaī*, whilst the Nāgarī MSS., partly the South Indian too, write *dēkkhaī*⁴, which Hc. 4, 181 teaches and what is frequent in A. (Hc. s. v. *dēkkhaī*, Piṅgala 1,87a), on the other hand, it is false, for Ś. which requires *pekkhadi*⁵. *dakkhaī* and *dēkkhaī*, which the inscriptions of Aśoka too have, *dakkhaī*, what is attested by Singhalese in *dakinawa*, *dēkkhaī*, that all the modern Indian languages, including Gypsy, have⁶, both go back to one **drkṣati*, that occurs in *amū-drkṣa*, *īdrkṣa*, *etādrkṣa*, *kidrkṣa*, *tādrkṣa*, *sadrkṣa*⁷. The derivation from the future⁸ is miscarried to *e*, which goes back to *i*; it is possible to explain⁹ the forms differently, likewise to assume an analogy according to *pekkhaī* for *dēkkhaī*¹⁰. On AMg. *dehaī* see § 66.—From *bhram* the causative are also *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* according to Hc. 3,151; 4,30, for which the synonymous form *tamāḍai* (Hc. 4,30) stands, beside *bhāmei bhamāvai*, *bhamāvei*. Gujarātī has the same causative formation¹¹. Hc. 4,161 teaches *bhammaḍai*, *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍai* also as a substitute for the simplex *bhram*.—On the fut. of the caus. see especially § 528 too, on the passive § 543.

1. GARREZ, JA. 1872,20,204.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741; 28,424; on H. 315.—3. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,32.—4. PISCHEL, GGA. 1873,46 f.; Vikramorvaṣīya p. 616 f.; Die Recensionen der Ṣākuntalā p. 11 f.—5. PISCHEL, De Kālidāse Ṣākuntalī recensionibus p. 32 f.; KB. 7,453 ff.; 8,144 ff.—6. PISCHEL, KB. 7,458; 8,146; JOHANSSON KZ. 32, 463; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,161; POTT, Zigeuner 2,304; MIKLOSICH, über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas 7,43.—7. WEBER, KB. 7,764 who, however, wrongly sees therein at Bhag. 1,414,3; IStr. 3,150; H. 1 p.260; KB. 7,486; IS. 14,69 ff. "an old reduplication of a hitherto wanting desiderative formation".—8. CHILDERS in MUIR, OST. 2,23 note 40; KB. 7,450 f.; Dictionary s. v. *bassati*; PISCHEL, KB. 7,459; 8, 147.—9. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,509 ff.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,463 f.; Shāhbāzgarhi 2,24.—10. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,162; cf., however, 3,45 f.—11. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,81; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 318 f.

DESIDERATIVE.

§ 555. The desiderative is formed as in Skt.: AMg. *digicchanta-* = *jighatsat-* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10); *jugucchaī*, *juucchaī* (Hc. 2,21; 4,4) = *jugupsate*; M. *juucchaī*, *juucchasu* (R.); AMg. *dugucchaī*, *dugumchaī*, *duucchaī*, *duumchaī* (Hc. 4,4; cf. § 74. 215), *dugumchamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 472. 525), *dugamchamāṇa*, *dugamchanijja* (Uttar. 199,410), *adugucchiya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2), *Ś. jugucchedi*, *jugucchanti* (Mālatim. 90,5; 243,5), *juucchida* (Anarghar. 149, 10; Bālar. 202,13), *adijuucchida* (Mallikām. 218,7. 12), *jugucchanā* (Vid-dhaś. 121,10; so to be read); Mg. *adiyuuscida* (Mallikām. 143,4. 15; so to be read); *cicicchaī* (Hc. 2,21; 4,240) = *cikitsati*; AMg. *tigicchaī* (Uttar. 601), *tigicchiya* (Uttar. 458), *vitigicchiya* (Thān. 194), *vitigicchāmi* (Thān. 245), *vitigimchaī* (Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150); Ś. *cikicchidava* (Śak. 123,14). Cf. § 74. 215.—Mg. *pivāṣiāsi* (Venis. 34,6; cf. § 550); Ś. *bubhukkhida* = *bubhukṣita* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5); *licchaī* = *lipsate* (Hc. 2,21); AMg. JM. *sussūsai* (Dasav. 637,30. 32; Erz. 31,13) = *śuśrūṣate*; AMg. *sussūsamāṇa* (Dasav. 636,6. 10; Ovav.); Ś. *sussūsaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 88,11), *sussūsaidum* (Mālav. 29,12), *sussūsidaava* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śuśūṭida* (Mṛcch. 37,11).

INTENSIVE.

§ 556. The intensive is formed as in classical Skt. strengthened vowel in the reduplication show: *cakkammaī* for **cākammaī* = **cākramyate* (Hc. 4,161).—AMg. *khokhubbhamāṇa* (Paṇhāv. 169. 210; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *kṣubh*.—AMg. *jāgarai* = *jāgati*, *jāgaramāṇe* (Vivāhap. 116), *jāgaranti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1), *jāgaramāṇassa* (Vivāhap. 170), *paḍijāgarējjā* (Dasav. 636,6),

padijāgaramāñi (Uvās.; Kappas.); *M. jagganti* (Dūt. 5,12), *jaggesu* (H. 335), *paḍiaggia* = **prati jagrita* (G.); *Ś. jaggedha* (Mṛch. 112,3); *A. jaggeva* (Hc. 4,438,3); causative *AMg. jaggāvai* (Āyār. 1,8,2,5); *M. jaggāvia* (R. 10,56); *AMg. bhibbhisamāṇa* for **bhebbhisamāṇa*, **bhēbbhisamāṇa* from *bhisati* = *bhāsati* (§ 482; Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481 [*bhiijha*°]. 493 [*mijhji*°]. 541 [*mijhjisamāñi*]), *bhibbhisamāṇa* (Jiv. 105; cf. v. l. on Nāyādh. § 122); *AMg. lāleppai* (Sūyag. 414), *lālappamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,6,1). In the reduplication *M. caṃkammanta-* (H.), *caṃkammia* (R.), *caṃkamia* (Karp. 47,6), *JM. caṃkamijavva* (Āv. 23,12) = *caṃkramyate*; *dhumḍhullai* (Hc. 4,161.189), *ḍhamḍhallai* (Hc. 4,161), *ḍhamḍholai* (Hc. 4,189) have a nasal vowel. For *tuṇṭuṇṇanto* (Kāvyaprakāśa 271,5 = H. 985) we should, according to the best manuscripts or the text and the commentary read with *Abhinavagupta* on *Dhvanīyāloka* 116,7 *dhumḍhullanto*. This reading is proved also by the quotation of the shoppe in other unpublished rhetoricians.

. DENOMINATIVE.

557. The denominatives are formed, as in Skt., either by 1) addition of the verbal endings directly to the stem of the noun, 2) or to the stem in *-a* = Skt. *-ya*, before which the final vowel of the noun is lengthened or 3) to the stem of the causative Pkt. *-e-*, *-ve-*, *-va-*. The first type of denominative is more frequent in Pkt. than in Skt.: *AMg. appiṇāmi* = **arpaṇāmi* (Nirayāv. § 23; Nāyādh. 1313; text °*ppa*°), *JM. appiṇai* (Āv. 44,3) from *arpaṇa*; *AMg. paṇḍappiṇāmi* = **pratyarpaṇāmi* from *pratyarpaṇa* (Nirayāv. § 20), *paṇḍappiṇai* (Vivāgas. 222; Rāyap. 231; Kappas. § 29; Ovav. § 42. 44. 46 [so to be here read throughout]), *paṇḍappiṇāmo* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paṇḍappiṇanti* (Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Uvās. § 207; Kappas. § 58. 101; Nāyādh. § 33. 100. p. 610; Nirayāv. § 4. 24), *paṇḍappiṇējjā* (Paṇṇav. 844; Ovav. § 150), *paṇḍappiṇāhi* (Ovav. § 40. 41. 43. 45; Nirayāv. § 22; Kappas. § 26), *paṇḍappiṇaha* (Vivāgas. 222; Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Kappas. § 57. 100; Nirayāv. § 20. 21. 24; Uvās. § 206), *paṇḍappiṇijjāi* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paṇḍappiṇittā* (Nāyādh. 607. 610. 614); *khammāi* = **khanmati*, *jammāi* = **janmati*, **hammāi* = *hanmati* (§ 540); *M. dukkhāmi* (R. 11,127) from *dukkha*, as *suhāmi* (H. 617) from *sukha*²; *dhavalaṇi* (Hc. 4,24); *nimmāṇai* (Hc. 4,19; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 54) from *nirmāṇa*; *A. paḍibimbi* (Hc. 4,439,3); *A. pamāṇahu* = *pramāṇayata* (Piṅgala 1,105); *paḥuppai* = **prabhuvati* (§ 286); *M. maṇḍanti* (G. 67); *missai* (Hc. 4,28) from *miśra*; *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) from *vikreya*; *A. sukkahī* (Hc. 4,427,1) from *śuśka*. More examples see under § 491 and cf. § 553.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. seeks in *paṇḍappiṇ* the present stem of *praty-arp*. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573, note 2 *iṇai* is the derivative syllable, by which probably the same is meant as in LEUMANN. That a noun *paṇḍappina* is not found is naturally no ground against the aforesaid explanation.—2. These and similar forms may be considered as contracted from *dukkhaṇmi*, *suhaṇmi* (§ 558).

558. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, the usual formation of the denominative is that with *-a-* = Skt. *-ya-*. The syllables *-āa-* in *M. JM. AMg.* are not seldom contracted: *M. atthāi*, *atthānti* = **astāyate*, **astāyante* from *asta* (G. R.); from the frequent *atthamā* (G. R.) = *astamita* have been deduced *atthamāi* (R.) and a substantive *atthamaṇa* (H. R.); *AMg. amarāyāi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *M. alasāi*, *alasānti* (H.); *M. umhāi*, *umhāanta*, *umhāamāṇa* (G.) from *ūsmāya*; *Ś. kuravaḍadi* = *kurabakāyate* (Mṛch. 73,10); *garuāi*, *garuādi* (to become a teacher; to behave like a teacher; Hc. 3,138); *Mg. cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); *M. taṇuāi*, *taṇuādi*, *taṇuāae* = **tanukāyati* (to become thin; H.); *M. dhūmāi* (H.); *AMg. mamāyamaṇa*, *amamāyamaṇa* from *mama* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,5,3); *lohiāi*, *lohiādi* (Hc. 3,138); *M. samjhāi*

(G. 632), *Ś. sañjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12) = *sañdhyaṇī*; *Ś. sīdalādi* = *śitalāyati* (Mālatīm. 121,2); *M. suhādi* (H.), *Ś. suhādi* (Śak. 49,8) = *sukhāyati*. Worthy of being particularly mentioned are the numerous denominativa that express onomatopoeically, a sound a strong physical or mental movement, etc. They are found mostly also in the modern Indian dialects, many in Skt. too, here partly only in the basic form, to which they are traced back¹. The examples *damadamāi*, *damadamāi* (Hc. 3,138) "does *damadama*", used for the sound of a drum, = Marāṭhī *damadamnem*², indicate the type. More seldom they are formed as the causativa. So: *Ś. kaḍakāḍānta-* (Mālatīm. 129,4). — *Ś. kurukurāsi* (so to be read; cf. v. 1.; Hās. 25,7), *kurukurādi* (Mṛcch. 71,16; Ratn. 302,8), *kurukurānta-* (Karp. 14,3; 70,1); *kurukuri* (ardently desired; Deśin. 2,42), according to which *kurukura* in Hc., Uṇādi-gaṇasūtra 17; AMg. *kiḍikiḍiyābhūya* (Vivāgas. 201.242 [text here °*ḍibhū*]). — AMg. *kuukūvamāṇa* (Vivāgas. 201); JM. *khalakkhalei* (Erz.); AMg. *gumagumāyanta-* (Kappas. § 37), also *gumagumanta-* (Ovav. § 4), *gumagumāyīya* (Ovav. § 5); *Ś. ghumaghumādi* (Jivān. 43,3)³; AMg. *gulugulēnta-* (for the trumpet of the elephant; Ovav. § 42), *gulagulēnta-* (Uvās. § 102); AMg. JM. *gulgulāyīya* (Pañhāv. 161 [°*la*°]); Vivāhap. 253; Ovav. § 54 p. 59,7; Erz.); JM. *ghurughuranti* (for the grunting of the wild boar; Erz. 43,10); Mg. *ghulaghulāamāṇa* (Mṛcch. 117,23), from which Skt. *ghurughura* in Hc. l. c. and others; *ṭṛiṭillaṭi* with dissimilation (Hc. 4,161); *M. tharathareṭi* (H. 187 [so to be read with v. 1.] 858), *tharathareṇī* (H. 165 [so to be read with R]); JM. *tharatharanti* (Āv. 12,25; text °*ha*°); *Ś. tharathareḍi* (Mṛcch. 141,17; so to be read with GODABOLE 388,4), *tharatharānta-* (Mālatīm. 124,1) = Skt. *tharatharāyate*, Marāṭhī *tharatharṇem*, Urdū *tharatharānā*⁴, Gujarātī *tharatharvum* "to tremble"; AMg. *dhagadthaganta-* (Nāyādh. 340), explained as *jāḍvalyamāṇa*, *dhagadthagāyīya* (Kappas. § 46); *Ś. dhagadthaggaamāṇa* (Jivān. 89,2); JM. AMg. *dhamaḍhamēnta-* (Erz.; Uvās.), *Ś. dhamaḍhamādi* (Nāgān. 18,3); JM. *phuraphuranta-* (Erz. 85,5); *Ś. phuraphurādi* (Mṛcch. 17,15); AMg. *maghamagheṇta-* (Ovav. § 2; Nāyādh. § 21 [°*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 28. 111; Jiv. 543; Samav. 210), *maghamaghanta-* (Kappas. [also °*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 60. 190; Jiv. 499; Vivāhap. 941); *M. mahamahāi* (Hc. 4,78; H.), JM. *mahamahīya* (Pāyāl. 197) = Marāṭhī *maghamaghṇem*, Gujarātī *maghamaghvum*⁵; AMg. *masamasāvijjai* (Vivāhap. 270.383); AMg. JM. *misimisanta-*, *misimiseṇta-*, *misimisinta-* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 44; Āv. 40,6), usually *misimisimāṇa* or °*sēmāṇa* (Vivāgas. 121. 144; Nāyādh. 324. 456. 612. 651. 1172; Vivāhap. 236. 237. 251. 254. 505. 1217 etc.; Nirāyāv.; Uvās.) is explained as *dedīpyamāṇa* and taken into Skt. as *miṣamiṣāyate*; *Ś. silasilādi* (Jivān. 43,3); *M. simisimanta-* (H. 561), *Ś. simisimānta-* (Bālar. 264, 2); *M. surasuranta-* (H. 74) = Marāṭhī *surasurṇem*⁶; JM. *sulusulēnta-* (Erz. 24,29). — *M. dhukkādhukkai* (H. 584) = Marāṭhī *dhukadhukṇem*⁷; AMg. *harāharāyīya* (Pañhāv. 161) have a strengthened vowel. Cf. also *Ś. susuādi* (Mṛcch. 44,3) "does *su-su*" and *Ś. sāsāsasi*, Mg. *kākāsi* (Mṛcch. 80, 14. 15) derived from *sā* and *kā* respectively.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,89 ff.; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1898,465 ff, who has collected together the Pkt. examples, particularly from H.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,138.—3. JACOBI on Kappas. § 36 p. 105; cf. ZACHARIAE, l.c. p. 466 note 2.—4. STENZLER on Mṛcch. 141, 17 p. 309.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,78; cf. JACOBI on Kappas. § 32 p. 104.—6. WEBER on H. 74.—7. WEBER on H. 584.

§ 559. Built according to the pattern of the causativa the denominativa are: AMg. *uccārei* (caus.) *vā pāsavaṇēi vā khelei vā siṅghāṇēi vā vantei vā pittei vā* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *uvakkhaḍēi* = **upaskṛtayati* (Nāyādh. 425. 448), °*ḍinti* (Nāyādh. 856), °*ḍējja*, °*ḍie* (Āyār. 2,2,2,2), °*ḍeu* (Uvās. § 68),

°*deha* (Nāyādh. 483), more frequently *uvakkhadāvei* (Vivāgas. 124. 133. 195. 204. 205. 231. 233; Nāyādh. 430. 632. 734. 736. 1423. 1496), °*dāvinti*, °*dāve-nii* (Kappas. § 104; Nāyādh. § 114), °*dāvētā* (Nāyādh. § 114; p. 425. 448. 482; Vivāhap. 228); AMg. *nhānei* = **snānayati* (Jiv. 610), °*nhāṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265); *teavai* = **tejāpayati* from *tea* = *tejah* (Hc. 4,152); JM. *dukkhāvei* (Āv. 42,14. 18), caus. from *dukkhāmi* (§ 557); *dukhāvai* = **dvidhāpayati* (splits; Hc. 4,124); JM. *dhirāvia* (Sagara 8,14); AMg. *piṇaddhei* (Nāyādh. 775 [text °*ddhai*]. 779); Ś. *piṇaddhāvida* (Sak. 74,1); M. *biupei* (text *vi*°; H. 685) = *dviguṇayati*; M. *bhasanemi* (so to be read; H. 312) from *bhasman* (ashes); AMg. *mailinti* (Panhāv. 111), *mailiya* (Vivāhap. 387), M. *mailei*, *maileṇti*, *maīlanta*, *maīlijjai* from *maīla* (black)¹; M. *lahuei*=*laghayati* (G.1148); M. *saccavai* = *satyāpayati* (Hc. 4,181; Ki. 14 in DELIUS, Radices p. 11; the edition has at 4,66 false *saccara*), *saccavia* (Pāiyāl. 78; G.H.R.; Sak. 120,7); Ś. *saddāveṃi* = *śabdāpayāmi* (Mṛcch. 50,24), *saddāvesi* (Sak. 138,2); AMg. *saddāvei* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv. etc.); Ś. *saddāvedi* (Mṛcch. 54,8; 141,16), *saddāvehi* (Mṛcch. 54,5), *saddāvaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *saddāviadi* (Mṛcch. 150,17); JM. AMg. *saddāvētā*, °*vittā*, *saddāviya* (Erz.; Kappas. etc.), causative from *saddei* = *śabdāyati*; AMg. *sikkhāvei* (Nāyādh. 1421 f.), Ś. *sikkhāvehi* (Ratn. 293,17) from *sikṣā*; Ś. *sīdalāvedi* (Uttarar. 121,7) from *śītala*; Ś. *sukkhāvaṇti* (Mṛcch. 71,4), Mg. *suṣkāvaṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 133,15) from *suṣka*; M. *suhāvesi*, °*vei*, °*vēnti* (G. H.), Ś. *suhāvedi* (Mālikām. 201,17) from *sukha*.

1. Cf. ZACHARIAE, GN. 1896, 265 ff., who traces *maīla* back to **mydila'*. See also § 595 note 5.

VERBAL NOUNS.

a) PARTICIPLES.

§ 560. The present participle of the parasmaipada is formed from the present stem with the ending *-anta*, extended from the strong ending *-anti*, which is inflected according to the *a*-declension (§ 397. 473—514). Dialectically, especially in AMg., we find numerous forms which show the flexion of Skt. (§ 396), in an isolated manner formed also according to the pattern of the nouns having a single stem, (§ 398). In all classes the feminine ends in *-anti*: AMg. *asanti*=*asatyām* (Ovav. § 183), JM. *santi* (Erz. 8,22), but in the meaning "chaste" M. *sāi* (H.) = *sati*, "not chaste" *asāi* (H.) = *asati*; AMg. *ējanti*=**eyanti* (cf. § 561; Dasav. 635,10), *viṇimujanti*=*vinimuṇcantim* (Jiv. 542), *anuhōnti*=*anubhavanti* (Paṇṇav. 137); M. *apāvanti*=*aprahnuvati* (H.483); Ś. *huvanti*, *pēkkhanti*, *gacchanti* (Lalitav. 555,5; 560,11; 561,14.), *paśamsanti* = *praśamsantyah* (Bālar. 289,2), *uddivanti*, *bhāyanti*, *padhanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22; 41,20; 44,2) etc. According to Vr. 7,11; Hc. 3,182 the feminine may be formed also from the weak stem of the verbs of the first conjugation: *hasai* = **hasati* = *hasanti*; *vevai*=**vepāti* = *vepamānā*.—Particip. fut. parasmaip. are: AMg. *āgamiṣam* (nom. neuter and accus. masc.; Āyār. 1,3,3,3), *bhaviṣam* = *bhaviṣyat* (Kappas. § 17), that may be derived also from *bhaviṣya*, as in JM. *bhaviṣsacakkavaṭṭi* (Erz. 12,25) and Ś. *bhaviṣsakuṭṭaṇi* (Viddhaś. 51,11; Karp. 13,2). The participle in the parasmaipada has the same ending for the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), the intensive (§ 556) and the denominatives.

§ 561. The participle present ātmanepada, without distinction of conjugation, is built from the present stem (§ 473-514) mostly in *-māṇa* = Skt. *māna* (Vr. 7,10; Hc. 3,181). It is particularly frequent in AMg. in which the particip. pres. parasmaipada has, on the other hand, entirely receded back¹. It often stands in AMg. beside the finite verb in the parasmaipada. So e.g. *aḍamāṇe aḍai* (Vivāhap.191); *phusamāṇe phusaī* (Vivāhap.

354.355); *paccakkhāi paccakkhamāṇe* (Vivāhap.607); *haṇamāṇe haṇāi, saddahai asaddahamāṇe, saṁvēllamāṇe saṁvēllei* (Vivāhap. 849 f. 1215. 1325); *pehaī, pehamāṇe* (Paṇṇav. 435); *vigiñcamāṇe vigiñcai* (Āyār.1,3,4,3); *pāsamāṇe pāsai, sunamāṇe suṇei, mucchamāṇe mucchai* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3), *āikkhamāṇā āikkhaha* (Ovav. § 59). As in Pāli in AMg. JM. too, from *as* (to be) is formed an ātmanepada present participle *samāṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.; Thāṇ. 525.526; Vivāgas. 13.116.239; Paṇṇāv. 67; Vivāhap. 263.271.1275.1388; Paṇṇav. 436; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Sagara 4,9; Āv. 29,16;35,25 etc.). — *emāṇa* = *praviśan* (Deśin.1,144) is = *ayamāṇa*, AMg. *ējjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 81.215. 261; Vivāgas.229; Nāyādh.487.491.514.575.758.760 etc.; Vivāhap.1207) = *eyamāṇa*; cf. *ējjantiṃ* § 560.—To the precativ belongs *hojjamāṇa* (§ 466).

I. WEBER, Bhag. I, 432.

§ 562. The ātmanepada participle has the same ending in the future: AMg. *esamāṇā* (Thāṇ. 178), in the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), intensive (§ 556), the denominatives (§ 557-559). In the passive partly the ending of the parasmaipada is used, particularly in Ś. Mg., partly that of the ātmanepada, especially in AMg. (§ 535-548).—In place of *-māṇa*, sometimes in AMg. is found *-māṇa*: *āgamamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6, 3,2; 1,7,4,1; 1,7,6,2; 1,7,7,1); *samaṇujāṇamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3); *ādḥāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4. 5); *anādhāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2); *apariggahamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,3,1); *amamāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,3,2); *āsāṇmāṇa* = *āsādayamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,2); *anāsāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,4); *nikāmmāṇa* (Sūyag. 405); *bhisamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481. 493 [commentary °mā°; cf. 541 *bhisamāṇi*]), *bhibbhisamāṇa* (§ 556). The form that is found also in the inscriptions of Aśoka¹ is almost restricted to Āyār., and in many cases has the v.l. *-māṇa*. Cf. § 110.—Very seldom is the ending *-āṇa*=Skt. *-āṇa*: AMg. *bujābujāṇā* = *bruvanto*, 'bruvantaś ca' (Sūyag. 334). *vihammāṇa* stands for *vihammamāṇa*=*vighnan* (Uttar. 787), in case one does not like to equate it as = **vihammāṇa* (cf. § 540.550), *vakkamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 46-50) for *vakkamamāṇa*, as e. g. at Kappas. § 74. 76.77 stands; the v.l., however, has there also under § 74. 76 *vakkamāṇa*. For *-āṇa* M. has *-ina* in *melina* (H. 702) from *melai* from *mīl* (§ 486). Cf. Skt. *āsina*, as also Pkt. has.

I. BÜHLER, ZDMG. 46, 72, whose explanation, however, is incorrect. See § 110.

§ 563. The feminine has the ending *-māṇī* according to Vr. 7,11, but according to Hc. 3,182 *-māṇī*. In AMg. the ending throughout is *-māṇī*: *samāṇī, samlavamāṇī, āhāremāṇī, abhisiccamāṇī, uddhuvamāṇīhiṃ* (Kappas.); *bhuñjamāṇī, āsāemāṇī, uvadamsemāṇī*, (Uvās.); *paccapubhavamāṇī, parihāyamāṇī, uddhuvamāṇīhiṃ* (Ovav.); *visattamāṇīhiṃ* (Thāṇ. 312); *rojamāṇī* (Vivāgas. 84; Vivāhap. 807); *sujamāṇīe* (Vivāhap. 116), *dehamāṇī* (Vivāhap. 794. 795); *viñimmujamāṇī* (Vivāhap. 822); *ējjamāṇīo* (Nirayāv. 59); *duruhamāṇī* (Dasav. 620.33); *jāgaramāṇīe* (Vivāhap. 116); *paḍijāgaramāṇī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamāṇīe, dijjamāṇīhiṃ* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārijjamāṇī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamāṇīe, dijjamāṇīhiṃ* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārijjamāṇī, thukkārijjamāṇī* (Nāyādh. 1175). Likewise in JM.: *samāṇī* (Kk. 260,29; Erz. 36,14; false °nā 53,5); *kāremāṇīo, pehamāṇīo* (Āv. 11,14; 17,10); *paḍicchamāṇī, jhāyamāṇī, paloemāṇī, kuṇamāṇī, khannamāṇīe, nivaḍamāṇī, rujamāṇī* (Erz. 8,14; 11,19; 17,8; 23,13; 39,7; 43,19), *kāremāṇī* (Dvār. 503,30). From M. WEBER has in H.: *pasūamāṇāe* (123), *bhaṇṇamāṇā* (145), *jampamāṇā* (198), *majjamāṇāe* (246), *veamāṇāe* (312), but *jampamāṇīe* (389). The recession R has only at 198 °nā, otherwise throughout °ṇīe, also at 145, where it reads *bhaṇṇamāṇīe*, the recession of Bhuvanapāla (IS.16,1 ff.), throughout has °ṇī, °ṇīe, as also mostly S and T. ī is not merely a characteristic for R¹ and Bhuvanapāla, that is to say both Jaina recensions. On the basis of the usual agreement of M. with JM. AMg. for M. ī, not ā,

will be correct. In other texts in M. the examples are wanting. In Ś. the fem. always ends in *-ā*: *ṇivattamāṇā*, *vattamāṇā*, °*ṇāe* (Vikr. 5,11; 35,11,12); *apadivajjamāṇā* (Vikr. 52,14); *ahibhūaamāṇā*, *āliamāṇā*, *ahinandīamāṇā* (Śak. 16,10; 17,12; 79,10); *bādhīamāṇā* (Vikr. 28,1); *anunīamāṇā* (Mṛch. 23,23, 25); *siccāmāṇā* (Mālatim. 121,2).—P: has *cintayamāṇī* (Hc. 4,310).

1. WEBER, Hāla² p. xxix; cf. on H. 123.

§ 564. The past passive participle, as in Skt., is formed with the suffixes *-ta* and *-na*. Deviating from Skt. *-ta* in certain cases is added directly to the roots, in which in Skt. it comes after the *i*-stem: *ohaṭṭha* (ridiculed; Deśin. 1,153) = **apahasta* = *apahasita* (§ 155); *khutṭa* (torn; Deśin. 2,74; cf. § 568); *laṭṭha* (attracted towards another; lively; friendly; Deśin. 7,26) = **laṣṭa* = *laṣita*. In AMg. the word is *lādha* according to § 66.304 (Āyār. 2,3,1, 8; Sūyag. 401; Uttar. 76.453.454), explained by the commentators as *sādhu*, *sādhvanuṣṭhāne tatpara*, *sadanuṣṭhānatayā pradhāna*, etc. Cf. also Skt. *rādhā* M. *vuttha* (Pāṇīal. 225; R. 11,88. 90), *uvuttha* (G. 538), *paṭṭha* (H. R.); JM. *pavuttha* (Āv. 23,7; 25,7), *paṭṭha* (Erz.); M. *paṭṭuttha* (R. 4,50), for which, according to C we should read *pariuttha* (Deśin. 6,13) or *parivuttha* (G. 540) from *vas* (to live) = **vasta* with secondary transition of *a* to *u* (§104. 303). Beside them is found the regular M. *usia* = *uṣita* (G. 484. 933) and from the present stem M. *vasia* (Pāṇīal. 225; G. H.), *uvvasia*, *pavasia* (H.), Ś. *uvavasida* (Mṛch. 54,16).—M. *niattha* = **nivasta* (Karp. 46,12) from *vas* (to dress), AMg. *paṇiṇattha* = **pranivasta* (Ovav. § 38]). JM. *niṇatthiṇa* (Erz. 59,31) is *nivastrita*. Cf. § 337.—JM. *tuṭṭa* = *truṭṭa* (Erz. 71,28), A. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,356).—AMg. *anālatta* = **anālaptā* (Uvās. § 58); JM. *samlatta* (Erz.).—A. *tinta* = *timita* (Hc. 4,431,1).—M. *guttha* = **guphta* = *guphita* (H. 63; Karp. 69,8; 73,10)¹. *grah* adds, as in the infinitive (§ 574) and the absol. (§ 586), the ending to the *i*- and not to the *i*-stem (Hc. 1,101); M. *gahia* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,6) JM. *gahiṇa* (Erz.; Āv. 17,11; 18,4; Dvār. 500,20; 501,2; Kk.); AMg. *gahiṇa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.); JŚ. Ś. *gahida* (Pav. 389,1; Mṛch. 3,23; 15,5; 50,2; 53,10; Śak. 33,14; 40,4; 96,9; Vikr. 19,16; 31,13; 80,15. 20); Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 16,14. 17. 21; 133,7; 157,5) and *gihida* (Mṛch. 112,10). The texts of the dramas very often have *gahida* and *gihida*, the forms, that are correct in verses only, as Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 17,1; 170,15).

1. Differently WEBER on H. 63.

§ 565. Very frequently in all the dialects the past passive participle is formed from the present stem. Examples in order of sequence of the present stem are: *tavia* (Hc. 2,105) beside Ś. *samtappida* (Mṛch. 7,18; 8,16) according to the class 4 and the common *tatta* = *tapta*; AMg. *tasiṇa* beside *tattha* = *trasta* (Vivāhap. 1291); Ś. *jaṇida* = *jāta* (Lalitav. 561,3; Mṛch. 28,8); M. *asahia* = *asodha* (G.); AMg. *jaṭṭha* = *iṣṭa* (offered; Uttar. 753); A. *jiṇia* (§ 473); Ś. *anubhavidā* (Karp. 33,6) = *anubhūta*; M. *vāharia* = *vyāhṛta* (Śak. 88,1); M. *osaria* = *avasṛta* (G. H. R.), *samosaria* (G. H.); AMg. JM. *samosariṇa* = *samavasṛta* (H.; Vivāgas. 151; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 235); Mg. *niṣṭalidaṣṭa* = *niṣṭṛtaṣṭa* (Lalitav. 566,15); Ś. *sumarida*, Mg. *sumalida* = *smṛta*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JM. *vissariṇa*, JŚ. *visarida*, Ś. *visumarida* = *vismṛta* (§ 478) Mg. *gāida* (Mṛch. 117,4); Ś. *niṇjhāida* (Mṛch. 93,15; Vikr. 52,11); JM. *acchiṇa* from *ṛ* (Āv. 26,28; Erz. 33,30); M. *icchia* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *icchiṇa* (Uttar. 702; Vivāhap. 161.946; Ovav. § 54; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 39,6; Kk. 274,26; Erz.); Ś. *icchida* (Vikr. 20,19), AMg. JM. *paṭicchiṇa* (Ovav. § 54; Vivāhap. 161. 946; Āv. 39,6); Ś. *paṭicchiṇa* (Mṛch. 77,25; 161,5; Śak. 79,9; Mālatim. 140,9; 250,5), both of them belong to *iṣ*, not to *ips* (§ 328); *jigghia* = *ghṛāta* (Deśin. 3,46); Ś.

anucittihida (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15; Mālav. 45,14;70,3; Mud. r. 266,3); M. *pucchia* (H.), JM. *pucchiya* (Erz.; Sagar.2,8), Ś. *pucchida* (Mṛcch. 28,21; Mālav. 6,10), beside AMg. *puṭṭha* (Uttar. 31. 113); Ś. *ṇiṇhvida* (Śak. 137,6); M. *naccia*, *paṇaccia* from *nṛt* (H.); AMg. *paḍiyāikkhiya* (Kappas.; Ovav. § 86) beside *paccakkhā*=*pratyākhyāta* (Ovav. § 87); AMg. *buiya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; 1,8,2,1; Uttar. 509)=**bruvita*, *ahābuiya*=**yathā-bruvita* (Sūyag. 531) from the present stem *bruva* (§494); *duhia*=*dugdha* (Deśin. 1,7); A. *hāpia*=*hata* (Piṅgala 1,85. 146^a) beside *hatta* (§ 194); Ś. *ācakkhida* (§ 499); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *ādhatta* (Pāiyāl. 240; Hc. 2,138; G. H.; R. s. v. *rabh*; Thān. 511; Vivāhap. 34,433; Paṇṇav. 540; Rāyap. 78; Erz.; Dvār. 496,13; 498,14. 37; Sagara 4,5; 7,11; T. 6,20; 7,3. 15; Āv. 12,24; 44,2; Mallikām. 223,12; 252,13); M. *samādhatta* (H.); M. JM. Ś. *viḍhatta* (Hc. 4,258; G.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch.2,23; Anarghar. 275,7;290,2), A. *viḍhattāu* (Hc. 4,422,4) from the stem *dadh-* from *dhā*=**dhatta* for *hita*, in case one does not like to drag it to the causative (§ 286). Cf. § 223. **dhatta* perhaps in AMg. sticks to *nidhatta* (v. l. *nihatta*; Thān. 496, explained by the commentator with *nikācita* [sic], *niscita*; *jadha* (relinquished; Hc. 4,258), AMg. *vijadha* (Uttar. 1045. 1047. 1052. 1055. 1058. 1066. 1071. 1074. 1077. 1095; Jiv. 236 f.), *vippajadha* (Āyār. 1,6,6,6; Nirayāv. § 16; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. 435. 442. 1167. 1444; Vivāhap. 454; Aṇuog. 50. 596 [text here **ddha*]) from a root *jah* for **jadha*, with a short vowel according to § 67, deduced from the present *jahāi* (§ 500); AMg. also *vippajahiya* (Nāyādh. 1448); AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596); JM. *vitthariya*=*visṛta* (Erz.); Ś. *vicinida*=*vicita* (Mālatim. 297,5); A. *pāvia* (Hc. 4,387,1); A. *bhañjia* (Piṅgala 1,120^a); AMg. JM. *viuvviya* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 30,18) and *veuvviya* (Āyār. p.127,14; Dvār.507,28) from *viuvvāi* (§508); cf. *vikurvita*; M. *jāñia* (Hc. 4,7), *jāñida* (Mṛcch. 27,21;28. 17. 24;29,14;82,15;148,23;166,9; Mudrār. 184,4; Viddhaś. 29,2), *aṇabhijāñida* (Mṛcch. 153,2), *paccabhiñnida* (Uttarar.61,7; 62,7); Mg. *yāñida* (Lalitav. 566,8); A. *jāñiu* (Hc. 4,377; 423,1; Vikr. 55,1 [so to be read]). M. has *nāa* (R.), JM. *nāya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. in compounds usual *nāda*=Skt. *jñāta*, as *abbhaṇṇāda* (Śak. 84,11; Vikr. 12,14; 29,13; 39,20; 46,3; 84,2; Mudrār. 46,8), *viñnāda* (Mṛcch. 37,21; Śak. 73,5; 168,15; Vikr. 29,21;80,4; Mālav. 46,16;47,3), *aviñnāda* (Mālav. 34,7), *paḍiñnāda* (Mālav. 13,9;85,2); Ś. *kiñida*, *vikkīñida* from *kṛi* (§511).— On *nia*=*nita* and composita see § 81, on *khāa*, *dhāa* § 165, on *āa* § 167, on *chidha* and composita § 166, on *uvviḍha* § 126, on **vutta*, **vūḍha* and composita § 337, on the participle AMg. Mg. in *-ḍa* § 219, on *ūsadha*, *nisadha*, *visadha*, *samosadha* § 67; on causative, desiderative, intensive, denominative § 551-559. The feminine ends in *-ā*, only in A. sometimes also in *-ī*, as *ruddhi*=*ruddhā*, *diṭṭhi*=*dr̥ṣṭā* (Hc. 4,422,14; 431,1).

§ 566. The suffix *-na* is used not only in the same cases as in Skt., but has undergone a very great extension¹: *khaṇṇa* (cavity; Deśin. 2,66), beside AMg. JM. *khatta* (Deśin. 2,66; Vivāgas. 102; Erz.)², AMg. *ukkhatta* (Vivāgas. 214), M. *ukkhāa* (H.), *ukkhāa* (G. R.), *samukkhāa* (H.); cf. Vr. 1,10; Hc. 1,67; JM. *khaṇṇa* (Erz.) and *khaṇṇiya* (Erz.), *ukkhāṇa* (Erz.); Ś. *ukkhāñida* (Uttarar. 100,7; so to be read).— M. Ś. *cukka* from **cukna* (Pāiyāl. 191; H. R.; Viddhaś. 63,1) from *cukkai* (Hc. 4,177), Ś. *cukkadi* (Viddhaś. 93,2), which is common in the new Indian languages³ and stands as *cukk* in Dhātupāṭha too⁴.—M. *chikka* (touched; Pāiyāl. 85; Hc. 2, 138; H. 481 [so to be read with R])=**chikna* from **chik*, a guttural side-form from **chip*, *chivai*⁵.—M. JM. AMg. *ḍakka* (bitten; Hc. 2,2; H. s. v. *daś*; Erz.; Paṇḥāv.65.537; Thān.431)=**dakna*, also in the sense of “sieved

with teeth" Deśin. 4,6). — *diṇṇa*, JM. AMg. also *dinna*, from **didna* with the old reduplication vowel *i*⁹, very frequent in all the dialects (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,46; 2,43; Pāīyal. 184); M. (G.H.R.); JM. (KI. 11. 15; Āv. 17,20; 27,13; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap.); AMg. (Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovay. etc.); JŚ. (Kattig. 402.363.364.366); Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 37,8;44,3;51,23; Śak. 59,7;159,12; Vikr. 48,2; Ratn.291,1); Mg. (Mṛcch.113,20;117,7;126,7; Śak.113,8); A. (Vikr. 67,19; Hc. s. v. *dā*). Hc. 1,46 teaches also *datta*, that stands at PG. 7,48 as *datā* = *datā*, but elsewhere found only in proper nouns, as *dattajasa* (PG. 6,21), *devadatto* (Hc. 1,46), Ś. *somadatto* (Vikr. 7,2)⁷. — M. *budda*, *ābudda*, *ñibudda* (H. 37; so to be read), *vinibudda* (G. 490) from *brud*, *vruđ*, with the denominatives *buddāi*, *āuddāi*, *ñiuddāi* (Hc.4,101; cf. Vr. 8,68). — Ś. *bhulla* for **bhulna* (Karp. 113,1) from which *bhullaī*, occurring in the new Indian languages⁸ (Hc. 4,177). — M. *ummilla* (G. H. R.), *ñimilla* (G. R.), *opimilla* (R.) = **mīlna* from *mīl*. — *mukka* from **mukna* from *muc*, very frequent in the main dialects (Hc. 2,2); M. *mukka*, *ava*⁹, *ā*⁹, *ummukka*, *pa*⁹, *paḍi*⁹, *pari*⁹ (G. H. R.); JM. *mukka* (Āv. 23,21; Erz.; Ṛṣabhap.; Kk.), *āmukka* (Āv. 38,12), *pa*⁹, *pari*⁹, (Erz.), *vi*⁹ (Erz.; Ṛṣabhap.); AMg. *mukka* (Uttar. 706. 708; Uvās.; Kappas.), *ummukka* (Paṇṇav. 136; Uttar. 1037), *vinimukka* (Uttar. 755), *vipṇamukka* (Vivāhap. 186. 263. 455. 1351 [a⁹]; Uttar. 1; Paṇṇav. 134. 483), *vimukka* (Paṇṇav. 134. 136. 137. 848); Ś. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 71,9; 109,19; Vikr. 43,15; 47,2; Prab. 45,11; Bālar. 24,9; 195,9;202,16; 204,19 etc.), *ṭamukka* (Bālar. 246,13; Uttarar. 84,2), *vimukka* (Bālar. 170,14;203,14;210,2; Pras. 35,2; Venis. 62,7;63,11.12;65,8;66,9); Mg. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 29,19. 20; 31,23. 25; 32,5; 136,16;168,4; Prab. 50,14; 56,10); Dh. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 31,24;32,1); A. *mukkāhā* (Hc. 4,370,1). Hc. 2,12 mentions also *mutta*, that falsely occurs in Ś. *ṇamutta* (Uttarar.20,12). *muktā* (pearl) always becomes *muttā* and *mauktika* always *mōttia*⁹; cf. Ś. *mukka-mōttia* (Bālar. 195,9). — *ragga* (Hc. 2,10) = **ragna* = Skt. *rakta*; thereform *ragga* (dress coloured in saffron; Pāīyal. 261; Deśin.7,3); found in the text is only *ratta*: M. JM. Ś. (H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,3; 73,12; Śak. 134,13; Mālav. 28,17; 45,11); M. *ratta* (Mṛcch. 129,1; Nāgān. 67,6). — M. *rikka* = **rikṇa* from *ric* (Pāīyal. 218; Deśin. 7,6) = "a little" (H.), *airikka* (H.), *pairikka*, *pavirikka* = *pravirikka* (G. H. R.); M. JM. *virikka* (G.; Āv. 47,21; Erz.), according to Deśin. 6,71 also in the meanings "wide", "exclusive"; *anarikka*, *anarikka* (deprived of favourable opportunity; Deśin.1,20); beside it M. *ritta* = *rikta* (Pāīyal. 218; H.), *airitta* (R. 14,51; v. 1. ⁹*rikka*). — M. *runṇa* (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,209; G. H. R.), *orunṇa*, *parunṇa* (R.), but Ś. *rudida* (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Uttarar. 20,12; Caṇḍak. 95,10; Vṛṣabh. 50,5; Dhūrtas. 11,12). — M. JM. AMg. Ś. *lukka* (torn; separated by violence; with extracted hairs; extracted; concealed) = **lukna*, from *luñc*¹⁰ (Hc. 2,2; H. R.; Erz.; Kappas.; Viddhaś. 27,4); *ullukka* (Deśin. 1,92); M. Ś. *nilukka* (H. R.; Viddhaś. 51,7), JM. *nilukka* (Āv. 23,14) with the denominatives *luḥkaī*, *ulluḥkaī*, *niluḥkaī* (Hc. 4,55. 116), JM. *nilukkantehiṃ*, *nilukkanto*, (Āv. 23,17. 19). — M. *lhikka* (concealed; abolished; Hc. 4,258; G.) beside **likka* = **slikna* (§ 210), form which the denominatives *lhikkaī*, *likkaī* (Hc. 4,55). — M. *sikka* = **sikna* from *sic* (Karnas. 14,4) beside the usual *sitta* = *sikta*. — *sakka* = **śvaṣṭṇa*¹¹ "in osakka (gone away; Pāīyal. 178; Deśin. 1,149) beside M. *parisakkia* (H. 608). — AMg. *sōlla* = *sūd+na* = *sūḍita*, *sōllaja* (§ 244). — On *junṇa* and composita see § 58, on *ṇumanna* § 118, on *uvvōlla* § 107, on *hūṇa* and composita § 120. The femin. ends in -ā, in A. only sometimes in -ī, as *diṇṇī* (Hc. 4,401,3).

1. On further extension of the suffix -na in Pkt. rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛitica p. 8, note 2; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,185. Elsewhere, as already remarked by

JOHANSSON, all the etymologies of S. GOLDSCHMIDT, that come here into consideration, are false, likewise those of P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,520 ff. Cf. also FISCHEL, BB. 6, 85 f.—2. Falsely equated as = *khātra* by JACOBI, Erz. s. v.; see § 90. — 3. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 4. WEBER on Hāla 465. — 5. Not correct—WEBER, on Hāla 481. — 6. FISCHEL, BB. 15,126. — 7. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,46. — 8. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 9. STENZLER on Mṛcch. 29,20; FISCHEL on Hc. 2,2. Cf. § 61^a. — 10. False WEBER on Hāla 49. — 11. WEBER on Hāla 608.

§ 567. *i* with *palā* is conjugated, as in Skt., according to the 1. class: M. *palāaha* (R. 15,8; so to be read with C), *palāanta-* (G. H.), *palā-ivava* (R. 14,12; so to be read with the v.l.), *vivalāi*, *vivalānti*, *vivalāanta-*, *vivalāamāna* (G. H. R.); JM. *palāyaji* (Āv. 19,22; Erz.), *palāyamāna* (Āv. 18,1; Erz.), *palāyaju* (Erz. 9,37), *palāium* (Āv. 19,16); Ś. *palāiduxāma* (Mallikām. 225,11); Mg. *palāasi* (Mṛcch. 9,23; 11,7; 132,3), imp. *palā mha* (Caṇḍak. 73,2), particip. pres. *palāanti* (Mṛcch. 16,22), absolutive *paalāia*, fut. *palāiṣam* (Mṛcch. 120,13; 171,15). Contraction too is found according to the analogy of the roots in *-ai* and in *-ā* (§ 479. 487): Mg. *palāmi* (Mṛcch. 22,10), *palāsi* (Mṛcch. 11,21); Dh. *palāsi* (Mṛcch. 30,7); M. *vinalāi* (G. 934). Accordingly beside the usual M. *palāia* (H. R.), Ś. *palāida* (Vikr. 46,5), Mg. *palāida* (Mṛcch. 12,19) = Skt. *palāyita* is formed, from a contracted stem *palā*, also a present past passive participle M. *palāa* = **palāta*, *vivalāa* = **vīpalāta* (R.), JM. *palāya* (Āv. 23,15; 32,5; Erz.), to which belongs also *palāa* (thief; Deśin. 6,8). Cf. § 129. 243. In JM. the participle has also the suffix *-na*: *palāna* (Erz.), for *ā* of which there appears *i* in Dh. in *papalīṇu* = *prapalāyita* (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,1), as in the pres. participle in *-mīna*, *-īna* (§ 562).

§ 568. Deviating from Skt., in Pkt. the past passive participle from a number of roots, is formed with *-ta*, which in Skt. have only *-na*: M. *khudīa* (Hc. 1,53; G. H. R.), Ś. *khudīda* (Mṛcch. 162,7; Anarghar. 157,9; Uttarak. 11,10 [so to be read]) = **ksudita* = Skt. *ksunna*¹; M. *ukkhudīa* (H. R.); also *khuffa* (broken into pieces; Deśin. 2,74), beside JM. *khunna*, M. *khunna* (Pāṭiyāl. 222; H. 445). To other roots belong *khunna* (wrapped round; Deśin. 2,75) and Ā. *khudīda* (run away; Mṛcch. 100,12)². — *chaīa* (covered; Hc. 2,17; Triv. 1,4,22) = **chadita*, equated by grammarians as = *sthaḡita*³, beside the usual *channa* = Skt. *channa*. — *viddāa* (Hc. 1,107), JM. *viddāya* (Āv. 17,32) = **vidrāta* = Skt. *vidrāṇa*. — AMg. *amilāja* (Kappas. § 102) = **amlāta* = Skt. *amlāna*. — M. *lua* (Hc. 4,258; Deśin. 7,23; R.) = **lūta* = Skt. *lūna*.

1. FISCHEL, BB. 15,125 f.—2. STENZLER on Mṛcch. 100,12 p. 288.—3. FISCHEL, BB. 15,125.

§ 569. A parasmaipada past participle is found in AMg. *puṭṭhavam* = *sprṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8), but in the passive sense. Elsewhere only in later day writers and uncritical editions: Ś. *kidavanto* [sic], *sudavandena* [sic], *bhuttavantena*, *uttavanto* (Jivān. 40,26; 42,15; 53,11; 87,3); *bhanidavanto*, *gadidavanto*, *calidavanto* (Cait. 38,13; 128,5; 130,18); *pēkkhidavanto* [text *pēssi*], *āadavanto*, *adivāhidavando* [sic], *aṇubhūdavando* [sic] (Mallikām. 155,18; 209,1; 222,12); *sampādīavando* [sic], *pesidavanto* (Adbhutad. 58,10; 119,25); Mg. *gadidavanto* [sic], *giliavante* (Cait. 150,5. 6); femin. Ś. *padicchidavadi* (Viddhaś. 43,6); *nīdavadī* (Mallikām. 259,3).

§ 570. The particip. necessitatis in *-tavya* is not seldom built from the present stem: *haseavva*, *hasiavva* = *hasitavya* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39); AMg. JM. *hojavva* = *bhavitavya* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *hodavva*, JŚ. Ś. also *bhavidavva*, Mg. also *huvidavva* (§ 475. 476); JM. *acchijavva* (Dvār. 500,9; 501,8); Ś. *avagacchidavva* (Mṛcch. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *avagacchidavva* (Mṛcch. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *apucchiṭṭhiyavva* (Mudrār. 50,4); AMg. *pucchiyavva* = *praṣṭavya* (Sūyag. 986. 989. 992), *pucchejavva* (Kappas.), Ś. *pucchidavva* (Śak. 50,5; Hāsy. 27,13); AMg.

vigñicīyava from *vikṛt* (§ 485; Dasav. N. 646,3); M. *rūsiava* (H.); AMg. *pāsiyava* from *paś* (Paṇṇav. 667; Kappas.); Ś. *saṃtappidava* (Mṛcch. 94,3), *ṇaccidava* (Priyad. 19,11,12; 26,6; 27,5; Karp. 4,1); AMg. *paritāveṇyava* = *paritāpayitavya*, *uddaveṇyava* = *uddāvayitavya* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1), *dameṇyava* = *damayitavya* (Uttar. 19); Ś. *sumarāidava* (Priyad. 14,7); Ś. *āsīdava* (Priyad. 14,3); JM. *soyava* = *svaptavya* (Āv. 39,16), Ś. *suvidava* = *suidava* (Mṛcch. 90,20; Śāk. 29,7); Ś. *dādava* (Cait. 84,6,13; Jivān. 43,12,15; Priyad. 10,23), *suṇidava* (Mudrār. 227,6) beside *sodava* (Śāk. 121,10), M. *soavva* (R. 2,10), JM. *soyava* (Āv. 33,19) from *śru*; AMg. *bhīndiyava* (Paṇḥav. 363,537); AMg. *bhuñjīyava* (Vivāhap. 163), beside *bhoṭṭava* (Hc. 4,212; Kī. 4,78); AMg. *jāñiyava* (Paṇṇav. 666; Kappas.), *parijāñiyava* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); Ś. *jāñidava* (Priyad. 24,16); Mg. *yāñidava* (Lalitav. 565,7); JŚ. *ṇādava* (Kattig. 401,352; text °jā°); JŚ. *muṇedava* (Pav. 380,8; text °jā°); Ś. *geṇhidava* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9), whilst *ghṛt-tava* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210), AMg. *parigheṭṭava* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,5,5,5,4; Sūyag. 647 f. 699, 783, 789), *ogheṭṭava* (Kappas.) belong to *ghṛp (§ 212). According to Hc. 4,211 *vac* forms the particip. nec. *voṭṭava*, and so it stands in Ś. in Vikr. 23,15. But since in Ś. the infinitive is never *voṭṭum*, but always *vattum* (§ 574) we should read, with the ed. Bomb. 40,9 and the Drāviḍian recension 630,14 ed. PISCHEL = 39,4 ed. PANDIT, *vattava*, as stands also at Mṛcch. 153,15 and JM. AMg. have (ERZ.; Sūyag. 994, 996; Vivāhap. 139, 204; Kappas.; Ovav.). *voṭṭava* is to be assigned to M. — From *rud* is built *roṭṭava* according to Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212. M. *roiava* is found in the text (H.). From *kṛ* are built the forms M. *kāava* (Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; H. R.), AMg. JM. *kāyava* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Dasav. 630,11; Erz.), JŚ. Ś. *kādava* (Pav. 386,11 [text °jā°]; Lalitav. 554,6; Mṛcch. 166,4; 327,1; Vikr. 48,13; Prab. 11,7; Priyad. 11,10). Mg. *kādava* (Mṛcch. 161,7) = *kartavya* (§ 62). From *muc* Hc. 4,212 teaches *mōṭṭava* = *mokṭavya*. — In A. the endings are -iēvvañ, -ēvvañ -evā; kariēvvañ = *kartavyam*; mariēvvañ = *martavyam*; sahevvañ = *sodhavyam*; soevā = *svaptavyam*; jaggeevā = *jāgartavyam* (Hc. 4,438; cf. Kī. 5,52). -ēvva is to be considered as the basic form, to which goes back -evā, from which the extended formation is -ēvvañ, with the suffix -ka, nom. acc. neut. -kam. -ēvva is = Skt. -ēyya, with transition of *ya* into *va* certainly visible elsewhere in A too (§ 254). The participial meaning occurs in Vedic *stuṣēyya*, perhaps also *śapatheyyā*; cf. *didṛkṣeya*. According to Kī. 5,55 -evvañ is used also in the sense of the infinitive.

571. -aniya appears in M. JM. AMg. as -añijja, in Ś. Mg. as -añia, corresponding to the formation of the passive (§ 535; cf. 91); AMg. *pūjyañijja* (Kappas.; Ovav.), Ś. D. *pūañia* (Mṛcch. 28,7; 101,13); AMg. *vandañijja* (Uvās.; Kappas.), Ś. *vandañia* (Mṛcch. 66,17); M. AMg. JM. *karañijja* (H.; Āyār. 2,3,3,16; 2,4,2,5; Erz.), Ś. *karañia* (Vikr. 36,8; Nāgān. 4,15), false *karañijja* (Śāk. 2,5; Vikr. 43,6), where the v. l. has the correct *karañia* JM. *sārakkhañijja* (Āv. 28,16,17) = *saṃrakṣaṇiya*, Ś. *rakkhañia* (Śāk. 74,8); AMg. *darisañijja* (Āyār. 2,4,2,2; Ovav.), *daṃsañijja* (Uvās.; Ovav.), Ś. *daṃsañia* (Śāk. 132,6; Nāgān. 52,11). Yet stands in AMg. in Āyār. 2,4,2,2 *darisañijjam*, immediately beside *darisñie* (sic; ed. Calc. correct °sa°) and in § 4 *darisañyam*, Sūyag. 565 *darisañia* [sic], JM. *daṃsañio* (Erz. 60,17), M. *dūsahañio* (H. 363). On the other hand in Ś. Mg. very often the forms in -ijja, as Mg. *pālihalañijja* (Prab. 29,8), but ed. Bomb. 74,2; ed. P. p. 32 and ed. M. p. 37 rightly *pālihalañia*, as in Ś. *pariharañia* (Śāk. 52,15). In Mālav. 32,5 all the manuscripts have Ś. *sāhañijje*, at all other places in Mālav. the manuscripts waver (BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 223). Deviations from the rule, therefore, are simply the errors of manuscripts, as in the case of the passive, and are to be corrected. From the present stem

are built AMg. *vippajahanijja* (Nāyādh. § 138) and Ś. *pucchanā* (Mṛcch. 142,6).

§ 572. *-ya* is employed essentially as in Skt.: *kajja*, Mg. *kayya* = *kārya* in all the dialects very frequently; JM. *dullaṅgha* = *durlaṅghya* (Sagara 3,16); *dujjha* = *dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); JŚ. *neya*, JM. *neya* = *jñeya* (Pav. 381, 20; Erz.); AMg. *pejja* = *peya* (Uvās.; Dasav. 629,1), *kāyapijja* = *kākapeya* (Dasav. 628,41; so to be read), whilst *piḍḍha* (water; Deśin. 6,46; cf. Introduction p. 7; Triv. 2,1,30) = **piḍḍha* is derived from the present stem *piḍ-*; AMg. *bhāvva* = *bhāvya* (Kappas. § 17,22); AMg. *ānappa*, *vinnappa* = *ājñāpya*, *viññāpya* (Sūyag. 253. 256); AMg. *vacca* = *vācyā* (Sūyag. 553 ff.); AMg. *vojjha* from **vahya* = *vāhya* (§ 104; Nāyādh. § 65), therefore, from the present stem, as M. AMg. Ś. *gejjha* (Hc. 1,78; Karp. 29,4; 81,4; Jiv. 500; Bālar. 75,19), M. *hatthaggejjha* = *hastagrāhya* (R. 10,43), M. *dugghējjha* (R. 1,3; Sāhityadarpaṇa 332,13 = Kāvyaaprakāśa 330,8 [so according to the best manuscripts instead of *duḥkham jaṁ* of the edition] and often cited; Sarasvatik. 155,3 [text °jjam]; Acyutaś. 62 [text °gga°]), Ś. *anugejjha* (Mṛcch. 24,21), Mg. *duggeyya* (Caṇḍak. 42,8; text *duggejjā*, v. l. *duggea*), A. *duggejjha* (Erz. 76,19) = **grhya* from the present stem *grha-* (§ 512).

b) INFINITIVE.

§ 573. The formation of the inf. in *-tum* is distinguished from that of Skt. inasmuch as that in Pkt. the ending is added to the pure stem or to the present stem in *i*. So to the present stem: JM. *gāitum* (Erz.), Ś. *gāidum* = *gātum* (Mudrār. 43,2); Ś. *gacchidum* (Śak. 62,11), *anugacchidum* (Mudrār. 261,2) beside *gamidum* (Vṛṣabh. 19,11) and *gantum*, that is usual in all the dialects; JM. *piḍḍum* (Āv. 42,8) beside *pāum* (Āv. 42,8; 45,6), as also AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,3,7), M. (H. R.) and Ś. *pāidum* (Śak. 105, 14) have; Ś. *anuciṭṭhidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19) beside *ṭṭhidum* (Nāgān. 14,9) and JM. *uṭṭhiṭum* (Āv. 33,14); Mg. *khādum* (Mṛcch. 123,7) from **khādi* from **khādi* = *khādati*, beside JM. *khāitum* (Erz.), Ś. *khāidum* (Vikr. 25,19); JM. *ñihaniṭum* = *nikhātum* from *khan* (Erz. 66,2); *haseṭum* (Hc. 3,157) from the *e*-stem beside *hasiṭum*; M. *pucchiṭum* (Sarasvatik. 14,17), Ś. *pucchidum* (Mṛcch. 88,20; Mālav. 5,4. 17), Mg. *puṣcidum* (Caṇḍak. 42,9) = *praṣṭum*; M. *paḍimuṭṭhiṭum* (R. 14,2) beside *mōttum* = *moktum* (Hc. 4,212); M. *ṇacciṭum* (H.); M. *rūseṭum* (H.), at the same time according to the *e*-conjugation. On the inf. of *bhū* see § 401. 402. The verbs of the 10. class and the similarly built causatives and denominatives generally add *-tum* to the present stem in *-e*, *-ve*: M. *jāṇāveṭum*, *ñivāheṭum* = *nivāhayitum*, *pasāveṭum* = *prasādayitum*, *laṅgheṭum* = *laṅghayitum* (H.); AMg. *vāreṭum* = *vārayitum* (Sūyag. 178); *parikaheṭum* = *parikahayitum* (Ovav. § 183); *paribhāveṭum* = *paribhāyayitum* (Nāyādh. § 124); JŚ. *cāledum* = *cālayitum* (Kattig. 400,322); Ś. *kāmedum* = *kāmayitum* (Māla-tim. 235,3), *kāredum* (Mudrār. 46,9), *dhāredum* (Mṛcch. 166,14; 326,12), *daṁsedum* = *darśayitum* (Mudrār. 81, 4); Mg. *aṅgikalāvedum*, *śośāvedum*, *soḍhāvedum*, *poṣṭāvedum*, *luṇāvedum* (Mṛcch. 126,10; 140,9). More seldom is the uncontracted form: Ś. *ñiattāidum* = *nivartayitum* (Vikr. 46,17), *iḍḍāidum* (Mālav. 44,16), *sabhājāidum* (Śak. 98,8), *sussūsāidum* (Mālav. 29,12); Mg. *mālaidum* (Mṛcch. 164,19). On the other hand, from the *a*-stem (§ 491) are frequently derived: M. *dhāriṭum* (H.), Ś. *dhāridum* (Vikr. 15,3; 40,7); Ś. *māridum* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 146,8), Mg. *mālidum* (Mṛcch. 170,2) beside *māledum* (Mṛcch. 158,24), JM. *māreṭum* (Erz. 1,25); M. *vaṇṇiṭum* = *vaṇṇayitum*, *veāriṭum* = *vitārayitum* (H.); AMg. *saṁvedum* (Āyār. p. 137,18); JM. *cintum*, *paḍibohiṭum*, *vāhiṭum* (Erz.); Ś. *kadhidum* (Śak. 101,

9; 144,12), *avatthāvidum* = *avasthāpayitum* (Uttarar. 112,9), *ñivedidum* (Śak. 51,3); Mg. *paśtidum* = *prārthayitum* (Lalitav. 566,8).

§ 574. Examples of the 2. conjugation are : *paccācakkhidum* = **pratyācāṣtum* (Śak. 104,8); Ś. *avaciñedum* (Lalitav. 561,8) beside M. *uccum* (H.); JM. *pāveum* = *prāptum* (Erz.); Ś. *suñidum* (Vikr. 26,5; Mudrār. 38,2; Venis. 99,6; Anarghar. 61,6; 110,4), beside M. AMg. JM. *soum* (H.; Āyār. p. 136,14; Erz. as absol. § 576); Ś. *bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21) beside M. AMg. *bho'ttum* = *bhoktum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc.4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; Nāyādh. § 124; Dasav. N. 649,16); AMg. *ubbhindum* (Dasav. 620,15) beside *bhē'ttum* (Dasav. 634,9); Ś. *jāñidum* (Lalitav. 567,18; Śak. 119,2; Ratn. 309,22) beside JM. *nām* (Erz.; as absol. § 576), Ś. *viññādam* (Vikr. 24,13); AMg. *giñhum* (Nirayāv. § 20; as absol. § 576), JM. *geñhum* (Erz.), Ś. *geñhidum* (Mr̥chh. 94,12) beside M. *gahiūm* (H.), whilst M. *ghē'ttum* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210; R.) belongs to **ghr̥p* (§ 512); Ś. *anubandhidum* (Mālav. 6,18) beside M. *bandheum* (citation under Hc. 1,181).—From *rud* the inf. is M. *ro'ttum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; H.), but Ś. *rodidum* (Śak. 80,8); from *vid* according to Vr. 8,55 *vē'ttum*; from *vac* in M. JM. AMg. *vo'ttum* (Hc. 4,211; H.; Erz.; Dasav. N. 646,21), but in Ś. *vattum* (Śak. 22,2; 50,9; Vikr. 30,2; 47,1); *svap* forms in M. *sō'ttum*=*svāptum* (H.), in JM. *soum* (Dvār. 501,7) from **sotum* of *sovaī* (§ 497); *kr* has in M. JM. AMg. *kām*=*kartum* (§ 62; Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 30,10; Dasav. N. 644,28), M. *paḍikām* (H.); Ś. *kādam* (Lalitav. 561,13; Mr̥chh. 59,25; Śak. 24,12; Vikr. 29,14; Karp. 41,6; Venis. 12,6) and *karidum* (Śak. 144,12); Mg. *kādam* (Mr̥chh. 123,7).

§ 575. Deviating from Skt., from the *i*-stem are formed : M. JM. *mariūm* = *martum* (H.; Erz.), Ś. *maridum* (Ratn. 316,5; 317,15; Caṇḍak. 93,9); JM. *pariharium* (Erz. 58,24), Ś. *viharidum* (Vikr. 52,6), beside M. *vāhatum* = *vyāhartum* (R. 11,116); JM. *samākariśum* = *samākraṣtum* (Dvār. 498,31); M. *ukkhivium* = *utkseptum* (H.), Ś. *khividum* (Vikr. 25,16), *nikkhi-vidum* (Mr̥chh. 24,22); M. JM. *dahiūm* (R.; Erz.), Ś. *dahidum* (Śak. 72,12) = *dagdhum*; JM. *saṁdhiūm* = *saṁdhātum* from the present **saṁdhai* (§ 500), Ś. *anusamdhidum* (Mr̥chh. 5,4); Ś. *ramidum* = *rantum*, *ahiramidum* = *abhirantum* (Mr̥chh. 28,4; 75,2).

§ 576. In AMg. the form in *-tum* is considerably seldom. In addition to the forms referred to in the foregoing paragraphs may be mentioned: *ñivium* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1); *adaṭṭhum*, *agghām*, *aṇāsām* (Āyār. p. 136,22.31; p. 137,7); *anusāsium* (Sūyag. 59); *dām* = *dātum* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,5,1,10; Uvās. § 58; Nāyādh. § 124); *anuppadām*=*anupradātum* (Uvās. § 58) = JŚ. *dādam* (Kattig. 403,380; text *dām*); *bhāsium* = *bhāsitum*, *pavium* = *plavitum* (Sūyag. 476. 531. 508). Most of these inf. stand in verses. More frequently the form is used as absolutive : *ujjhium* in the sense of *ujjhita* (Sūyag. 676); *tarium* (Sūyag. 950); *gantum* (Sūyag. 178; Āyār. 2,4,2,11.12; Kappas. S. § 10); *daṭṭhum*=*draṣtum* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; Sūyag. 150); *niddē'thum* = *nirdeṣtum* (Dasav. N. 643,38); *laddhum* = *labdhum* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,2,5,3; p. 15,32; Sūyag. 289.550; Uttar. 157. 158. 169. 170; Dasav. 631,26; 636,20); *bhittum* = *bhē'ttum* (Kappas. § 40); *kām* = *kartum* (Sūyag. 84; Dasav. N. 643,34), *puraokām* (Nandis. 146; Kappas. S. § 46. 48; Ovay. § 25.126); *āhantum* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); *parighē'ttum* (Paphāv. 489. 495), *gaheum* (Sūyag. 296). Prevalently is used the form in this meaning too in verses, but it is not restricted to AMg., but is used frequently in JM. too, more seldom in M. as absol.¹. Hc. teaches thus *daṭṭhum*, *mo'ttum* (2,146), *ramium* (3,136), *ghē'ttum* (4,210). Examples from JM. are: *gantum* (Āv. 7,31; Erz. 5,22;

Kk. II, 508,18); *daṭṭhum* (Āv. 24,4; Kk. III, 510,31. 38); *jīṇiṇiṇi* = *jetum* (Āv. 36,42); *kahiṇi* = *kathayitum* (Erz. 7,11); *kaddheṇi* (Erz. 74,30); *ṭhaviṇi* = *sthāpayitum* (Erz. 7,5); *viheṇi* = *vidhātum* (Kk. s. v.); *souṇi* = *śrotum* (Erz. 2,9; 11,34; 12,5; Kk. s. v.); *kāṇi* (Āv. 7,17); *nāṇi* = *jñātum* (Erz. 12,11); *ghēṭṭum* = **ghṛptum* (Āv. 22,29; 23,7; 31,7). M. has: *paliviṇi* = *pradīpayitum*; *bhaṇiṇi*; *bhariṇi*, *mōṭṭum*; *valiṇi*; *lahiṇi*; *pāviṇi* (H. 33. 298. 307. 334. 360. 364. 484. 490. 516. 595); *jāṇiṇi* = *jñātum* (R. 14, 48). The form can be derived from the absol. in *-āṇa* (§ 586), therefore, *kāṇi* can be traced back to *kāṇa*, with dropping off of the *a*, as in A. *putṭem* = *putreṇa*. The similar change of meaning in A. (§ 579), however, makes it probable that in fact dialectically the inf. has been used as the absolutive, as reversely the absol. too is employed as the infinitive (§ 585. 588. 590).

I. WEBER, Bhag. I,433; H.¹ p. 66.

§ 577. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, there stands the inf. in *-tu* before *kāma* and *manas*: AMg. *akkhaviṇiṇi* = *ākṣeptukāma*, *giṇhiṇi* = *grāhīṇi*, *uddāleukāma* = *uddālayitukāma* (Nirayāv. § 19), *jivīukāma* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,3), *vāsiukāma* = *varṣitukāma* (Thāp. 155), *pāukāma* (from *pā* "to drink"; Nāyādh. 1430), *jāṇiukāma*, *pāsiukāma* (Paṇṇav. 666. 667), *samṭhaviṇiṇi* (Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20; Dasav. 634,39); JM. *paḍibhiṇi* = *pratibodhayitukāma* (Erz. 3,37), *kaddhiṇi* (Dvār. 506,36); Ś. *jivīukāma* (Mudrār. 233,3), *vattukāma*, *ālihiṇi* (Śak. 130,11; 133,11), *vinṇaviṇi* (Mahāv. 103,9), *sikkhiṇi* (Mṛcch. 51,24), *paṇamjivīukāma* = *pramārṣitukāma* (Vikr. 38,18), *daṭṭhiṇi* (Mālatim. 72,2; 85,3); *tāḍiṇi* = *tāḍayitumanāḥ* (Karp. 70,7). It is used independently too with the entry of the suffix *-ka*: *ālēddhuṇi* = **ālegdhukam* = *āledhum* (§ 303; Hc. 1,24; 2,164); AMg. *aladdhuṇi* = **aladdhukam*, in the sense of the absol. (Dasav. 636,19). This last form makes it apparent that the forms in *-ṭtu*, *-ittu*, used as the absol. too in AMg. JM., are originally infinitive, therefore, do not go back to Skt. *-tvā*, which regularly appears as *-ttā* (§ 582). So AMg.: *kaṭṭu* = *kartu*^o in the sense of *krtvā* (Hc. 2,146; Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 2,1,3,2. 1,1; 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9. 2,21. 3,15. 16; Sūyag. 288. 358; Bhag.¹; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Dasav. 631,29; 641,37 etc.); *paraokaṭṭu* (Ovav.); *avaḥaṭṭu* = *apahartu*^o (Āyār. 2,6, 2,1; Sūyag. 233; Ovav.; Bhag.); *abhihaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,6,2,2), *ahaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; 1,7,2,1. 2. 3; 1,7,7,2; 1,8,2,12; 2,1,1,11; 2,1,2,4; 2,1,5,5. 6,4), *samāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 410), *appāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 582), *nihaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,6,2,2), *uddhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Sūyag. 222. 243), *sāhaṭṭu* = *samhartu*^o (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Vivāhap. 237. 254; Vivāgas. 90. 121. 144. 157; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nirayāv. etc.); *adaṭṭu* = *adrasṭu*^o (Kappas. S. § 19; so to be read); *ṇandittu* (Kappas.); *caṭṭu* = *tyaktu*^o (Uttar. 45. 411); *sahēṭṭu* (Dasav. 614,27); *paṇisittu* = *praveṣṭu*^o (Dasav. 631,5); *āṭṭu* from *ādriyate* (Āyār. 1,4,1,3; commentary = *ādāya*, *grhīṭā*); *tarittu* = *taritū*^o, **khavittu* = *ksapayitū*^o (Dasav. 636,3,4); *paṇamjittu* = *pramārṣṭu*^o (Dasav. 630,20); *viṇaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2); *wasamkamittu* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 3; 1,7,3,3); *viyāhittu* from *vijahāi* from *kā* (§ 500; Āyār. 1,1,3,2); *suṇittu* = *śrotu*^o (Dasav. 642, 16); *durūhittu* (Sūyag. 293); *chindittu*, *bhuñjittu* (Dasav. 640,21; 641,36); *jāṇittu* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 1,2,4,2; 1,4,1,3; 1,5,2,2; 1,6,2,1; Dasav. 630,34). — JM. *gantu* (Kk. II, 506,34); *kaddhittu* (Erz. 10,38); *paṇamittu*, *ṭhavitṭu* = *sthāpayitū*^o, *vandittu* (Kk. 260,11; 268,4; 276,7); *uttarittu* (Kk. 506,25; 511,7); *jāṇittu*, *paṇadittu* = *prakaṭayitū*^o, *thunittu* = *stotu*^o (Kk. III, 514,16. 17. 20); *viñhittu* = *vinidhātū*^o (Erz. 72,23), almost exclusively in verses. The duplication of *t*, since in the inf. it goes back to AMg. *-ttae* = *-tave* (§ 478), can hardly be explained from dependence upon the absol. in *-ttā*

= -*tvā*. Earlier the forms, in which reduplication must enter on phonetic grounds, such as *kaṭṭu*, *sāhaṭṭu*, had been of influence or there occurred a shifting of the accent. Cf. § 578.

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433 f.

§ 578. In AMg. the most usual form of the inf. is that in *-ttae*, *-ittae*. Infinitive like *pāyae* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2; 2,1,9,1. 2; 2,1,10,7; 2,2,2,2; 2,6,1,10; 2,7,2,4. 5. 6; Nāyādh. § 144; Ovav. § 96) = Vedic *pātave* beside *pivittae* (Ovav. § 80. 98), *bho'ttae* (Āyār.; Nāyādh. 1. c.; Ovav. § 96; Sūyag. 430) = Vedic **bho'tkave* beside *bhuñjittae* (Ovav. § 86), *vatthae* (Āyār. 2,2, 2,10; Kappas. S. § 62) = Vedic *vāstave* [in AMg., however, from *vas* "to live"] make it certain that one has not to think with WEBER¹ about the Vedic absolutive in *-tadya*, but rather with E. MÜLLER² about the Vedic inf. in *-tave* occurring in Pāli and in the Lepa-dialect, in which the ending enters also into the *i*- and *ī*- stems : *dvītave*, *carītave*, *srāvītave*, *dhāvītave*³. The duplication of *t* points to the accent on the final (§ 194). Consequently one may more correctly base the infinitive on *-tavaī*, which in the Veda has a double accent. AMg. *ittae* (Kappas. S. § 27) is hence to be equated as = Vedic *e'tavaī*, likewise *pāyave* = *pātavaī*; with *gamittae* is compared Vedic *yāmitavaī*, with *piñidhattae* (Ovav. § 79) Vedic *dātavaī*. This inf. is prevalently formed from the present stem: *ho'ttae* (Kappas. S. § 53) beside *pāubbhavitae* (Vivāhap.; Nāyādh.) from *bhū*; *viharittae* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.); *sumarittae*, *sarittae* (Āyār. p. 135,17. 20); *tarittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); *uttarittae* (Nāyādh. 1339; Ovav. § 96; *paricacittae* (Uvās. § 95); *gacchittae* (Ovav. § 79), *āgacchittae* (Thān. 155), *uvāgacchittae* (Kappas.), beside *gamittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Bhag.); *ciñhittae* (Vivāhap. 513; Kappas.); beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1ff.; Kappas.); *nisūttae* from *sad* with *ni* (Vivāhap. 513); *anulimpittae* (Ovav. § 79); *pucchittae* (Bhag.; Nāyādh.); *pāsittae* (Nāyādh.); *kahāittae* (Āyār. p. 135,6); *dūñjittae* from *dūtaya*- (Kappas.; Thān. 365); *pariñhāvittae* (Kappas.); *abhisiñcāvittae* (Nirayāv.); *pūraitae* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); *āghavittae* from *ākhyāpaya*- (Nāyādh.); *dhāritae* (Āyār. 1,7,1; 2,5,2,5); *dhārettae* (Āyār. 2,5,2,3); *esittae* (Āyār. 2,2,3,14. 18); *āsāittae*, *saūttae* from *śi* (Vivāhap. 513); *padisūñettae* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), *dhunūttae* (Sūyag. 139); *bhañjittae* (Uvās.); *bhindūttae* (Vivāhap. 1228); *viuvūttae* from *kṛ* with *vi* (Bhag.), beside *karittae*, *karēttae* (Ovav. § 79.85; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Kappas.); *gūñhūttae*, *ge*^o (Bhag.; Nirayāv.; Ovav. § 86); *jāgarūttae* (Kappas.).

1. Bhag. 1,434; *pavāūttae* is a false reading. — 2. Beitrage p. 61. — 3. DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum § 203.

§ 579. In A., according to Hc. 4,441, the inf. has the endings *-ana*, *-anahā*, *-anahī*, *-evā*. Kī. 5,55 teaches *-evi*, *-ēppi*, *-ēppinu*, *-anam*, *-aūm*, *-ēvavūm*. Cf. § 570. 588. The infinitive in *-ana* are clearly infinitively used nouns in *-ana*, from which *-anahā*, according to the form is the genitive plural, and *-anahī* the loc. sing. plur. or the ins. plur. So: *ēcchana* = *eṣtum* from *iṣ* (to wish; Hc. 4,353); *karana* = *kartum* (Hc. 4,441,1); also with the suffix *-ka* in *akkhāṇaū* = *ākhyātum*, properly = *ākhyānakam* (Hc. 4,350,1); *bhuñjanahā* and *bhuñjanahī* (Hc. 4,441,1); *lahanaṁ* (Kī. 5,55). — *evam* is found in *devam* = *dātum* (Hc. 4,441,1). It is clearly derived from the present stem *de* = *daya*- (§ 474) with the ending *-vaṁ*, which goes back to *-vana* = Vedic *-vane*, so that *devam* may correspond to Vedic *dāvāne*. Someday when more examples will be available we may become certain about this form. An inf. in *-tu* is *bhañjiu* (Hc. 4,395,5), which is derived from the present stem of *bhañj* in active meaning, as also elsewhere in A. (§ 550), in case *bhañjiu* = *bhañjiu* is not read with one of the Pūṇā manuscripts. The inf. stands in the sense of the absol. (Hc. 4,439),

as reversely many forms of the absol. are used in the sense of the inf. (§ 588). Kī. 5,55 has *lahaiṃ* [text *lahatūṃ*].

§ 580. Pkt. has a peculiar infinitive of the passive¹: M. *disiṃ* from *disai* = *dr̥syate* (R. 4,51; 8,30), *ghēppūṃ* from *ghēppai* = **gh̥pyate* (R. 7, 71), *āhammiṃ* from *hammai* from *han* (§ 540; R. 12,45); J.M. *dijjiṃ* from *dijjai* = *diyate* (Erz. 6,7). Besides there stands AMg. *marijjiṃ* from *mriyate* (Dasav. 624,40) beside the usual *marūṃ*, Ś. *maridūṃ* (§ 575). On A. *bhajjiṃ* see § 579.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 28,491 ff.

ABSOLUTIVE.

§ 581. The distinction, that Skt. makes in the use of the absolutiva in *-tvā*, and *-ya*, is not maintained in Pkt. The suffixes enter likewise into the verbs with and without prefixes. *-tvā* is, however, not used in M., and in Ś. Mg. Dh. it is limited to the two absolutives *kadua* from *kṛ* and *gadua* from *gam*, which according to Vr. 12,10; Kī. 5,74.75; Mk. fol. 68 must always be used in Ś., with which the texts are in accord¹. So Ś. *kadua* (Mṛcch. 72,6; 74,6. 9; 77,25; 78,9; 95,8; Śak. 20,6; 33,3; 54,2; 77,13; 140,6; Vikr. 15,8; 44,10; 45,20; 52,11. 21; 84,2 etc.); Ś. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 2,17; 51,4; 53,15; 74,24 etc.; Śak. 23,7; Vikr. 16,18; 30,3). Hc. 4,272 and Sr. fol. 61 permit in Ś. *karia* and *karidūṃ*, *gacchia* and *gacchidūṃ* from which also *karia* and *gacchia* are found in bad texts², *karidūṃ*, which will belong to JŚ. (§ 21). It is doubtful whether *gacchia* and *karia* are not emended in composita: *ācchia* (Ratn. 308,30); *āgacchia* (Venīs. 35,21); *samāgacchia* (Mudrār. 44,5); *alamkaria* (Mṛcch. 150,13). However, we find also *āadua* (Cait. 128,13; Mallikām. 225,1); *āgadua* (Mallikām. 153,24; 177,21); *niggadua* (Mallikām. 215,5; 226,10; 229,15. 20), all admittedly in later bad texts. The two forms are peculiar to Mg. too. So *kadua* (Mṛcch. 19,6; 81,13; 108,17; 115,2 etc.; Śak. 133,7; Mudrār. 193,8 etc.); Mg. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 40,10 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 43,12; 118,22; 136,21; 164,10; Śak. 116,9 etc.), likewise in Dh. (Mṛcch. 36,22). At Mṛcch. 132,25 stands in Mg. *gacchia*, for which we should in any case read *gascia* with the v. l.; at 127,5 all the MSS. have Mg. *gaḍia*, which is to be equated as = **gatya*. All the MSS. of Hc. too have cerebralisation in 4,272. 302, according to which *kaḍua*, *gaḍua* would be established. Since, however, Triv. and Sr. teach *kadua* and *gadua* it is a pure case of error of writing. The forms are traced back to **kdduvā*, **gdduvā* with a separation vowel and weakening of the final *ā* (§ 113. 139). On *kāūṇa*, *ācchiūṇa*, *āgantūṇa* and others see § 584.

1. FISCHER, KB. 6,140. — 2. FISCHER, l. c. — At Mālav. at 67,15 E rightly has *gadua*.

§ 582. The suffix *-tvā*, Pkt. *-tā*, after nasals *-tā*, forms the most usual absol. in AMg.; in JŚ. too this form is frequent and in JM. not seldom¹. Generally the ending enters into the present stem: all that has been remarked under the infinitive is valid in sporadic cases. So: AMg. *vandittā* (Hc. 2,146; Ovav. § 20; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Bhag. etc.); *vasittā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); *caittā* = **tyajitvā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1; Ovav. § 23; Uttar. 450. 517. 541); *avakkamittā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2); *gantā* = Pāli *gantvā* (Ovav. § 153) beside *āgamēttā* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), *ayugacchittā* (Kappas.), *uvāgacchittā* (Vivāhap. 236*; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *niggacchittā*, *paṇiniggacchittā* (Nirayāv.); *vantā* = *vāntvā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4; 1,6,5,5; 2,4,2,19; Sūyag. 321); *bhavittā* (Vivāhap. 844; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *jinitā* (Sūyag. 929); *uvanēttā* = **upanītvā* (Sūyag. 896); *pivittā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,1); *uṭṭhittā* (Nirayāv.), *abbhuṭṭhittā* (Kappas.);

pāsittā (Rāyap. 21; Sūyag. 734; Ovav. § 54, p. 59, 15; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); *nijjhāittā* = **nidhyātvā* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); *mujiittā* (Vivāhap. 508); *omujiittā* (Kappas.) from *muc*; *āpucchittā* (Uvās.); *anāpucchittā* (Kappas.) from *pracch*; *lumpittā*, *vilumpittā*³ (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; 1,2,5,6; cf. Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *agulimpittā* (Jiv. 610); *mantā* = *matvā* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1; 1,3,1,3; Sūyag. 403. 493 [so to be read throughout]); *uttāsāittā* = **uttrāsāyitvā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); *vicchaddāittā*, *vigovāittā*, *jaṇāittā* (Ovav.); *āmanteṭṭā* (Sūyag. 578); *āphālittā* = **āsphālayitvā* (Sūyag. 728); *paḡappaṭṭā* = **prakalpayitvā* (Sūyag. 935); *ṭhavēṭṭā* = *stihāpayitvā* (Āyār. 2,7,1,5; p. 129, 16; Uvās.); *sikkhāveṭṭā*, *sehāveṭṭā* = **śikṣāpayitvā*, **śaikṣā*^o; *saddāveṭṭā* = *saddāpayitvā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *anupālittā*, *nivesittā* (Kappas.); *ahittā* = **adhūtvā* = *ādhyā* (Sūyag. 463); *vidittā* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1; 1,2,6,2); *saṃhūñittā* from *stu* (Jiv. 612); *hantā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 5,6; Sūyag. 358. 676. 716 ff.; Kappas.); *parihittā* (Sūyag. 239); *paripihēṭṭā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,27), **hittā* (Kappas.), *paḡdipihittā* (Sūyag. 728; text °pe^o) from *dhā* with *pari*, and *pari*, *prati* + *pi*; *jahittā* (Uttar. 753); *vippha-jahittā* (Āyār. p. 125, 1; Uttar. 881) from *hā*; *hunittā* (Vivāhap. 910) from *hu* (to offer); *pāṇiittā* from *āp* with *pra* (Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 135. 235. 968. 969; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1225; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *sunittā* (Uvās.), *paḡdisunittā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *avidhūñittā* (Sūyag. 859); *cheṭṭā*, *bhēṭṭā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; 1,2,5,6; Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *viuuvittā* (Bhag.; Kappas.) beside *karēṭṭā*, *karittā* (Āyār. 2,15,5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *jāñittā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1. 3,1. 4,2; 1,6,5,2; Dasav. 630, 40), *aparjāñittā* (Thāp. 42), *vi jāñittā* (Dasav. N. 653, 14; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *jñā*; *kiñittā* (Sūyag. 609) from *krī*; *abhigñihittā* (Āyār. 2,15,24), *ogñihittā* (Ovav.), *paḡñihittā* (Nāyādh.) from *grah*. Examples from JM. are: *gantā* (Āv. 42,7); *cadittā* (Āv. 29,1); *karisittā* = *krṣṭvā* (Āv. 28,2); *laṅghittā* (Erz.); *vandittā* (Kk.; Erz.); *melittā* (Kk.); *uṭṭhēṭṭā* (Āv. 10,41); *ñhāittā* (Āv. 38,2); *ussā-ritṭā*, *ullēṭṭā* = *ārdayitvā*, *ṭhavittā*, *bhuñjāveṭṭā*, *mārēṭṭā*, *veḍḍhēṭṭā* (Erz.); *paḡḡgāhēṭṭā*, *pāēṭṭā* = *pāyayitvā*, *vāhittā* (Āv. 9,3; 30,9; 38,6); *vinnavittā* (Kk.); *nevaccēṭṭā* = **nepathayitvā* (Āv. 26,27); *āhañittā* (Āv. 29,5); *paccakkhāittā* = **pratyākhyāyitvā* (Erz.); *sumēṭṭā* (Āv. 7,33; Erz.); *bhuñjittā* (Erz.); *jāñittā* (Kk.); *giñhittā* (Sagara 2,17; Kk.).—According to Hc. 4,271 in Ś. the forms in -*ṭṭā* too would be permissible, as *bhōṭṭā* = *bhuktvā*, *hōṭṭā* = *bhūtvā*, *paḡhittā* = *paḡhitvā*, *rantā* = *ratvā*. But they are altogether strange to the common Ś⁴. On the other hand they are frequent in JŚ., to which the rule of Hc. may refer (§ 21). So: *cattā* = *tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *namamasittā* = *namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6); *ālocittā* = **ālocayitvā* (Pav. 386, 11); *nirūñjhittā* = *nirudhya* (Pav. 386, 70); *nihañittā* = *nihatya* (Kattig. 401, 339); *jāñittā* = *jñātvā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *vi jāñittā* = *vi jñā* (Pav. 387, 21); *bandhittā* = *baddhvā* (Kattig. 402, 355). On AMg. *dissā*, *dissam*, *dissa* = *dṛṣṭvā*, *paḡdissā* = **pradṛṣṭvā* see § 334.

1. The statement of JACOBI (Erz. § 61), that this absol. has rare use in JM., is wrong. Some of the forms in Erz. stand, of course, at the places, that are written in AMg., but yet there remain sufficiently others, as the above list shows, that can be multiplied easily.—2. The manuscripts indicate the absolute very frequently only through *ṭṭā* behind the verbum finitum (WEBER, Bhag. 1,382). So here *uvāgacchanti ṭṭā*, which is to be read as *uvāgacchittā*. The editor of Vivāhap. has misunderstood this and he gives the forms as *uvāgacchantittā*, *nigacchantittā*, *bandhanittā*, *edantittā* (236), *saṃpeheittā* (152), *pāsāittā* (156), *āruheittā* (172), yet *vipphajahāmittā* behind *vipphajahāmi* (1231. 1242 ff.), *anupphavisāmittā* behind *anupphavisāmi* (1242 ff.) etc. So also *pāṇanittā* (Sūyag. 771). Such forms are silently emended above.—3. The commentators see in these analogous forms in Āyār. and Sūyag. often nomina agentis in -*ṭṭ*. In some places one may be in doubt whether they are correct or not, when Phonetics does not present any difficulty.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 4,271.

§ 583. In addition to the absolutive in *-tā* AMg. has an absol. in *-ttānam*, which presupposes one Vedic **-tvānam*¹: *bhavittānam* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.), *pāubbhavittānam* (Uvās.); *vasittānam* (Kappas. § 227); *anuparijattittānam* = **anuparivartitvānam* (Ovav. § 136; Bhag.); *abhinivattittānam* (Sūyag. 593 ff.); *duruhittānam* (Ovav. § 79, II. III); *caittānam* = **tyajitvānam* (Ovav. § 169, Uttar. 12. 217. 294. 539. 576); *pāsittānam* from *paśya-* (Vivāhap. 942. 1322; Nirayāv. § 7; Nāyādh. § 22. 23. 24. 44. 46 ff.; Kappas. § 3. 5. 6. 31. 32. 47. 70. 74 ff. 87. p. 96; Nandis. 169); *ciṣṭittāna*, metrically for **nam* (Dasav. 622,28); *āpucchittānam* (Kappas. S. § 48); *phusittānam* from *sprś* (Ovav. § 131. 140; Bhag.); *sampajjittānam* (Bhag.), *uvasampajjittānam* (Kappas. S. § 50; Ovav. § 30; VI; Bhag.; Uvās.); *jhūsittānam* (Thān. 56); *padivajjittānam* (Āyār. 2,1,11,11); *āyāmēttānam* (Sūyag. 681); *vidittānam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,2); *sampihittānam* = **sāmpidhitvānam* = *sāmpidhāya* (Samav. 81; text **pa*°); *sānwidhunittānam* (Ovav. § 23); *karēttānam* (Dasav. 614,27); *oginittānam* (Kappas. S. § 9; Uvās.), *paḡinittānam*, *sāḡinittānam* (Nāyādh.) *caittānam* in JM. (Kk. 272,11) stands clearly in a metrical quotation in AMg.

1. The form *pitvānam* referred to by the European grammarians (BENFEY, Vollst. Gr. § 914, VI, 3; WEBER, Bhag. 1,423; WHITNEY¹, § 993c) rests, as already noted by WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. XXIV, note 3, on a printing error in the annotation of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini 7,1,48. The Kāśikā rightly has *pitvinam*. That *nam* is not an appended particle, as meant by WEBER l. c., Hāla¹ p. 66 f., today no more needs to be pressed forward. In the AMg. texts published by JACOBI, and partly in those published by LEUMANN too, therefore, the *nam* printed separately is to be combined with the preceding absol. That has rightly already been perceived by STEVENSON, Kalpa Sūtra p. 143).

§ 584. Instead of *-ttānam* is found according to the grammarians also *-tuānam* from **-tuānam* = **-tvānam* (§ 139) and with loss of the nasal *-tuāna*: *kāuānam* (Hc. 1,27); *haseuānam*, *hasiūānam*, *ghēttuānam* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *kāuāna* (Hc. 1,27; Sr. fol. 59); *souāna*, *bhēttuāna* (Hc. 2,146); *haseuāna*, *hasiūāna*, *vōttuāna*, *rottuāna*, *bhōttuāna*, *daṭṭhuāna* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *ghēttuāna* (Hc. 4,210; Sr. fol. 59). Such forms have not yet been found in the texts. On the other hand, the suffix in the forms *-tūnam*, *-ūnam* and particularly in *-tūna*, *-ūna*, JŚ. *-dūna*, P. *-tūna* builds the most usual absol. in M. JM. JŚ. P., that is found in AMg. too, particularly in verses (§ 585. 586). According to Hc. 4,271. 272 *-dūna* would be existing in Ś. too: *bhodūna*, *hodūna*, *paḡhidūna*, *randūna*, *karidūna*, *gacchidūna*. In fact in Ś. and Mg. we find in many dramas the forms in *-tūna*, *-ūna* (seldom in *-dūna*, as would be expected for *-ūna*). So Ś. *āaccahiūna*, *peḷkhiūna*, *kāriūna* (Lalitav. 568,1.2.5), *kāūna* (Vikr. 41,11; 84,8; Mālatim. 236,2 [°u°]; ed. Madras *kādūna*), *āgantūna* (Mālatim. 363,7; text **attū* ed. Madras. *°ndū*), *ghēttūna* (Karp. 7,6; Mallikām. 57,19; 159,9 [text *ghakkūna*]; 177,21; 191,16 [text *ghēkkūna*]; 219,13 [text *ghakkūna*]; 229,8 [text *ghēkkūna*]) and *ghēūna* (Mālatim. 149,4; v.1 *ghēttūna*; ed. Madras *ghattūna*), *daṭṭhūna* (Cait. 38,7), *dāūna* (Jivān. 18,2) etc.; Mg. *paviṣiūna* (Lalitav. 566,7). In several Indian editions of dramas, as in Cait.; Mallikām.; Kāleyak.; Jivān., such forms are met with at every step. In verses probably they are correct, as in Mg. *ghēttūna* (Mṛcch. 22,8) and certainly in Ā. D. *bhēttūna* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5), D. *hantūna* (Mṛcch. 105,22; so to be read). Elsewhere according to the testimony of the best texts and MSS. they are false in Ś. Mg., as also in Mālatim. 236,2 B rightly has *kadua*. Somedeva and Rājasekhara mix up the dialects with one another (§ 11. 22). JŚ. has the absol. in *-dūna*: *kādūna*, *ṇedūna*, *jāidūna*, *gamidūna*, *gahidūna*, *bhuṭjāvidūna*, for which the texts mostly falsely have *-ūna* instead of *-dūna* (§ 21). The statement of Hc. on Ś. refers to JŚ. here as well.

§ 585. The ending *-tūṇaṃ, -ūṇaṃ* is found pro ex in PG. *kātūṇaṃ* = **kartvāṇaṃ* (6,10, 29) = AMg. JM. *kāūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 645,25; Āv. 9,18; 27,18; 31,14,15; Erz. 72,4; 78,3) beside JM. *viuvvūṇaṃ* (Āv. 31,13); PG. *nātūṇaṃ* = **jñātūṇaṃ* (6,39) = AMg. JM. *nāūṇaṃ* (Ovav. § 23; Erz. 85, 12); M. *uccariūṇaṃ* (G. 260), *roṭtūṇaṃ* (H. 869); *ghēṭtūṇaṃ* (Vajjālagga 324,25); AMg. *uvaūñjiūṇaṃ, hoūṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 550. 1281); *namūṇaṃ, paṇṇaveūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 643,33.35), *bandhiūṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 274. 292); JM. *gantūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,24; 75,31; 76,10; 77,32; 78,9.11; Dvār. 506,16); *bhareūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,13), *hoūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,14), *ṇhaviūṇaṃ, dāūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,30), *daṭṭhūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,11; 13,3; 25,17.39; Erz. 79,6.21; 82,18), *paribhamiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 74,34), *jampiūṇaṃ, paḥjampiūṇaṃ* = **prajalpitvāṇaṃ* (Erz. 83,2; 79,15; 85,28), *viheūṇaṃ* = **vidhayitvāṇaṃ* = *vidhāya* (Kk. 267,16), *nisuṇiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,18) beside *soūṇaṃ* (Kk. 260,17), *chindiūṇaṃ* (Āv. 37,40), *bhuñjiūṇaṃ* (Dvār. 500,36). The form in *-ūṇaṃ*, which is considered as the older one, stands sometimes immediately beside that in *-ūṇa*, in prose before *ca*, as JM. *bhañiūṇa āpucchiūṇa ... gantūṇaṃ ca* (Dvār. 496,18), *bhañjiūṇaṃ ca... giñhiūṇa* (Dvār. 500,29), in verses on metrical grounds, as JM. *nimantiūṇaṃ gantūṇa* (Erz. 80,23), *pe cchiūṇa kumaro hasiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 82,8). In the sense of the inf. stands *maḥiūṇaṃ* = **mraditvāṇaṃ* (Āv. 12,8); the prose order at 11,2 for it has *maddiūṇaṃ* = *marditūṇaṃ*.

§ 586. The most usual form of the absol. in M. JM. is that in *-ūṇa*. It is found in AMg. and JŚ. too, where it is spelt as *-dūṇa* (§ 584). The rules of the infinitive hold good for it. So M. *jeūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; G. 1197; R. 8,74) beside JM. *jiñiūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; Erz. 22,16), *niñjiñiūṇa* (Erz. 82,13); M. JM. *hoūṇa* (G. H.; Erz.; Dvār. 495,30), according to Hc. 4,240 also *houūṇa*; AMg. JM. *caiūṇa* = **tyajitvāṇa* (Uttar. 30.277.303.552; Erz.); *haseūṇa* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39) beside M. JM. *hasiūṇa* (Ki. 4,39; H. R.; Sarasvatik. 135,12; Erz.), M. *vihasiūṇa* (G.); M. JM. AMg. *gantūṇa* (G. R.; Erz.; Āv. 19,3; Ovav. § 168. 169); M. AMg. JM. *daṭṭhūṇa* (Hc. 4,213; G. H. R.; Karp. 74,7; Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Āv. 24,11; Dvār. 498,28; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *vajjiūṇa* (Paṇṇav. 104); M. JM. *pāūṇa* from *pā* (to drink; G.; Mudrār. 83,2; Dvār. 496,28); M. *voḍhūṇa* (R.); AMg. JM. *vandiūṇa* (Kappas. Th. 13,9; Sagara 2,8; 11,12; Kk.); AMg. *laddhūṇa* = **labdhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 846. 848); JM. *āpucchiūṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 496,18); M. JM. *moṭtūṇa* = **muktvāṇa* (Hc. 4,212. 237; G. H. R.; Viddhaś. 11,8; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 497,18; 498, 38; Sagara 7,13; JM. *mariūṇa* (Sagara 11,7. 9); AMg. *viddhūṇa* = **viddhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 928); M. *paḍivajjiūṇa* = **pratipadyitvāṇa* = *pratipadya* (H.); M. *uḍḍeūṇa* (G.); *avahatthiūṇa, pajjāliūṇa, āphāliūṇa* (H.), *uāḷheūṇa* = *upagūhya*, *ṇameūṇa* = *niyāmya* (R.); JM. *sammāṇeūṇa* (Erz.); *dhakkeūṇa* (Dvār. 499, 8), *rañjiūṇa* (Ki. 11); *bhesēūṇa* = **bhesayitvāṇa* (Kk.), *ṭhaviūṇa* (Sagara 1, 10; Erz.); *thāiūṇa* = **sṭhāgayitvāṇa* (Āv. 30,4); M. D. JM. *hantiūṇa* (Hc. 4,244; R.; Mṛcch. 105,22 [so to be read]; Erz.) beside M. *āhaniūṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,16), JM. *hañiūṇa* (Āv. 17,31); M. *roṭtūṇa* (Bh. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; R.), M. also *roūṇa* (H.), whilst JM. *roviūṇa* (Sagara 7,11) belongs to *ru* (§ 473); *vēttūṇa* (Bh. 8,55); M. *voṭtūṇa* to *vac* (Hc. 4,211; R.); JM. *piheūṇa* (Sagara 10,17); M. JM. AMg. *dāūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; G.; Kāvya prakāśa 343, 3; Dvār. 500,19; Erz. 78,1; Paṇhāv. 367); M. *dhuxiūṇa* (R. 6,20); JM. *pāviūṇa* (Erz.); M. JM. *soūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; Hc. 3,157; 4,237; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 7,8; 11,12; Āv. 18,20; 31,23) beside *suñiūṇa* (Hc. 3,157); JM. *cheṭtūṇa* (Erz.) and *chediūṇa* (Kk. II, 507,11); JM. *bhañjiūṇa* and *je* (Erz.); Ā. D. JM. *bhēttūṇa* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5; Erz.), JM. also *bhindiūṇa* (Sagara 3,1.6.18); AMg. *bhoṭtūṇa* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; Ovav. § 185), JM. also *uvabhuñjiūṇa* (Erz.); VG. *kātūṇa* (101,9), JŚ. *kādūṇa* (§ 21. 584),

M. JM. *kāūna* (Bh. 4,23; 8,17; Hc. 2,146; 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 499,39 etc.), falsely also in Ś. (§ 584), JM. also *viuvvūna* (Dvār. 507,40; Erz.); M. JM. *gahiūna* (G. 282; Vajjalagga 326,9; Erz.; Dvār. 503,1; Kk. 17; Kk. II, 505,29) beside JM. *gēñhiūna* (Āv. 43,7; Erz.); M. JM. AMg. *ghēttūna* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 2,146; 4,210; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 5,14; Nāyādh. 960; Paṇhāv. 367), which is found in the verse in Mg. too (Mṛcch. 22,8) and falsely in Ś. too (§ 584), AMg. *parighēttūna* (Paṇhāv. 487) and M. *gheūna* (Bh. 4,23; Sarasvatik. 180,4 as v. l. to H. 130, but *ghēttūna* 347,9; Priyad. 33,15; falsely in Ś. § 584) belong to **ghr̥p*; M. *nāūna*, JM. *nāūna* (Hc. 4,7; R. 11,21; Dvār. 496,16; Erz.; Kk.) beside M. JM. AMg. *jāniūna* (H.; Kk.; Āv. 8,23; Paṇhāv. 394), JM. *viyāniūna* (Erz.); M. *ābandhiūna* (R. 12,60); AMg. *bandhiūna* (Sūyag. 285).—In P. the absol. ends, according to Hc., in *-tūna*; *samappetūna* = **samarpayitvāna* (2,164), *gatiūna*, *rantiūna*, *hasitūna*, *paḍhitūna*, *kadhitūna* (4,312), *naṭṭhūna*, *nattūna*, *daṭṭhūna* from *naṣ* and *dr̥s* (4,313), according to Vr. 10,13; Mk. fol. 87 in *-tūnaṃ* : *dātūnaṃ*, *kātūnaṃ*, *ghēttūnaṃ*, *hasitūnaṃ*, *patitūnaṃ*; Sr. fol. 64,65 permits both the forms : *hasitūnaṃ*, *hasitūna*, *daṭṭhūna*, *daṭṭhūna*; Nāmisādhū on Rudrātā, Kāvyaalāmkāra 2,12 p. 14,11 has *āgantūna*, Amaracandra in Kāvyaakalpalatāvṛtti p. 9 *gantūna*.

§ 587. Beside *-ttā* = *-tvā* is found in AMg. JŚ., very seldom in JM. too, also *-ccā*, beside *-ttānaṃ* in AMg. also *-ccānaṃ*, *-ccāṇa*. Since Vedic *-tyā* stands just metrically for *-tya*, which is added after compound roots ending in a short vowel and a nasal showing suffix, whilst *-ccā* always has *-ā* in prose, that is seldom shortened in verses, and enters also after every kind of root ending in a consonant, it is not correct to trace *-ccā* back directly to Vedic *-tyā*. There occurs the change of *-tvā* into *-tyā*, of *-tvānaṃ* into *-tyānaṃ*, that is found otherwise too in AMg. (§ 281, 299). So : AMg. *hōccā* = **bhūtyā* = *bhūtā* (Sūyag. 859); AMg. JŚ. *ṭhiccā* = **stīthyā* (Sūyag. 565; Vivāhap. 739. 927; Kattig. 402,355); AMg. *suṭhiccā* (Sūyag. 938.941.950); AMg. *ciccā* (Sūyag. 117. 378; Uttar. 515; Kappas. § 112) and *cēccā* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2; 2,15,17; Ovav. § 23 from **tiyakyā* (§ 280) = *tyaktvā*, *pēccā* = *pītvā* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5), *apiccā* = *apītvā* (Sūyag. 994).—AMg. *pēccā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *piccā* (Sūyag. 28) is also = **pretyā* = *pretya*.—AMg. *abhisamēccā* = **abhisametyā* = *abhisametya* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2 [so to be read]; 1,7,6,2,7,1); *vaccā* (Sūyag. 565ff.), probably more correctly *vuccā* (Sūyag. 783) = **vakyā* = *uktvā*; *daccā* from *dā* (Vivāhap. 227); *hiccā* from *hā* (to lose; Sūyag. 330. 345; Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1. 4,1), also *hēccā* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and metrical *hēcca* (Sūyag. 144); *sōccā* from *śru* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,1,1,4. 2,4; 1,5,3,1; 1,6,4,1; 1,7,2,3; 2,4,1,1; Sūyag. 154.181.298 322 etc.; Dasav. 631,18; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), these also in JŚ. (Pav. 386,6) and JM. (Kk.; where also *succā*), also *sōccānaṃ* in AMg. *sōccānaṃ idam* (§ 349; Āyār. 2,16,1) ; *bhōccā* from *bhuj* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 2,1,4,5. 9,4,10,3; Sūyag. 194.202.203.226; Vivāhap. 227; Kappas.); *abhōccā* (Sūyag. 994), metrically also *abhōcca* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10); AMg. JŚ. *kiccā* from *kr̥* (Āyār. 2,3,1,14. 2,9; Sūyag. 26; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,4; Kattig. 402,356 ff. 375 f.); AMg. *naccā*, *naccā* from *jñā* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,3,2,1. 3; 1,6,1,3. 4; 1,7,8,1. 25; 1,8,1,11. 14. 15; 2,1,2,5 ff.; Sūyag. 155.228.237; Dasav. 629,5; 631,35; 633,35). The ending *-ccāna* and *-ccānaṃ* occurs in AMg. *hiccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 86), *hēccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 433), *naccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 43); metrically also *hēccāna* (Sūyag. 551), *naccāna* (Sūyag. 188), *sōccāna* (Dasav. 634,41; 637,16), *ciccāna* (Sūyag. 378. 408). In prose *cēccāna* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5) is hardly correct. The ed. Calc. has *cēccā*.—On AMg. *bujjhā* = *buddhvā* see § 299.

§ 588. The Vedic absol. in *-tvī* (DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum. § 221)

and *-tvīnam*, as *iṣṭvīnam*, *pītvīnam* (Pāṇini 7,1,48 and Kāśikā thereupon; cf. above § 583 note) have been retained in A. *-tvī* became *-ppi*, after nasals *-pi* (§ 300), which after long vowels, later after short vowels too became *-vi*: *-tvīnam*, corresponding to it, has become *-ppiṇu*, *-piṇu*, *-viṇu* (Hc. 4, 439, 440; Ki. 5,53). The endings are mostly added to the present stem. So: *jīṇēppi* (Hc. 4,442,2) and *jēppi* (Hc. 4,440) from *jī*; *jhāvi* from *dhyai* (Hc. 4,331); *dēppiṇu* = **dētvīnam* from *daya-* (Hc. 4,440); *gampi* = **gantvī* = Vedic *gatvī*, *gamēppi*, *gampiṇu*, *gamēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,442; Ki. 5,59); *pekkhevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *pekkhivi* (Hc. 4,430,3; so to be read), *pekkheviṇu* (Hc. 4,444,4); *dēkkhivi* (Hc. 4,354); *chaddeviṇu* from *chard* (Hc. 4,422,3); *mēllavi* (Hc. 4,353), *mēllēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,341,1) from *mēllai* (gives up; Hc. 4,91, 430,3); *melavi* from *mil* (Hc. 4,429,1); *cumbivi*, *vichodavi* (Hc. 4,439,3, 4); *bhanivi* (Hc. 4,383,1; so to be read); *piavi* from **pibatvī* = Vedic *pītvi* (Hc. 4,401,3); *marēppi* (Ki. 5,60); *laggivi* (Hc. 4,339); *buddavi* (Hc. 4,415); *lāvi* = **lāgayitvī* (Hc. 4,331, 376,2); *levi* (Hc. 4,395,1, 440), *lēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,370,3, 404), *leviṇu* (Hc. 4,441,2) from *lā*; *broppi*, *broppiṇu* from *brū* (Hc. 4,391; Ki. 5,58); *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20); *karēppi*, *kṛppi* (Ki. 5,59), *karevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *karēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,396,3); *ramevi*, *ramēppi*, *ramēppiṇu* from *ram* (Ki. 5,53); *luṇēppi* (Ki. 5,57); *vuṇēppi*, *vuṇēppiṇu* from *vraj* (§ 488; Hc. 4,392); *grṇhēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,394, 438,1), *gēṇhēppi*, *gēṇhēppiṇu* (Ki. 5,62). Forms in *-ūṇa*, as *soūṇa*, *hasiūṇa* (Piṅgala 1,61^a, 62^a) are not A., but M., as reversely the forms, as *laṅhevi*, *peccavi*, *nisuṇevi*, *vajjevi*, *jālevi*, that are found in JM. (Erz. 78,21; 81,19, 24; 84,5), do not belong to this dialect, but to A. In A. these absolutives are used in the sense of the infinitive too: *saṁvarevi* (Hc. 4,422,6); *jēppi*, *caeppiṇu* = **tyajitvīnam*, *leviṇu*, *pālevi* (Hc. 4,441,2); *lahevi*, *lahēppi*, *lahēppiṇu* (Ki. 5,55), as on the other hand, the inf. *bhajjū* stands in the sense of the absol. (§ 579). On the absolutely used inf. in *-tum*, *-tu* see § 576, 577.

§ 589. The absolutiva in *-ia* = *-ya* are very rare in M., since M. employs the ending *-ūṇa*. In G. R. no example is found. In H. a single example would be *saṁmīlia* (137); hence we should write *saṁmīliadāhiṇa-am* = *saṁmīlitadakṣiṇakam* and take it as an adverb, parallel to *suiraṁ* and *aviṇham*, standing beside it. *pāḍia* (880) should not, with WEBER, be taken as a "gerundium", but as a past passive participle with the scholiasts, likewise *anūṇa* (129) against WEBER and the scholiasts to be read, therefore, *anūṇaḍio*. At Kāvya prakāśa 72,10 = H. 977, instead of *balāmoḍia*, with the best manuscripts we should read *balāmoḍī* (§ 238), as also Rājānakānanda has in his Kāvya prakāśanidarsana; the second best manuscript of Kāvyaapr. reads *balāmoḍheṇa*. H. 879, where WEBER, earlier (H.¹ Anhang No. 44) read *pekkhiaṇa* with Kāvyaapr. 68,5 and Sāhityad. 102,20, now correctly he has *pekkhiūṇa*, as also the best manuscripts of Kāvyaapr. have and stands at Sarasvatīk. 48,21. In the verse of Dhanika at Daśarūpa 91,9 we should read *ṛijjhāṇehamuddham*, therefore, *ṛijjhā* = *nirāhyāta*. Of the examples collected by WEBER, H.¹ p. 67, according to him *gahia* (Kāvyaapr. 82,9) alone stands the test, for which we should read *lahia* according to the best manuscripts. Besides there comes *vinijjia* = *vinirjitya* (Karp. 8,6) and *vajjia* = *°varjya* (Bālar. 157,4), whilst at 10,10 *ōṭtharia*, which the editor translates with *avatīrya*, is = *avastīrya*, whilst *ōṭthariarāhu* stands for *rāhuōṭtharia*, as elsewhere too (§ 603). Nothing can be said with regard to the dialect whence originate *bhamia*, *ramia* in Hc. 2,146 and *gēṇhia* at 4,210. Vr. 4,23; 8,16 does not mention for M. the ending *-ya*. Therefore, here too particularly Rājasekhara has again erred against the dialect.

§ 590. The absol. in *-ya* is rare in the old Āv. -texts in JM. too, on the other hand, it is frequent in later passages in Erz. But here too it

enters again the endings *-ūṇa* and *-ttā*, as in AMg. against *-ttā*, *-ttāṇam*. In AMg. a number of absol. in *-ya*, which are formed, as in Skt., directly from the root, are current. Apart from in verses (§ 584) and excluding the absol. *kadua* and *gadua* (§ 581) *-ya* is the only prevalent ending in Ś.Mg.Dh. (Vr. 12,9; cf. § 581), in which it enters almost always into the crude from the present stem in *-i*. In AMg.JM. in verses the ending is often *-yā* (§ 73). In JŚ. too- *yā* is not seldom. Examples for the individual classes are: Ś. *ṇāia* = **ṇayiya* = *nītvā* (Mṛcch. 155,4), but *ānia* (Mālatīm. 236,3; Pras. 41,2), *avaṇia* = *apaṇiya* (Venis. 66,21); Ś. *samassaia* = **samāśrayiya* = *samāśrītya* (Śak. 2,8); Ś. *daia* from *daya-* (Mṛcch. 51,12), and *deia* from *de-* (Mudrār. 203,7); Ś. Mg. *bhavia*, JŚ. *bhaviya* (§ 475); AMg. *vinikkassa* = *vinikkṣya* (Sūyag. 280); Ś. *odaria* = *avatīrya* (Vikr. 23,17), Mg. *odalā* (Mṛcch. 122, 11); Mg. *apuśalia* = *anusṛtya-* (Prab. 51,12), *ośalia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129, 8); Ś. *pariharia* (Mṛcch. 136,8), Mg. *palihalia* (Prab. 28,16; 51,12) = *parihṛtya*; JM. *sumariya* (Erz.), Ś. *sumaria* (Mṛcch. 8,15; Śak. 63,14); JM. *pēcchiya* (Sagara 4,2. 11; Erz.), *pikkhiya* (Kk.), Ś. *pēkkhia* (Mṛcch. 41,6. 10.22; 73,2; 78,25; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 15,16), Mg. *pēškia* (Mṛcch. 96,23), AMg. *pehiyā*, *sāpehiyā*, *samupehiyā* (§ 323); AMg. *uvalabbha* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *labhiya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2), but Ś. *lambhia* (§ 484. 525. 541; Cait. 125,10; 132,17; 134,9), AMg. *nikkhamma* = *niskramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), but Ś. *nikkamia* (Priyad. 34,3); AMg. *viukkamma* = *vyutkrāmya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2), but Ś. *adikkamia* = *atikramya* (Ratn. 295,9); AMg. *pakkhippa* = *praksīpya* (Sūyag. 280. 282); AMg. *pāsiya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); metrically (§ 73) also AMg. JM. *pāsiyā* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38,36), and AMg. *passa* (Uttar. 222. 239. 240), *anupassiyā* (Sūyag. 122), *sāmpassiya* (Dasav. 642,11); AMg. JM. *pariccāya* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Uttar. 561; Erz.), JM. also *pariccāya* (Erz.), Ś. *pariccaia* (Mṛcch. 28,10; Ratn. 298,12) = *parityajya*¹; AMg. *samārabha* (Samav. 81), JM. *ārabbha* (Erz.), but Ś. *ārambhia* (Śak. 50,2); AMg. *abhiṅkāṅkha* = *abhiṅkāṅkṣya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6 ff.); AMg. *abhirujjha* = *abhiruhya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2), but Ā. D. Ś. *ahiruhia* (Mṛcch. 99,19; 103,15; Vikr. 15,5), Mg. *ahiluhia* (Mṛcch. 99,4; 121,11; 164,3); AMg. *pavissa* = *praviṣya* (Āyār. 1,8,4,9), but Ś. *pavisia* (Mṛcch. 18,10; 27,3; 93,2; Śak. 70,7; 115,6; 125,13; Vikr. 75,4), Mg. *paviśia* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 29,24; 37,10; 112,11; 125,22; 131,18); JŚ. *āpiccha* (Pav. 386,1), JM. *āpucchiya* (Dvār. 495,31 between *cintiūṇa* and *paṇamiūṇam*), *anāpucchiya* (Āv. 11,23); Ś. *siñcia* (Mṛcch. 41,6); AMg. *nisamma* from *śam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.); *vissamia* from *śram* (Mālatīm. 34,1); JM. *paḍivajjiya* = *pratipadya* (Erz.); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *paḍivaccā* (§ 163. 202; Vivāhap. 29. 35. 99. 111. 127. 128. 136. 272 etc.; Thāp. 185. 186; Āyār. 1,5,5,5; Sūyag. 332. 776; Uttar. 1019. 1044. 1047. 1051 ff.; Nandis. 395 ff.; Jiv. 33. 118 ff.; Anug. 14. 15. 154 ff.; 235 ff.; Dasav. N. 644,17; 649,9 etc.), in verses also *paḍuccā* (Sūyag. 266; Dasav. N. 644,13); Ś. *paṭṭhāvia*, *thāvia* (Mṛcch. 24,2; 59,7); JM. *āroviya* (Erz.), *samāroviya* (Dvār. 503,33); Ś. *vajjia* = *varjayitvā* (Śak. 52,11 [so to be read]; Mālatīm. 98,6; Ratn. 316,16; Nāgan. 24,4), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,5); Ś. *coria*, *vāvādia* (Mṛcch. 37,14; 40,22); Mg. *pavesia* (Mṛcch. 140,14 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 158,22), *ohālia* = *apahārya* (Mṛcch. 96,24). In the sense of the inf. is used AMg. *anupāliyā* = *anupālya* (Uttar. 583).

1. Accordingly from *tyaj* the attested absol. are: JŚ. *caittā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittāṇam* (§ 583), AMg. JM. *caitūna* (§ 586), AMg. *ciccā*, *ce'ccā*, *ciccāṇa*, *ce'ccāṇa*. (§ 587); A. *cae'pīnu* (§ 588), AMg. JM. *cajja*, JM. *caīya*, Ś. *caīa* (§ 590). Besides the absolutely used inf. AMg. *caittu*.

§ 591. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: AMg. *samēcca* = *saṁetya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15); JM. *thupiya* (Kk. II. 508,26) from *stu*; Ś. *ṇisasia* from *śvas*

with *nis* (Mṛcch. 41,22); AMg. *āhacca* = *āhatya* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6. 7,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,6,2,3), but Ś. *āhaṇia* (Ratn. ed. Calc. 1871 p. 46,10); JŚ. *āḍāya* (Pav. 386,6), AMg. *saṃāḍāya* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3), *paḍisaṃdhāya* (Sūyag. 720), *paṇihāya* = *praṇidhāya* (Uvās. § 192); AMg. *jahāya* (Uttar. 635. 914), *viṇṇajahāya* from *hā* with *vi* and *pra* (Sūyag. 217. 628; Vivāhap. 146); falsely Ś. *ṇim-māya* (Lalitav. 554,13), for which **ṇimmāya* would be correct; AMg. *dhunīya* (Sūyag. 111; Dasav. 637,21), *viḥūṇiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Sūyag. 54), *viḥūṇiya* (Sūyag. 113), *saṃvidhūṇiya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5); Ś. *odhūṇia* (Adbhutad. 52,12; so to be read), *avadhūṇia* (Mālatim. 351,6; Venis. 61,5 [so to be read]; 63,9); JM. *suṇiya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *suṇia* (Mṛcch. 148,10; Śak. 62,11; 70,11; Vikr. 26,1; Ratn. 302,7; Priyad. 29,17), Mg. *suṇia* (Mṛcch. 37,10; 38,20). Dh. *prāḍissudia* = *prāṭisrūiya* (Mṛcch. 35,5) must in any case be spelt as *prāḍisudia* (cf. v. l.); it is wanting in most of the MSS. in GODABOLE too. AMg. JŚ. *pappa* = *prāpya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Thāp. 188; Uttar. 1017. 1019; Paṇṇav. 523. 540. 541. 665. 667. 712. 781; Dasav. N. 649,5. 8. 11 [°ā]; 653,1; Pav. 384,49), but JŚ. also *pāviya* (Kattig. 402,369), as Ś. *saṃāvia* (Ratn. 323,2); Ś. *bhaṇṇia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23; Śak. 31,13; Cait. 134,12); AMg. *chindīya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *chindīyachindīyā*, *bhīndīyabhīndīyā* (Vivāhap. 1192); Ś. *paricchindia* (Vikr. 47,1); AMg. *palicchindīya* (§ 257); Ś. *bhīndia* (Vikr. 16,1) and *bhedia* (Mṛcch. 97,24; cf. § 586), Mg. *bhīndia* (Mṛcch. 112,17); AMg. *bhuṇṇiya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2; Sūyag. 108), Ś. *bhuṇṇia* (Cait. 126,10; 129,10); AMg. *abhiḥjuṇṇiya* (Sūyag. 293 [°ya]; Thāp. 111. 112. 194; Vivāhap. 178); JM. *niḥṇṇiya* (Erz.); AMg. *parinnāya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6 ff.; 1,2,6,2. 5; Sūyag. 214) [°ṇnā], and *pariṇṇiyā* (Sūyag. 380. 381), *jāṇiya* (Dasav. 641,24), *viḥṇṇiyā* (Dasav. 631,35; 637,5; 642,12); Ś. *jāṇia* (Ratn. 314,25; Priyad. 15,15; Vṛṣabh. 46,7), *aṇia* (Śak. 50,13; Mudrār. 226,7 v. l.), Mg. *yāṇia* (Mṛcch. 36,12); Ś. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read with P. M.]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbāndhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Caṇḍak. 92,11; Nāgān. 34,15), Mg. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 163,16); JM. *geṇṇiya* (Dvār. 507,4), Ś. *Ā. geṇṇia* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2 [Ā.]; 107,10; Śak. 136,15; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20; Mālatim. 72,7; Ratn. 303,20), Mg. *geṇṇia* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 20,3. 10; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Śak. 116,2; Caṇḍak. 64,8), JŚ. JM. *gahīya* (Kattig. 403,373; Erz.), but in AMg. JM. mostly *gahāya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5; 2,3,1,16. 17. 2,2. 3. 16; 2,10,22; Sūyag. 136. 491. 783. 1017; Vivāhap. 229. 825. 826; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,10; 35,12; 37,31; 46,2; Erz.) = Skt. *grahāya* (BÖHTLINGK s. v.), a retroversion into Skt., since *gahāya* is an absol. from a denominative **gahāāi*, **gahāi* (§ 558) = **grahāyati*; in compounds also AMg. *abhiṇigijjha* = *abhinigrhya* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), *parigijjha* = *parigrhya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3. 5) and the double forms AMg. *avagijjhiya*, *nigijjhiya* (Kappas.), *pagijjhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,3,1,15; 2,3,3,1—3; Ovav.).

§ 592. Corresponding to the absol. in -*ttāṇam*, -*ttāṇa* beside -*ttā* and -*ccāṇam*, -*ccāṇa* beside -*ccā* AMg. has an absol. in -*yāṇam*, -*yāṇa* too, beside that in -*ya*, metrically -*yā*¹: *avīḷiyāṇa*, *paripīḷiyāṇa*, *parissāvīyāṇa* from *pīḍ* and *sru* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *ussīṇīyāṇam* from *sic* with *ud* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *saṃsiṇīyāṇam* from *sic* with *saṃ*² (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *saṃupehiyāṇam* metrically for **ḥpe*³ from *ikṣ* with *saṃutpra* as *saṃupehiyā* (§ 323. 590; Erz. 38,36 in a citation from Āvaśyakaniryukti 17,41)³; *lahiyāṇa* = *labdhvā* (Uttar. 627); *ārusiyāṇam* = *āruśya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *takkīyāṇam* = *tarkayitvā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); *parivajjīyāṇa* = *parivarjya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12. 18); *oattiyāṇam* = *apavartya* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *palicchindīyāṇam* = *paricchīdya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1); *palibhīndīyāṇam* = *paribhīdya* (Sūyag. 243); *abhiḥjuṇṇiyāṇam* = *abhiyujya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *akiyāṇam* = *akṛtvā* (Ovav. § 142).

¹: There are insurmountable phonetic difficulties against the derivation of -*yāṇam* from

-*ttāṇam*. JACOBI, in his edition of the Āyār. throughout, separates *ṇam* here too wrongly, as is proved by the form in -*ṇāna*.—2. So to be read with B, which is pointed to by the explanation as *saṁsīcya* of the scholiasts. Cf. *saṁsiccāmānā* 1,3,2,1.—3. JACOBI, *Erz.* p. 158.

§ 593. In AMg. a number of forms are found in -*āe*, that are used absolutely: *āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1 2; 2,1,3,6 ff.; 2,1,9 2; Vivāhap. 136; Nirayāv. § 17. 19) = *ādāya*; *saṁāyāe* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5); *nīsāe* (Bhag.; Kappas.), *nissāe* (Bhag.) = Pāli *nissāya* = Skt. **nīrāya* from *śri* (cf. *gahāya* § 591); *saṁkhāe* = *saṁkhyāya* beside *utthāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1); *saṁutthāe* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1,6,1); *pehāe* from *īks* with *pra* (§ 323); *apuṇhāe* (§ 323); *uvehāe* (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), *saṁpehāe* (§ 323)¹. Since these forms are connected with the accusative, as in *egam appāṇam saṁpehāe* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2), *auram logam āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1), it cannot be doubted that they have a verbal meaning. In very many cases, however, they certainly are nominal forms, as in the frequent *utthāe*, *utthēi*, *utthāe utthittā* (Uvās. § 193; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 58.60; Vivāhap. 161. 1246), *utthāe utthēnti* (Ovav. § 61). The scholiasts see in *utthāe* an ins. sing. of a fem. **utthā*², what and what only the form can be according to meaning and order of words³. Likewise e. g. in *anāṇāe puṭthā* = *anāñjāyā* (in the sense of *anāññānena*) *sprstāh* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), and in cases like *aṭṭam eyam tu pehāe aparinnāe kandaī* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), it can hardly be doubted that *aparinnāe* is = *aparijñāyā*, and not *aparijñāya*, as the scholiasts will⁴, whilst *pehāe*, standing beside it, undoubtedly stands in the sense of the absol., but according to the form is = *prekṣayā*. Consequently I believe that all these forms are originally in the instr. to the fem. in -*ā*, that would be used also as verbal forms. In support of this speak the cases like *annamannavitiḡmchāe paḍilehāe* too (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), where the compositum *annam*^o points to the nominal nature of *vitigimchāe*, whilst a verbal meaning to *paḍilehāe*, that stands by it, can be deduced from examples like *niggañthā paḍilehāe buddhavuttam ahiṭṭhagā* (Dasav. 626,23), although it is elsewhere certainly substantival (e. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,2; 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), whilst sometimes (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,5,6,2) one may be in doubt. In the literal sense “to cleanse”, “to wipe off” the absolutive is *paḍilehittā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,2 ff.) or *paḍilehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,7; 2,1,1,2 [“ya”]); but *paḍilehittā* also in the transferred sense “to discuss”, “to consider” (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,7,8,20). *pehāe*, *saṁpehāe* are hardly to be explained otherwise. Forms like *āyāe*, *nīsāe* may be built according to such a pattern. In no case can -*e* be equated as = -*ya*⁵. AMg. *anuṇū* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7; 1,4,3,1; 1,6,5,3; 2,2,3,3; 2,4,1,3. 2,19; 2,7,1,2. 2,1. 8; p. 133,8.10; 134,5 ff.; Sūyag. 474. 531; Dasav. 629,15; 630,1; Dasav. N. 661,3 [anuṇū]), with privative *a* *anānuṇū* (Āyār. p. 133,9. 10; 134,6 ff.) is explained as *anucintya*, *anuvicintya*, *vicārya* by the scholiasts. The frequent vv. ll. *anuṇūyī*, *anuṇūyī*, *anuṇūti*, *anuṇūtiyā* show that in this case we have nothing to do with an absol. *anuṇū* is an adverb = **anuṇūti* “deeply” “attentively” and belongs to Vedic *vīti*⁶.

1. JACOBI writes sometimes *saṁpehāe*, sometimes *sapehāe*, sometimes *sa pehāe*, even in the same paragraphs, as 1,4,3,2, where stands in line 10 *saṁpehāe*, in line 14 *sa pehāe*. The manuscripts are not consistent; cf. pro ex. 1,2,2,4. Throughout it is to be read *saṁpehāe*, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably *sāpehāe*.—2. WEBER, Bhag. 1,435, note.—3. HOERNLE on Uvās. Transl. note 286 likes to see in it the dat. sing. of a masc. *uttha*.—4. The ed. Calc. reads *aparinnāya*, but the scholiasts, as JACOBI, *aparinnāe*.—5. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 63 have.—6. Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 1,295 ff.; GELDNER, 2,156 ff. *vīti*, requires a new research.

§ 504. In A. -*ya* becomes -*i* (Hc. 4,439), that has originated from Pkt.-*ia*, through the dropping off of *a*: *daī* = S. *daia* from *daya-* (Piṅgala 1,5^a [cf. BOLLESEN, Vikr. p. 530]. 38. 39. 86^a. 122), also contracted (§ 166) *de*

(Piṅgala 1,33); *parihari*, *pasari* (P. 1,120^a. 143^a); *gai* from *gā* (to go; P. 2, 64); *bhai* = **bhavi* = Ś. Mg. *bhavia* from *bhū* (P. 2,243); *cali* (P. 2,88); *vali* (IS. 15,394; Prabandhac. 159,1); *koṭṭpi* = °*kupya* (P. 1,123^a) from the present stem; *māri* = °*mārya* = *mārayitvā* (Hc. 4,439,1); *saṁcāri*, *vicāri* (P. 1,43. 107); *lai* from *lā* (to take; P. 1,37. 86^a. 107. 121); *kari* (Hc. 4, 357,4; P. 1,81. 82. 86); *jāni* from *jñā* (P. 1,119). Beside *thavi* (P. 1,102. 107) = Ś. *thavia* = °*sthāpya* is found *thappi* (P. 1,123^a. 137^a), that may be considered as a case of double formation. The reduplication may be purely metrical too, as probably this is the case in *jinni* = **jīṇia* from *ji* (§ 473) and *sunni* = Ś. *sunia* from *śru* (P. 2, 112. 242). Whether forms in -ia as well are regulated, as *kaddhia laia* (P. 1,107. 121), *ṇisunīa*, *sunīa* (Sarasvatik. 140,1; 216,9) may be ascertained only by leading critical texts. *mutti* (P. 1,116^a) presupposes one **muktya*, hence a hybrid formation from *muktivā* and °*mucya*.

IV. ON WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUND

§ 595. Besides the suffixes of Skt. Pkt. possesses a number of suffixes, particularly the taddhita suffixes, that are wanting in Skt. Others, that in Skt. are little employed, are frequently employed in Pkt. To it particularly belong the *l*-suffixes. The grammarians (Vr.4,25; C.2,20 and p.45; Hc. 2,159; Kī. 2,140; Mk.fol. 36) teach that -āla, -ālu, -illa, -ulla stand in the sense of -mat and -vat. So M. *sihāla* = *sikhāvat* (G.); AMg. *saddāla* = *śabdavat* (Bh. 4,25; Hc. 2,159; Ovav.); *dhaṇāla* = *dhanavat* (Bh. 4,25); *jaḍāla* = *jaṭāvat* (C.; Hc.), *jōṇhāla* = *jyotsnāvat* (Hc.), *phaḍāla* = **phaṭāvat* (C.; Hc.), *rasāla* = *rasavat* (Hc.); *ṇiddāla* = **nidrāvat* (Kī.); *saddhāla* = *śraddhāvat* (C.); *harisāla* = *harṣavat* (Mk.). — Without alteration of meaning āla + ka occurs in AMg. *mahālaṇya* = *mahat* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Uvās.; Ovav.; Bhag.), femin. *mahāliṇyā* (Uvās.; Ovav.); *emahālaya*, femin. *emahāliṇyā* (§ 149), femin. *kemahāliṇyā* (§ 149; also Jiv. 216. 220 ff.); AMg. JM. *mahai-mahālaṇya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11. 3,13; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *mahaimahāliṇyā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.). The form is an intensive formation. To see a double femininum in it (LEUMANN, Aup. S.), as already remarked by LEUMANN himself, is not possible, since the word is used as masc. and neuter. -*mīsālia* (Hc. 2,170) is past passive participle of a denominative from **mīsāla* = *miśra*. — ālu, which Skt. too has (WHITNEY¹ § 1192. 1227), occurs in *ṇiddālu* = *nidrālu* (Bh.; Kī.); *iśālu* = *irgyālu* (Hc.; Mk.); *ṇehālu* = *snehala* (C.; Hc.); *daālu* = *dayālu* (Hc.); with *kaḥ svārthe* in M. *lajjāluā* (Hc.; H.), *saṅkāluā* (G.), *saddhāluā* (H.). — Dialectically throughout frequent is -illa, that stands for -ilā (§ 194). So *viārilla* (Bh.), *sohilla* (C.; Hc.), *dhaṇāilla* (Kī.), *guṇilla* (Mk.), *chāilla*, *jamailla* (Hc.); *phaḍilla* (C.); M. *kidailla*, *kesarillī*, *tulilla*, *thalāilla*, *neurilla* (G.), *māṇailla*, *rāilla*, *lohilla*, *sohilla*, *harillī* (H.); M. AMg. *taṇailla* (grassy; G.; Jiv. 355); AMg. *kaṇṭailla* (Paṇbāv. 61; Dasav. N. 660,14), metri causa also *kaṇṭailla* (Sūyag. 293), *tūṇailla* (Aṇuog. 118; Paṇbāv. 465. 513. 522; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niṇḍailla* = *nikṛtimat* (Uttar. 990), *māilla* = *māyāvin* (Sūyag. 233; Thāṇ. 582), *amāilla* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16), also in the substantives *niṇḍaillaṇyā*, *māillaṇyā* occurring with the suffix -tā (Thāṇ. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.; cf. § 219), *arisilla* = *arśasa*, *kasilla* = *kāśavat*, *sāsilla* = *śvāsīn* (Vivāhap. 177), *gaṇṭhilla* = *granthila* (Vivāhap. 1308), *bhāsilla* = *bhāṣīn* (Uttar. 791), *bhāillaga* = *bhāgīn* (Thāṇ. 120); JM. *kalankilla* = *kalāṅkīn* (Kk.), *sathillaṇya* from *sārtha* (Erz.), *gōṭṭhillaṇya* = *gauṣṭhika* (Āv. 26,37). Rājasekhara and later day writers use -illa not in M. only, as in *muttāhalilla*

(Karp. 2,5; 100,5), *thorathapilla*, *kandalilla* (Karp. 81,4; 88,3), particularly against the dialect in Ś. too, as *kodūhalilla* (Bālar. 168,3); *lacchilla*, *kivāilla* (Kāleṃyak. 2,8; 9,7); *tattilla* (Mallikām. 77,12), as in M. (Hc. 2, 203; H.) and D. (Mr̥cch. 101,21). As in *tattilla* (Deśin. 5,3), *-illa* occurs also in other provincialisms like *kanāilla* (parrot; Pāiyāl. 125; Deśin. 2,21) from *kaṇa*; *goilla* = *gomat* (Deśin. 2,98); M. Ś. *chailla* (wise; cunning; Pāiyāl. 101; Deśin. 3,24; H.; Karp. 1,2; 4,8 [Ś.]; 76,10 [Ś.]; Kāleṃyak. (3,7), which is probably rightly connected to *ṽchad* by WEBER¹, and is to be completely separated from A. *chailla* (beautiful; Hc. 4,412), since this, as the NIA. languages show², stands for **chavilla*, therefore, belongs to *chavi* (beauty; Pāiyāl. 113) = Skt. *chavi*, *chavi*, whilst *chailla* (lamp; similar; trifling; beautiful; Hc. 2,159; Deśin. 3,35) is to be derived from *chāyā*, as Triv. 2,1,30 teaches falsely from *chailla*. *-illa* stands also in the sense of "there-existing" (*tatrabhave*; *bhave*; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 37); *gāmilla* (a villager; C.), *gāmilliā* (a village woman; Hc.), AMg. *gāme³llaga* (Vivāgas. 31); M. *gharillaa* (master of the house; H.); *gharilli* (mistress of the house; Deśin. 2,106), and in M.JM. and particularly in AMg. it does not change the meaning of the word, to which it is added (*svārthe*; Hc. 2,164). So M. *mūillaa* = *mūka* (H.); AMg. *bāhirilla* = *bāhira* (Jiv. 879; Vivāhap. 198. 1876 ff.; Thāṇ. 261 f.), M. *abāhirilla* (H.); AMg. *andhillaga* = *andha* (Panhāv. 79); *ṽallavilla* = *ṽallava* (Hc. 2,164). So above all are built adjectives, that express number, time or place, partly from adverbs. So AMg. *ādilla* = *ādi* (Vivāhap. 463. 858. 923. 1118. 1330; Jiv. 788. 1042; Paṇṇav. 642. 646), *ādillaga* (Vivāhap. 1547); AMg. *paḍhamilla* = *prathama* (Vivāhap. 108. 177), *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624); AMg. *uvarilla* (Thāṇ. 341; Aṇuog. 427 ff.; Jiv. 240 ff. 710; Nāyādh. 867; Paṇṇav. 478; Samav. 24. 36. 144; Vivāhap. 102. 198. 224. 392. 437. 1240. 1331 ff. 1777; Ovav.), in the meaning "upper garment" M. *avarilla*, *varilla* (§ 123), *savvaūvarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879), AMg. *uttarilla* (Thāṇ. 264ff. 358; Jiv. 227 ff.; Nāyādh. 1452. 1518. 1521; Paṇṇav. 103 ff. 478; Rāyap. 68. 71; Vivāhap. 1331 ff.), *dāhiṇilla* and *dakkhiṇilla* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), *purattiṁmilla*³ from *purastāt* (Thāṇ. 264ff. 493; Jiv. 227ff. 345; Paṇṇav. 478; Rāyap. 67. 72 f.; Samav. 106. 108. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331ff.), *paccattiṁmilla*⁴ from **pratyastam* (Thāṇ. 264ff.; Jiv. 227ff.; Paṇṇav. 478; Samav. 106. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331 ff. 1869), *uttarapaccattiṁmilla* (Thāṇ. 268); AMg. JM. *majjhilla* = *madhya* (Thāṇ. 341; Jiv. 710; Vivāhap. 104. 922. 1240 f.; Av. 46,29; Erz.); AMg. *majjhimilla* = *madhyama* (Aṇuog. 383); AMg. *heṭṭhilla* (§ 107); AMg. JM. *puvulla* (Uttar. 764. 770; Av. 8,46); *purilla* (on Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163. 164; Mk. fol. 37; Deśin. 6,53) from *purā* and *puras*, *purilladeva* (asura; Deśin. 6,55; Triv. in BB. 13,12), *puriḷḷapahāṇā* (fang of a serpent; Deśin. 6,56), whereof the ultimate r̥mnent probably is *praghāṇa*; AMg. *pacchilla* (Vivāhap. 1118. 1520), *pacchillaya* (Vivāhap. 1593f.). In AMg. *raṭṭiṇṇa* = *rajayukta* (Vivāhap. 387)⁵, dialectical *thenilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32; cf § 307) occur the past passive participle from the denominative of *rajas*, *stena*⁶. AMg. *āṇiṭṭiṇṇa* = *āṇita* (Vivāhap. 961) is explained from the fact that *āṇia* = *āṇita* is used adjectively and presumably also substantively (Deśin. 1,74). As the examples show, the final vowel of the stem falls off before *-illa*, partly it is retained. — *-ulla* stands in the same meaning as *-illa*, but is much more seldom: *viārulla* = *vikāravat* (Bh. 4, 25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159); *māmsulla* = *māmsavat*, *dappulla* = *darṇin* (Hc. 2, 159); *uṽahārulla* from *upahāra* (Kl. 2,140; text *uṽahārūṇaṁ*); *appulla* from *ātman* (Bh. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 36 [MS. *aṇullo*]); *piullaa* = *priya*, *muhulla* = *mukha*, *hatthullā* = *hastau* (Hc. 2,164); M. *chaulla* (H.) beside *chailla*, *thaṇullaa* = *stana* (G.); AMg. *pāullāim* = *pāduke*

(Sūyag. 253); AMg. JM. *kacchulla* = *kacchura* (Vivāgas 177; Erz.); *cūḍullaa* = *cūḍaka* (Hc. 4,395,2. 430,2), *kuḍulī* = *kuṭī* (Hc. 4,422,14. 429,3. 431,2); *vāulla* = *vācāla* (Deśin. 7.56). — *-alla* occurs for *-ala* in M. *ēkkalla* = *eka* (Hc. 2,165; H.), JM. *ēkkallaṣa* (Erz.), also *ekalla* (Hc.); cf. Māla-tīm. 348,1; A. also *ekala* (Prabandī ac. 121,10); M. AMg. *mahalla* = *mahat* (G. ; Prabandhac. 113,3; Āyār. 2,4,3,11. 12), AMg. *mahallaya* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10), femin. *mahalliyā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *sumahalla* (Vivāhap. 246); AMg. *andhalla* = *andha* (Paṇbhāv. 523), beside *andhala* (Hc. 2,173); M. *pāsalla*, *pāsallia* from *pārsva* (G.); *navalla* = *nava* (Hc. 2,165); *mūalla* beside *mūala* = *mūka* (Deśin. 6,137), from which M. *mūallīa* (R. 5,41; so to be read), is a denominative. Also M. *pisalla* = *piśāca* (perhaps explained more correctly from **piśāalla* = *piśāca* + *allia* than from *piśācālaya* (§ 232). On *suhallī*, *suhēllī* see § 107. In Mg. *gāmelua* (Mṛcch. 97,1) = *grāmya*, *grāmiṇa* occurs the suffix *-elua*, that is to say *-elu* + *ka*.

1. Under H. 720. Beside it is found also *chaulla*, mentioned below.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,412.—3. The texts often have false *puracchimilla*, as in the case of its basis *puratthima*, also *puracchima*—4. The texts often have *pavvatthimilla* and *paccacchimilla*. The word perhaps does not belong to *paścāt*, from which originates *pacchilla*. Cf. § 149 and HOERNLE Uvās. s. v. *paccatthima*.—5. *mailiya* = *kāthinamaleyyukta*, that stands beside it will be correct, since it belongs to AMg. *mailintī*, M. *mailei* (§ 559).—6. Cf. e.g. Skt. *tundilīta* with *tundila* and AMg. *tundilla* (Uttar. 229). That the reduplication of *l* is associated with accent makes the cases like *kuḍilla* = *kuṭila* (Pāyali 155), *kuḍillaa*, *koḍilla* (Deśin. 2,40), *tundilla* = *tundila*, *gaṇṭhilla* = *granthila* (Uttar. 229; Vivāhap. 1308) certain.

§ 596. As a kṛt- suffix dialectically very frequent is *-ira* (Vr. 4,24; Hc. 2,145; Ki. 2,138; Mk fol. 36), which expresses the notion of the root as a “characteristicum” a “duty” or “noble” doing¹. So M. *agghāirī* (femin.) from *ghrā* with *ā* (H.), *andolira* (G.), femin. *andolirī* (H.), *alajjira* (H.), *avalambirī* (femin.), *ullavirī*, *ullāvīrī* (femin.; H.); *ūsasira* from *śvas* with *ud* (Hc.); *gamira* (Hc.; Ki.); M. *gholira* (G. H. R.), in later-day writers also in Ś. (Mallikām. 109,9; 122,12), M. *parigholira* (G.); M. A. *jampira*, AMg. *ajampira* from *jalp* (§ 296); AMg. *jhusira*, *ajhusira* (§ 211); M. *ṇaccirī* (femin.) from *ṇaccā* = *ṇṛtyati* (H.); *namira* (Hc.); AMg. *parisakkira* from *ṣaṣk* with *pari* (Nāyādh.; cf. § 302), M. *peṇchira* from *ikṣ* with *pra*, femin. *peṇchirī* (H. ; so to be read throughout); M. A. *bhamira* from *bhram* (Bh.; Hc.; Mk. G. H. R.; Hc. 4,422,15); *rovira* (Hc.), M. *roirī*, *ruirī* from *ru* (H.); M. *lambira* (G.), *lasira* (R.); *lajjira* (Hc.), M. femin. *lajjirī* (H.); M. A., in Rājasekhara also in Ś. *vēllira*, *uvvēllira* (§ 107); M. JM. *vevira* from *vepate* (Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.), in later day writers in Ś. too (Mallikām. 119,2; 123,15); *sahira* (Mk), M. femin. *sahirī* (H.); *hasira* (Bh.; Hc.); M. femin. *hasirī* (G. H.); *apaḍicchira* (stupid; Deśin. 1,43) from *iṣ* with *prati*. Seldom is *-ira* used as a taddhita- suffix too, as in M. *gavvira*, femin. *ṛī* from *garva* (H.). On *-uka* for *-ika* see § 118. 162 [ūsuga]. 326 [jharua].

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 2,145. Cf. WEBER, Hl. p. 68.

§ 597. *-tva* = Pkt. *-tta* (§ 298) can be used in AMg. JM. only, in AMg. often in the dative *-ttāe* (§ 361. 364); *piṇatta*, *pupphatta* = *puṣpatva* (Hc. 2, 154); AMg. *mūlatta*, *kandatta*, *khandatta*, *tajatta*, *sālatta*, *pavālatta*, *pattatta*, *pupphatta*, *phalatta*, *biṣatta* (Sūyag. 806); *āṇugāmiyatta* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162); *devatta* (Uttar. 235; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *neraṭṭiyatta* = *nairayikatta* (Vivāgas. 244; Uvās.; Ovav.); *māṇusatta* (Uttar. 234 f.); *pumatta* = *pumstva* (§ 412); *rukkhatta* = **rukṣatva* (Sūyag. 812; cf. 811); *sāmitta*, *bhaṭṭitta*, *mahattaragatta* = *svāmitva*, *bhartytva*, *mahattarakatva* (Paṇnav. 98. 100. 102. 112); JM. *ujjugatta*, *vaṇkatta* = *rjukatva*, *vaṅkatva* (Āv. 46,31. 32), **maṇuyatta* = *manujatva*, *micchatta* = *mithyātva*, *siṇyatta* = *śitatva* (Kk.), *asoṇyatta* = *asaucatva* (Erz.). To *-tva* has further been added the suffix *-tā* in *māuttajā* = **mṛdukatvatā* (Hc. 2,172). Very

frequent, particularly is M.Ś. in Vedic -*tvana* = Pkt. -*ttana*, A. also -*ppana* (§ 298.300; Vr. 4,22; Hc. 2,154; Kt. 2,139; Mk. fol. 45). So M. *amarattana* (R.), *alasattana*, *asahattana*, *āulattana*, *garuattana*, *cirajivittana*, *ñiṇattana* (H.); *ñiddattana*, *tucchattana*, *dāruṇattana*, *dihattana* (G.); *piattana* (H.); *piṇattana* (Bb.; Hc.; G. R.); *mahurattana* (G. H.); from *ā*-stems: *mahilattana* (G. H.); *vesattana* = **vesyātvana* (H.); from *i*-, *ī*-stems: *asaṭṭana* (H.); *juaṭṭana* (G); *maṭṭana* = **matitvana* (G.); *dūṭṭana* = **dūtītvana* (H.); from *u*-stems: *taruttana* (G.); AMg. *takkarattana* = **taskaratvana* (Pañhāv. 147); *tiṛikkhattana* = **tiraksatvana* (Uttar. 234); *āyariyattana* = **ācāryatvana* beside *āyariyatta* (Uttar. 316); JM. *pāḍiherattana* = **prāṭihāryatvana* (Āv. 13,25), *dhammattana* = **dharmaṭvana* (Kk. 259,12), *sāvayattana* = **śrāvakaṭvana* (Dvār. 506,28), *turiyattana* = **ivaritātvana* (Āv. 42,21; 43,3), *para-vasattana* (Erz.); Ś. *aṇṇahiaattana* = **anyahṛdayatvana* (Viddhaś. 41,8,9; Nāgān. 33,6), *pajjāulahiattana* = **paryākula* (Karnas. 19,10), *sunṇahiaattana* = **śūnya* (Mṛcch. 27,19; Priyad. 20,4; Nāgān. 21,6); *ahirāmatṭana* (Vikr. 21,1); *ṇisamsattana* = **ṇṣamsatvana* (Ratn. 327,18); *ñiṇattana* = **nipūṇatvana* (Lalitav. 561,1); *dūdattana* = **dūtātvana* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālattana* (Lalitav. 561,2 [vā]; Uttarar. 121,4; Mudrār. 43,5); *bamhattana* (Ratn. 308,5), *bamhaṇattana* (Pras. 46,12); *sahāṭṭana* = **sahāyatvana* (Śak. 59,10; Jivān. 39,15; 78,2); *añujivittana* (Mahāv. 54,19); *ucidakāritṭana* (Bālar. 54,17), *gharaṇittana* (Anarghar. 315,10); *bhaavadittana* (Mālatim. 74,3); *medhāvitṭana* (Ratn. 303,32); *lajjāvitṭana* (Mahāv. 29,6 [PISCHEL °lui]); *sarasakāittana* (Karnas. 31,1); *paḥuttana* = **prabhutvana* (Mālav. 14,3; 30,5); *bhīruttana* (Pras. 45,5); Mg. *aṇiccatṭana* = **anīyatvana* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *mahulattana*, *śulattana* = **madhuratvana*, **surabhitvana* (Prab. 60,12.13); *savvaṇṇattana* = **sarvajñatvana* (Prab. 51,6; 52,6); *śughalinittana* = **śugrhiṇītvana* (Venis. 35,1); *paṭtattana* = **paṭratvana* (Hc. 4,370,1); *vaḍḍattana* and *vaddappana* = **vaḍratvana* (Hc. 4,366); *suhaḍattana* = **subhajatvana* (Kk. 260,44); *gahilattana* = **grahilatvana* (Piṅgala 1,2a).

§ 598. Without effecting alteration in the meaning of the word -*ka* enters into Pkt. more frequently than into Skt. (Hc. 2,164; Mk. fol. 37). In PG. P. CP., sometimes in Ś. Mg. too, it remains -*ka*, in AMg. JM. JŚ. it becomes -*ga*, -*ja*, in the other dialects -*a*. Numerous examples for all the dialects have been included in different paragraphs. Sometimes it is set in doubly, as *bahuaṇja* (Hc. 2,164), also behind other suffixes (§ 595), further it is added to adverbs, as *ihayaṇ* (Hc. 2,164) and to the infinitive, as *ālēddhuam* (§ 303.577), AMg. *aladdhuṇam* (§ 577). The vowel of the stem is sometimes lengthened dialectically (§ 70). Beside -*ka*, we find dialectically also -*kha*, -*ha* (§ 206) and -*ika*, AMg. -*i ja*, as in PG. *vadhanika* = *vardhanaka* (6,9); AMg. *macciya* = **martyika* = *martyaka* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4; 1,3,2,1: Sūyag. 351); AMg. *tumbaviṇja* = *tumbaviṇaka* (Ovav.); Mg. *bhālīka* = **bhārīka* = *bhāravat* (Mṛcch. 97,19.20); M. *savvaṅgia* = *sarvaṅgīna* (Hc. 2,152; R.). — -*ya* occurs in *pārahka* (Hc. 2,148), -*īkyā* in *rāikkā* = *rājākīya* (Hc. 2,148); *goṇikka* (herd of cattle; Deśin. 2,97; Triv. 1,3,105); *cacciikka* from *careā* (besmearing the body with fragrant paste; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,4,121), according to Deśin. 3,4 also adjective in the meaning “decorated”²; *mahisikka* (herd of buffaloes; Deśin. 6,124)³.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,243.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 13,12.—3. PISCHEL, GGA 1881, p. 1320f.

§ 599. Like -*ka*, in A. -*da*=Skt. -*ṭa* too is added, without change in the meaning of the word. Very often, -*a* = -*ka* enters behind it, in addition (Hc. 4,429.430). So: *kannaḍaa* = *karna* (Hc. 4,432); *davvaḍaa* = *dravya* (Śukas. 32,3); *dihaḍaa* = *divasa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2); *dūaḍaa* = *dūta* (Hc. 4,419,1); *desaḍaa* (Hc. 4,418.6) *desaḍna* (Hc. 4,419.3) = *deśa*; *doṣaḍaa* =

doṣa (Hc. 4,379,1); *mānusaḍa* = *mānusa* (Prabandhac. 112,8); *māriḍa* = *mārita* (Hc. 4,379,2); *mittaḍa* = *mitra* (Hc. 4,422,1); *raṇṇaḍa* = *aranya* (Hc. 4,368); *rūḍa* = *rūpa* (Hc. 4,419,1); *haṭṭhaḍa*, *haṭṭhaḍa* = *hasta* (Hc. 4,439,1. 445,3); *hiḍa* = **hṛda* = *hṛd* (Ki. 5,15. 17; Hc. 4,422,12), *hiḍaḍa* (Hc. 4,350,2). In *maṇiḍa* = *maṇi* (Hc. 4,414,2) probably *ka+ta* = **maṇikaḥa* is to be assumed, that is pointed to by the hiatus, and not the suffix *-aḍa*. The femin. ends in *-ḍi* (Hc. 4,431): *ṇiddaḍi* = *nidrā* (Hc. 4,418,1); *suavattaḍi* = *śrutavārtā* (Hc. 4,432). The ending *-aḍi* is pointed to also by the femin. in Skt. *-i*, *-ī*: *goraḍi* = *gauri* (Hc. s. v. and s. v. *gori*); *buddhaḍi* = *buddhi* (Hc. 4,424); *bhumhaḍi* = *bhūmi* (§ 210); *mabbhisaḍi* from *mā bhaisiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,22); *rattiḍi* = *rātri* (Hc. 4,330,2); *vibhantaḍi* = *vibhrānti* (Hc. 4,414,2); with *-ka*: *dhūlaḍi* = **dhūlaṭikā* = *dhūli* (Hc. 4,432). Here in relation to Skt. the infix *-aḍ-* makes its appearance, and not the suffix. *-ḍa*, that is dialectical in A., and is combined also with other suffixes as *-ka*. So with *-ulla* (§ 595) in *bāhabalullaḍa* = *bāhābala* and *bāhabalullaḍa* (Hc. 4,430,3), also in the last example *-ulla+ḍa+ka*.

§ 600. According to the grammarians, in Pkt., *-itta* too is used in the sense of the taddhita suffixes *-mat*, *-vat* (Vr. 4,25 [so to be read for *-inta*]; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36): *kavvaṭṭa*, *māṇaṭṭa* from *kāvya*, *māna* (C.; Hc.); *roṣaṭṭa* from *roṣa* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]; Ki.); *pāṇaṭṭa* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]) from *prāṇa*. With insertion of *kaḥ* *svārthe* (Kālidāsa used this suffix in S. *-itta*, femin. *-ittā*: *paoharavithhāraṭṭa* = *poṇḍharavistārayukta* (cf. Candrasekhara); *ummāḍaṭṭa* = *unmādin*, *unmāḍakārin* (*ittakaśabdo matubarthaḥ*; Candras.); *ucchāḍaṭṭa* = *utsaḥaśalin* (*matubartha itakaśabdoḥ*; Candras.); *āsaṭṭi* = *āyāsakāriṇi* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivvāṇaṭṭi* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇakāriṇi* (Candras.); *bahumānasuhaṭṭa* = *bahumānasukhayukta* (cf. Candras.); *piṇṇaṭṭa* = *priyavedaka* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivvāṇaṭṭa* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇaḍa* (Candras.) (Śak. 11,3; 21,8; 35,7; 36,12; 51,12; 55,1; 79,14; 86,5; 140,14); *iṣṭasampādaṭṭa* = *iṣṭasampādayiṭṭa* (Rāṅganātha; Vikr. 20,19); *juvādivesalajjāvaṭṭa* = *juvādivesalajjayiṭṭa* (Kāṭayavema (Mālav. 33,17); *ahilāsapūraṭṭa* = *ahilāsapūrayiṭṭa* (Kāt.; Mālav. 34,14), *asoavāsaṭṭa* = *asavikāśayitṭa* (Kāt. Mālav. 43,3). The suffix is to be derived with BÖHTLINGK¹ from *-yitra*, *-yitraka*, and not with the Indians and BENFAY² from *-yitr*, *-yitrka*. It forms, therefore, the derivatives from denominatives and causatives. One *viṭṭhāraṭṭa* is = **vistārayitṭa* from *vistāraya*.

1. On Śak. 9,20 p. 161. Cf. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 20,19, p. 244; PISOHL, De Kālidāsa Ćak. rec. p. 33 f.—2. GGA. 1856 p. 1226. LASSEN, Inst. p. 134, note has already assumed that the explanation with the help of *hetuka* that rests on the false reading *-itua*, is wrong. Cf. Chandrasekhara on Śak. 36,12 (p. 180) *utsāhahetaṭṭa itaṭṭa*.

§ 601. According to § 397 *-mat* and *-vat* become *-manta*, *-vanta* from the strong stems *-mant*, *-vant* (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2,140; Mk. fol. 37). In the matter of the suffix Skt. and Pkt. do not agree closely. So AMg. *āyāramanta*. (Dasav. 633,33), but Skt. *ācāravant*; AMg. *cittamanta*. (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; p. 133,33; 136,3) = Skt. *cittavant*; AMg. *vaṇṇamanta*, *gandhamanta*, *rasamanta*, *phāsamanta* = *vaṇṇavant*, *gandhavant*, *rasavant*, *sparsavant*. (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Sūyag. 565; Jiv. 26; Paṇṇav. 379; Vivāhap. 144); AMg. *viṇṇamanta* = *viḍyāvant*. (Uttar. 620); *śilamanta*, *guṇamanta*, *vaimanta* = *śilavant*, *guṇavant*, *vāgavant*. (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *pupphamanta* = *pūṣpavant*, *bijamanta* = *bijavant*, *mūlamanta* = *mūlavant*, *sālamanta* = *sālavant*. (Ovav); A. *guṇamanta*. (Piṅgala 1,132^a; 2,118), *dhaṇamanta*. (Piṅgala 2,45.118), *puṇamanta*. (Piṅgala 2,94), metrically for *punṇamanta*. (C.; Hc.) = *punjavant*. As regards others, the

corresponding formations have not hitherto been found in the text, as AMg. *paññānamanta-* = **prajñānamant-* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,6,4,1), *paññamanta-* = **paññamant-*, *hariyānamanta-* = **haritamant-* (Ovav.). According to § 398 also the suffix *-maṇa* in *dhaṇamaṇa* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159) = *dhaṇamant*, **dhaṇaman* goes back to *-mant*. — *bhattiranta-* = *bhaktimant-* (Hc. 2,159).

§ 602. In AMg. numerous adjectives are formed with the *kṛt* suffix *ima*¹, partly from the present stem, which express, that something, connected with the root has happened, may or must happen. They often correspond to the German adjectives in *-bar*. So: *ganthima*, *vedhima*, *pūrima*, *saṃghāima* from *granth*, *veṣṭ*, *pūraya-*, *saṃghātaya-* (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Nandis. 507 etc.; cf. 304. 333); *ubbheima* = *udbhida* (Dasav. 625,13); *khāima*, *sāima* from *khād*, *svādaya-* (Sūyag. 596; Vivāhap. 184; Dasav. 639,14; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *pāima* from *pācaya-* (Āyār. 2,4,2,7); *pūima*, *apūima*, *māima*, *amāima* from *pūjaya-*, *mānaya-* (Dasav. 641,14. 15); *bahukhajjima* from *khādyā-* from *khād* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15) *bahunivvaṭṭima* from *varṭaya-* with *ni-* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14 [so to be read]; Dasav. 628,31); *lāima*, *bhajjima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15; Dasav. 628,34); *vandima*, *avandima* (Dasav. 641,12); *vāhima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *vusiima* from *vaśaya-* (Sūyag. 511); *vehima* (Dasav. 628,30); *saṃtārima*, *saṃpāima* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13. 14). From the adverbs *purastāt* and **pratyastam* are derived AMg. *puratthima* = **purastima* (Bhag.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.), and *paccatthima* = **pratyastima* (Bhag.; Uvās.). *puratthima* also in JM. *uttarapuratthima* (Āv. 14, 10). From it is again derived *puratthimilla*, *paccatthimilla* (§ 595). — In A., according to Hc. 4,443, there enters the suffix *-aṇaa* for expressing a characteristic peculiarity: *māraṇaa*, *boḷlaṇaa*, *vajjaṇaa*, *bhaṣaṇaa* = *māraṇaṣiṭa*, *bhāṣaṇaṣiṭa*, *vādanaṣiṭa* [*vajja-* = *vādyā-*], *bhāṣaṇaṣiṭa*². They correspond to the adjectives in *-ana* in Skt. (WHITNEY § 1150) + *kaḥ svārthe*.

1. HOERNLE, JACOBI, LEUMANN and STEINTHAL posit wrongly the substantive in *-iman*. Many of these adjectives in the neuter are substantively used.—2. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,443.

§ 603. In the matter of compounds Pkt. is distinguished from Skt. only to the extent that individual members do not follow one another in a strictly logical sequence (Mk. fol. 65)¹. They enter particularly into M., where the metre is often the cause. So M. *dhaḥavalakaovavā* for *kaadhavalovavā* = *kṛtadhaḥavalopavā* (G. 1); *kāsāraviralakumuā* = *viralakumudakāsārāḥ* (G. 271); *virahakaravattadūsahaphālijjantammi* = *duḥsahavirahakarapatrasphālyamāne* (H. 153); *daralambigōcchakaikacchusacchaham* = *daralambikapakicchugucchasadsaṃ* (H. 533); *kañcuābharanāmettāo* = *kañcukamātrābharanāḥ* (H. 546); *muhālaghaṇaṇapaaviṇṇantaam* = *mukharaghaṇaṇapiyamānapayasam* (R. 2,24); *saṃkḥohuvvattānintaraṇamaūham* = *saṃkḥobhodvṛttatānintāniryanmayūkham* (R. 5,40); *kaṇṇibbharadasadisam* = *nirbharikṛtadaśa-disam* (R. 8,27)²; AMg. *paccannapālāsa* = *pālāsapracchanna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); AMg. *lohāgaradhammamaññadhamadhamēntaghoṣam* = *dhammayamānalohākaraḍḍhamadhamāyamānaghoṣam* (Uvās. § 108)³; AMg. *taḍdivimalasarisa* = *vimalataḍḍitsa-drṣa* (Kappas. § 35); AMg. *uduvāṇaḍḍipunnasomavajane* = *pratipūṇaḍḍipatisaṃyavadanāḥ* (Ovav. p. 29,13).

1. JACOBI on Kalpas. § 35, p. 104; BHĀNDĀRKAR, Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, London 1876 p. 313, note 6; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 206, note 7. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 201. The scholiasts explain this with *prākṛte pūrvanipātānīyamāḥ*, a rule that is wrongly assigned to Vr. by a scholion on H. 546, and which is employed by scholiasts, often without necessity, as can be proved by the collection of instances in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 329 s. v. *pūrvanipātānīyamā*. — 2. So rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 251, note 3. — 3. Cf. Abhayadeva there up on p. 40.

*ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM.

- § 10. The real publisher of KI. is KIELHORN, from whom originated the translation and to whom I am grateful for reference to the inscription. KIELHORN has laid me under hearty obligation not only by his painstaking reading of the latest press correctors, but also with a complete list of amendments in the Sanskrit renderings, in cases where I might have gone astray in the matter of reconstruction through Pkt.
- § 22. p. 21, line 5 ff. from the bottom. On the nature and style, as occurs in modern dramas, cf. GRIERSON, IA. XXIII, p. 110. So it has certainly been the case for many centuries.
- § 34, p. 39,6 read *teṇ'* for *teṇ**.
- § 40, p. 47. Mṛcchakaṭikā is mentioned as Mṛcchakaṭam by Mk.(fol.82) and Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna, (fol.79,82) As communicated to me by KIELHORN, the first part of the name Kāṭayaṁma is written also as Kāṭa and Kāṭama and the second also as Vemaya in the South Indian inscriptions. Accordingly Kāṭayaṁma perhaps may not be wrong.
- § 53, p. 55,44 read Ś. *bahappadi* for *bahappaī*.
- § 64, p. 64,3 read JŚ. *visarida* for *visarija*.

* These corrections were in the original work itself. Through in advertance they could not be inserted in the translation, where other corrections have been so incorporated.

ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

A. = Apabhramśa.

Ā. = Āvanti (§ 26).

Acyutaś. = Acyutaśataka. Madras 1872.

Adbhutad. = Adbhutadarpaṇa ed. PARAB. Bombay 1896 = Kāvya-mālā. 55.

AMg. = Ardhamāgadhī.

Amṛtodaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1897 = Kāvya-mālā. 59.

Anarghar. = Anargharāghava ed. DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvya-mālā. 5.

Antag. = Antagaḍadasāo. Calcutta saṁvat 1931.

Anuog. = Anuogadārasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Ānuttar. = Ānuttarovavāiṃsutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1931.

Arch. S. of W. I. = Archeological Survey of Western India.

Aup. S. = Aupapātika Sūtra. By ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

Av. = Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen ed. LEUMANN, Leipzig. 1897.

Āyār. = Āyāraṅgasutta ed. JACOBI. London 1812. The Calcutta edition of saṁvat 1936 too has been used.

Bālar. = Bālarāmāyaṇa ed. GOVINDA DEVA ŚĀ'TRI, Benares 1869.

BB. = BEZZENBERGER'S Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen.

Bh. = Bhāmaha.

Bhag. = WEBER, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati. Berlin 1866. 1867.

Bharṭṭharinirveda ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. BOMBAY 1892 = Kāvya-mālā. 29.

BKSGW. = Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

B.-R. = BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.

BW. = BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.

C. = Caṇḍa.

Cait. = Caitanyacandrodaya ed. RA'JENDRALA'L MITTRA. Calcutta 1854.

Caṇḍak. = Caṇḍakaśikam ed. JAGANMOHANAŚARMAN. Calcutta Saṁvat 1924.

Cat. Cat. = Catalogus Catalogorum.

CP. = Cūlikāpaśācī.

D. = Dākṣiṇātyā.

Dasav. = Dasaveyāliyasutta ed. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 46, 581 ff.

Dasav. N. = Dasaveyāliyanijutti see Dasav.

De gr. Pr. = De grammaticis Præcriticis. Vratislaviae 1874.

Deśin. = Hemacandra, Deśināmamālā ed. FISCHEL. Bombay 1880.

Dh. = Dhakki.

Dhanamajav. = Dhanamjayavijaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvya-mālā. 54.

Dhūrtas. = Dhūrtasamāgama ed. CAPPELLER O. O. u. J.

Dhvanyāloka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā. 25.

Dūtāṅgada ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā. 28.

Dvār. = Die Jaina Legende von dem Untergange Dvāravatis ... by H. JACOBI. ZDMG. 42, 493 ff.

El. = Epigraphia Indica.

Erz. = Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri by H. JACOBI, Leipzig. 1886.

G. = Gaṇḍavaho ed. Sh. P. PANDIT. Bombay 1887.

GGA. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN. = Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Grr. = Grammarians.

H. = Hāla, The Sapaśatakam of—. Published by A. WEBER. Leipzig 1881. Cf. § 13. The edition of DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB, Bombay 1889 = Kāvya-mālā. 2, too has been used.

Hāsy. = Hāsyārṇava ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.

Hc. = Hemacandra.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.

IAtt. = Indische Alterthumskunde.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Inst. = Institutiones linguae Pracritticae.

IS. = Indische Studien.

IStr. = Indische Streifen.

JA. = Journal Asiatique.

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBoAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jiv. = Jivābhigamasutta. Ahmedābād saṃvat 1939.

Jivān. = Jivānandana ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā. 27.

JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śauraseni.

Kāleyak. = Kāleyakutūhalam. o. O. 1882.

Kalpal. = Pkl.

Kalpasūtra ed. JACOBI. LEIPZIG 1879; see Kappas.

Kaṃsav. = Kaṃsavadhā ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvya-mālā. 6.

Kappas. = Kappasutta; see Kalpasūtra.

Karṇas. = Karṇasundarī ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvya-mālā. 7.

Karp. = Karpūramañjarī ed. KONOW (cf. § 22, note 7). The edition of DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvya-mālā. 4 too has been used.

Kattig. = Kattigeṃānupeṃkkhā (§ 21).

KB. = KUHN's. Beiträge.

KI. = Kakkuka Inscription (§ 10).

KI. = Kramadīśvara.

Kk. = Kālakācāryakathānakam. By H. JACOBI ZDMG. 34, 247ff. Kk. II. III. By E. LEUMANN. ZDMG. 37. 493 ff.

KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lalitav. = Lalitavigraharājanāṭika ed. KIELHORN, GN. 1893, p. 552 ff.

Laṭakam. = Laṭakamelaka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvya-mālā. 20.

M. = Māhārāṣṭri.

Mahāv. = Mahāvīracarita ed. TRITHEN. London 1848. Beside it has been used the edition of AIYAR, RANGACHARIAR and PARAB. Bombay 1892.

Mālatim. = Mālatimādhava ed. BHANDARKAR. Bombay 1876. Beside it have been used the editions of KAILASH CHANDRA DUTT, Calcutta 1866, of MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG, Bombay 1892 and an edition in Telugu script, of which the title page is wanting in my copy.

Mālav. = Mālavikā ed. BOLLESEN. Leipzig. 1879. Besides the editions of TULLBERG, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1840 and of SH. P. PANDIT, Second edition, Bombay 1889 have been used.

Mallikām. = Mallikāmārutam ed. JIBANANDA VIDYASAGAR. Calcutta 1878.

Mg. = Māgadhi.

Mk. = Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mṛcch. = Mṛcchakatikā ed. STENZLER. Bonnae 1847. The editions Calcutta 1829, of Rāmamayaśarmatarkaratna, Calcutta śakābdāḥ 1792, and particularly the valuable edition of NĀRAYANA BĀLAKRISHNA GOPABOLE, Bombay 1884 too have been used.

Mudrār. = Mudrārākṣasa ed. KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG. Bombay 1884. Beside it the edition Calcutta 1831 and that of TARANĀTHA-TARKAVĀCASPATI, Calcutta saṁvat 1926 have been used.

Mukund. = Mukundānanda Bhāṇa ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvya-mālā. 16.

Nāgān. = Nāgānanda ed. GOVIND BAHIRAV BRAHME and SHIVARAM MAHADEO PARANJPE. Poona 1893. Beside it the edition of JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA, Calcutta 1873.

Nandis. = Nandisutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Nāyādh. = Nāyādhammakahā. Calcutta saṁvat 1933. In places where the quotations are given according to paragraphs and not according to page or without mention of details they refer to: Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā. Inaugural Dissertation ... of P. STEINTHAL. Leipzig 1881.

Nirayāv. = Nirayāvaliṃ. Benares saṁvat 1941. Citations according to paragraphs or without mention of details relate to Nirayāvalisuttam ... by S. WARREN. Amsterdam 1879.

OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.

Ovav. = Ovavāiṣasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936. The citation is according to the edition: Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... by ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

P. = Paisāci.

Pāiṣal. = Pāiṣalacchī ed. BÜHLER. Göttingen 1878.

Panphāv. = Panphāvāgarānām. Calcutta saṁvat 1933.

Pannav. = Pannavanā. Benares saṁvat 1940.

Pārvatip. = Pārvatīpariṇaya ed. MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG. Bombay 1892. Beside it the edition of GLASER, Wien 1883.

Pav. = Pavayaṇasāra (§ 21).

PG. = Pallava Grant (§ 10).

Piṅgala = The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras ... ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1884 = Kāvya-mālā. 41.

Pkl. = Prākṛtakalpalatikā. Cited according to the sketch in RISHIKESH

SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar. Calcutta 1883, a book to which the references are to pages.

Pkt. = Prākṛit.

Prab.=Prabodhacandrodaya ed. BROCKHAUS. Lipsiae 1935. 1845. Beside it the editions Pūṇā 1851 (P.), those of VĀSUDEVAŚARMAṆ, Bombay 1898 (B.), and SARASVATĪ TIRUVEMKATĀCĀRYA, Madras 1884 (M.) in Telugu print have been used.

Pracaṇḍap.=Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava ... published by CARL CAPPELLER. Strassburg 1885. Beside it has been used the edition : The Bālabhārata ... ed. DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARABA. Bombay 1887. = Kāvyaṃālā 4.

Pras.=Prasannarāghava ed. GOVINDADEVAŚĀSTRĪ. Benares 1868.

Pratāp.=Pratāparudriya. Madras 1868. Telugu print.

Priyad. = Priyadarśikā ed. VĪSHNU DĀJĪ GADRE. Bombay 1884. The edition of JĪVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta saṃvat 1931 too has been used.

Proc. ASB.=Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

R.=Rāvaṇavaha or Setubandha...published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Strassburg 1880. The edition of ŚĪVADĀTTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895=Kāvyaṃālā. 47 too has been used.

Ratn.=Ratnāvali ed. CAPPELLER in : Sanskrit-Chrestomathie published by OTTO BÖHTLINGK. Second edition. St. Petersburg 1877, p.290 ff.

Rāyap.=Rāyapaṣṇaiṃśasutta [Calcutta saṃvat 1936].

Rṣabhap. = Rishabhapañcācīkā. By JOH. KLATT in ZDMG. 33,445 ff. Beside it the edition of DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1890=Kāvyaṃālā. Part VII, p. 124 ff.

Rukmiṇip.=Rukmiṇipariṇaya ed. ŚĪVADĀTTA and PARAB. Bombay 1894 Kāvyaṃālā. 40.

Rv. = Rāmatakavāgīśa.

Ś. = Śaurasenī.

Sagara=A jainistische Bearbeitung der Sagara-sage. Inaugural-Dissertation ... of RICHĀRD FICK. Kiel 1888.

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Śak. = Śakuntalā ed. FISCHER. Kiel 1877.

Samav. = Samavāyaṅgasutta. Benares 1880.

Sarasvatik.=Sarasvatikanṭhābharṇa ed. BOROOAH. Calcutta 1883.

SAW.=Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.

SBE.=Sacred Books of East.

Skt.=Sanskrit.

Sr.=Simharāja.

Subhadr.=Subhadrābharṇa ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888=Kāvyaṃālā. 9.

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Triv. = Trivikrama.

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VG. = Vijayabuddhavarman Grant (§ 10).

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Vṛṣabh. = Vṛṣabhānujā ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1895 = Kāvyaṃālā. 46.

WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenlandes Gesellschaft.

ZWS. = Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache.

I. GENERAL INDEX.

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